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THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE



PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR.

From a 17th century English print. Not a portrait, but rather a figure symbolic of the Spirit of Expansion.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF
THE MODERN WORLD, 1415-1815

BY
WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND REVISED EDITION

NEW YORK
F. S. CROFTS & CO.

1938

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WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE opportunity afforded by a new edition of these volumes, in response to a continuing demand for them, has made it possible to revise them in accordance with various suggestions made since the appearance of the second edition, and to bring the bibliography more nearly up to date.

W. C. A.

Cambridge,
April 10, 1938

PREFACE

IN presenting what is, in effect, a new synthesis of modern history it seems necessary to define, as well as possible, the reasons for such an undertaking. These lie chiefly in the point of view from which such history is to be considered in the light of the demands of the present and the oncoming generation. It is obvious that we are in a stage of development to which many of the older formulas do not apply, and that we are entering an era in which it seems necessary to take a wider if not a deeper view of the past and of the forces which have gone to the making of the modern world.

There are, from this standpoint, three elements which need correlation to provide a proper basis for the understanding of what has happened during the past five hundred years, and of the situation which confronts us to-day. The first is the connection of the social, economic, and intellectual development of European peoples with their political affairs. The second is the inclusion of the progress of events among the peoples of eastern Europe, and of the activities of Europeans beyond the sea. The third is the relation of the past to the present—the way in which the various factors of modern life came into the current of European thought and practice, and how they developed into the forms with which we are familiar. And it has been the purpose of these volumes to combine these elements so far as possible, to infuse a sense of unity into the narrative of European activities wherever and however they have been manifested, and to draw from these the story of the development of modern civilization in its manifold aspects.

History, wrote Gibbon, is little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind, and that pessimistic judgment has too often been accepted by its students and perhaps too often confirmed by its makers. Such a judgment was natural to one who, like Gibbon, devoted his

talents to the account of the decline and fall of a great social and political order. It is, perhaps, natural for any student of the purely political minutiae of any period at any time. Yet it cannot be accepted as a constant guide to the consideration of human activities in general, for if it is, either history is a false record or we should not now be where we are. Especially is this true of the period considered in the following pages. They record not the decline and fall but the rise and progress of a civilization even greater than that whose overthrow Gibbon chronicled. Such an achievement does not come as the result of crime, folly, and misfortune. It is constructive not destructive, and it does not seem to confirm in the field of human affairs that doctrine of the degradation of energy which plays such a part in the domain of physical science.

It is apparent in the mere statement of the purpose of the following pages that they include much material which, however considered in separate investigations, has not been reckoned as part of European history as it has generally been conceived. This alters not only the perspective but the proportion of the more or less conventionalized historical narrative with which we are familiar. In such a view as is here attempted, many movements, many characters, and, in particular, many episodes, shrink to relative insignificance, while others, hitherto subordinated or even excluded, are elevated into what will seem at first, to many minds no doubt, an undue importance.

In the effort to take account of events or episodes which have influenced the general current of affairs, of movements which have contributed to change, of individuals who have inaugurated or who represent such movements or played a leading part in such episodes, it is obvious that the great problem is that of selection. No one can pretend to choose his material or to judge among infinite claims to importance with entire satisfaction to himself much less to others. Yet the effort has seemed worth the making. For it is apparent that with all the ability and industry of a host of gifted scholars unearthing the remains of the past, there must be an

interpretation of their results if we are to put to use the fruits of scholarship, and keep that past in touch with the present. And if this attempt to present a new view of history, its material, its method, and its purpose shall only serve to arouse fresh interest in these subjects it will have been worth the time and labor it has cost.

Finally it is only fair to say that these volumes have no thesis to prove or to disprove. They do not consciously point a moral; they do not seek to determine the "meaning" of history. They do not deal with first causes nor ultimate goals. They do not attempt to justify the ways of God to man, after the manner of the older "providential" school. They do not offer a brief for the superiority of democracy, or rationalism, or the middle classes; nor do they attempt to defend that progress which they chronicle. Their only endeavor is to show, as well as they may, how things came to be as they are. They are essentially dynamic rather than static; they are not intentionally antiquarian, for they are concerned less with what was than with what came to be. They do not profess that this was, in every case, the most desirable outcome, that this is the best of all possible worlds, or that whatever is, is right. But in so far as the world is different from what it was and a better place in which to live, that fact is due to what we call progress. It is the purpose of this book, therefore, to describe the situations which arose, to indicate the greater lines of change, the deviations from those lines and some explanation of how and—in so far as we can see—why things happened as they did. And it is hoped that, having described the laying of the foundations for the modern world it may be possible to supplement these two volumes by a third which will continue the narrative from the period of the French Revolution to the present time.

It may not be out of place in this connection to call attention to two other features of this task. The first is the series of maps which are intended to form a part of the text rather than to illustrate the volumes. The second is the collection of pictures which are intended for a like purpose. An attempt

has been made to select such illustrations as will, in some measure, show what manner of people these were who made this history, where they went and what they did, rather than to include purely decorative material.

Finally it is necessary to acknowledge the assistance which has been generously extended to the author by Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard University, who has read the proofs of the entire work; to Assistant Professor C. H. Haring, who has read those parts relating to Spanish America; to Dr. F. W. Pitman, who has performed a like service for the parts relating to the British North American colonies; to the authorities of the Yale University Library for their unfailing kindness in putting material at my command; and, above all, to my wife, without whose sympathetic assistance the completion of this task would have been impossible.

W. C. A.

NEW HAVEN, *December* 12, 1917.

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THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

VOL. I

“The genius of humanity is the right point of view of history.”

“Political disturbances arise from great causes but small events.”

“There is no law of history but the law of progress.”

“Progress is the change in form of that which is in its nature and substance unchangeable.”

“Always there have been two forces at work among men; the desire for stability and the desire for change. To the one we owe much of the permanence, to the other most of the progress of what we call society.”

“The progress of society is due to the fact that individuals vary from the human average in all sorts of directions, and that their originality is often so attractive or useful that they are recognized by their fellows as leaders and become the objects of envy or admiration, and setters of new ideas.”

“So absolutely has change become the law of our present condition that it is identified with energy and moral health; to cease to change is to lose place in the great race; and to pass away from off the earth with the same convictions which we found when we entered it, is to have missed the best object for which we now seem to exist.”

INTRODUCTION

IT is the purpose of the following pages to describe, as fully as possible within the limits set, the great movement by which those peoples and that modern civilization which we call European, developed, overspread, and finally came to dominate the world which we inhabit. This movement, which is, in nearly all respects the most important event thus far in human history, occupied a period of somewhat less than the four hundred years between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It followed no simple, straightforward course of carefully calculated, well-ordered endeavor. Like most of those phenomena to which we give the name of progress, it was rather a confused and complicated interaction of different and often apparently opposing forces than a conscious working through well-chosen means to a well-defined end. And its development at home, like its extension abroad, was accompanied by almost constant conflict of arms no less than of ideas and ambitions, which conditioned and not seldom hindered almost every phase of its history.

The
Expansion
of Europe

These armed conflicts were, indeed, for the most part, only incidental to the main current of progress. Without them, it is true, the triumph of new conceptions would often have been impossible, and the expansion of European power into other lands, especially, would have been inconceivable. Yet, without the intellectual and material processes which preceded and accompanied the political expansion of Europe, that extension of her influence, like the progress of her civilization, could not have been accomplished by mere feats of arms.

Its
conditions

No means then at the disposal of the Europeans would have enabled them to reach and to maintain themselves in regions so remote as those which they attained. No force at their

command would have availed against the overwhelming masses which they met and conquered by their superiority in material and intellectual equipment even more than by their discipline and courage. In particular no such effect as they produced upon mankind would have followed, and their great exploits would have remained as transitory and as barren of result as those of Tamerlane or Jenghiz Khan. In its last analysis the importance of European expansion lies not in the deeds of daring by which it was accompanied, great as they were, nor in the areas brought under European control, though they include more than two-thirds of the land surface of the earth; but in the incalculable extension of man's intellect, capabilities, and resources, of which it was at once a cause, a concomitant, and a result.

Its scope

The expansion of Europe, therefore, is not wholly, nor even chiefly concerned with the mere progress of European conquest beyond the sea. Still less is it absorbed with the concurrent conflicts for supremacy among the peoples and rulers at home. It involves the intellectual, economic, and spiritual progress of mankind, rather than the more spectacular but less constructive activities of captains and of kings. It takes account of the advance in human comfort, and the still more extraordinary increase in human capacity, which revolutionized conditions of existence. It involves the extension of knowledge, which altered at once the current of men's thoughts and lives, especially through the penetration of the long neglected achievements of the classical world into the fabric of European life, and through the development of scientific learning. With science came invention. Whatever ascendancy the European holds to-day is due very largely to the capacity which he has developed beyond all other races thus far, of originating, adapting, and improving devices to enlarge human powers, both mental and physical; and of pursuing a steadily progressive employment of natural laws and resources to his own use.

Yet in such an account as this, it is necessary to consider, beside the material and intellectual development of Europe, those political changes which gradually altered not only the

boundaries of the various states, but the conditions and ideals of life among the various races and nationalities which occupy the European world. For upon them depend, in no small degree, many of the forces which have gone to make civilization what it has become. It is no less necessary to consider, in some detail, the part played by expansion oversea. The discovery and exploitation of other continents enormously increased the resources of mankind. It played a great part in the emancipation of the human intellect; and it has created a new situation in the world's affairs. The continent of Europe remains, indeed, the focus of so-called European history. Yet if one considers the world as it stands to-day, and, still more, as it will probably appear in another century, it is apparent that no history of European peoples can ignore those great societies which, from year to year, bulk larger in human activities, and tend, more and more, to form that Greater Europe of which we are a part.

It was a great exploit, no less of the intellect than of the arms of Europe, to push out into the great unknown, and lay the foundations of a new heaven and a new earth amid the ruins of an outworn system of society and thought. It extended from the days in which European adventurers first gained a foothold outside of the continent, and European scholars recovered the long neglected culture of Greece and Rome, to the time when the first European society beyond the sea broke away from its political connection with the old world, and when men summoned the forces of nature to conquer nature—the age of invention and the use of steam. Its progress was conditioned no less by the impulse of the one than by the long development of the other. Yet neither was a wholly independent phenomenon. Each revealed in all its stages a deep background of achievement and culture which lay behind this expansion of energy and intellect. However unconscious its influence, the immemorial development of European civilization at once inspired and made possible its tremendous extension, once the barriers which separated men from the past and from the world about them had been broken down.

Its period
and its
back-
ground

It is necessary, therefore, to take account of many and diverse elements to explain the factors which have gone into the making of a modern world. For it is apparent, as the history of mankind unfolds, that there is no single clue to the development of human society. It has not seldom happened that the most trivial circumstances have led to tremendous consequence; that influences apparently the most remote from, let us say, the field of politics, have combined to produce the greatest alterations in government. And, small or great, important or trivial, the conditions which man has created for his activities and his environment demand for their explanation an account no less inclusive, if less complex, than the organism which has resulted from his infinite and varied energy.





CHAPTER I

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

IN so far as any point may be said to divide one so-called period of history from another, the year 1453, which saw the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks and the last battle of the Hundred Years' War is regarded as a principal landmark in European development. Though the fall of the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire was only the last act in the Turkish conquest of the Balkan peninsula; though commerce had long since discounted the effects of the Turkish advance; though the effect was in considerable measure psychological; it was no less important. It gave dramatic emphasis to the tremendous transition in European affairs then reaching its culmination. It contracted still further the boundaries of Europe, already invaded by Tartars, Magyars and Bulgars in the east and Moors in the west. The most distant peoples of the continent were disturbed by the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire, which was at once the political heir of Rome and the intellectual heir of Greece, and a bulwark of Christian Europe against Asia. Nearer nations were terrified, for it seemed to them not improbable that they, and perhaps all Europe, might be forced to fight for their lives as they had once fought against Hun and Saracen.

The beginnings of modern Europe

The terror of the Turk was not lessened by the knowledge that Europe was ill-prepared for such a conflict. The confused transition from a decaying mediævalism to new and untried forms of thought and action, even of speech, which was then taking place in almost every department of human affairs, gave small promise of that unity which seemed so essential to avert the impending peril. The one power in

European disorganization—the Church

any sense universal, the Christian church, was divided against itself. The earlier schism between the East and West had long since become irreconcilable, and had produced two communions, Greek and Roman Catholic, unalterably opposed to each other. More recently the quarrels within the western church had still further disrupted the solidarity of Christendom, till two and sometimes three rival popes had lately demanded the allegiance of the faithful. Besides these, still, insistent reformers continually denounced the abuses of the establishment or the vices of its members, and so contributed another element of confusion to the ecclesiastical situation.

To this was added the disorganization of the political establishment. Of the two dominant systems which the middle ages had produced, the Empire and feudalism, the second had almost wholly overpowered the first. It had divided Europe into a complex of more or less independent states, infinitely various in size and condition. These were bound together by ties, strong in theory, but in practice weak and provocative of endless strife. So long as feudal principles and practices prevailed it was impossible to establish even considerable kingdoms, much less a European empire. And social progress was scarcely less impossible so long as the class distinction between noble and non-noble which feudalism imposed upon society was maintained, so long as Europe was divided horizontally rather than vertically and knights of whatever nationality had more in common with their order in other lands than with their own vassals.

But if the fall of Constantinople threw into high relief the disorganization of Europe politically, religiously, and socially, the battle of Châtillon and the revolt of the earls of Salisbury and Warwick against the English crown, which took place in this same momentous year of 1453, was of scarcely less importance in revealing the situation of affairs. The one brought to an end the long struggle which England had waged at intervals for a hundred years to maintain her power on the mainland of Europe. The other began that bitter civil conflict known as the Wars of the Roses, when, for thirty years, the land found no settled peace amid the

The
Empire
and
feudalism

The
British
Isles

fierce rivalries of the two branches of her royal family. That family was, indeed, far from supreme even in those territories which seemed to fall naturally within its jurisdiction, the British Isles. Scotland remained separate, independent, and hostile. Ireland, save for a narrow strip on the nearer coast, was an English dependency in little more than name; and the people of Wales, though politically united with England, were far from being Anglicized.

In no small measure the situation of the British Isles was typical of all Europe. The Spanish peninsula was still divided among the Moors and the Christian states of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. France, torn by intermittent war with the English for more than a hundred years, had just driven the invaders from all their conquests save Calais. But Brittany, Anjou, and lesser feudal lordships on the west, Provence on the south, and Burgundy on the east, still maintained an independence which limited alike the lands and the authority of the French kings, while the wide divergence of language and customs among the people called generically the French, made the existence of a French nation as yet impossible.

Spain and
France

The chief rivals of the French kings, the dukes of Burgundy, under the nominal suzerainty of the Empire for a part of their dominions, were busily engaged in attempts at independence and the enlargement of their territory. The long-enduring dream of a kingdom between France and Germany was destined to failure; but, while it lasted, it was provocative of endless wars, and it troubled the peace of the Emperor on the east scarcely less than it conflicted with the ambitions of the house of Capet on the west.

Burgundy

Central Europe, indeed, boasted a formal unity. Under the nominal leadership of the Holy Roman Emperor was grouped the greater part of what is now Germany and Austria. In an earlier day his suzerainty had extended over parts of northern Italy, and in the hope of reviving and making good the ancient claims to that peninsula lay the seeds of long and bloody rivalries which, with like visions of France and Spain, were to disturb Europe for centuries. But the

The
Empire

authority of the Emperor was at all times limited by the exigencies of the moment, and the strength of his own character and possessions. His dignity was but a name, and, however he was able at times to transmute it into fact, whatever intangible influence it possessed over men's minds, it remained a variable quantity in Europe's affairs. The imperial power was already on the wane, and such strength as it had rested rather on the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, which held the title, than upon the shadowy tradition of its ancient Roman ascendancy.

Central
Europe

The Empire did not find its only problem in Burgundy, for central Europe, at the middle of the fifteenth century, was no less divided against itself than the western states. So low had imperial authority sunk, owing to the weakness of its possessors and the decline in the fortunes of the house of Hapsburg, that Bohemia and Hungary had achieved recognition of their independence. The latter had begun a career of expansion which was presently to lead to the occupation of the Austrian capital itself; and in the general disorganization even lesser states assumed pretensions which they could ill have supported in more quiet times.

Yet, weak as it was, the imperial authority was the only bond of union among the hundreds of virtually independent and often absurdly petty German sovereignties, whose indescribable medley of conflicting claims and authority bred an administrative chaos, and whose almost universal principle of dividing their lands among the heirs of successive sovereigns reduced most of them to impotence. In this situation, princes, nobles, cities, and districts formed leagues to defend or advance their interests. Larger and more ambitious states, like the electorates, so called because their rulers chose the Emperor, took advantage of the situation to extend their territory and influence at the expense of their lesser neighbors and even of the Empire itself. Some, like Brandenburg, learning the lesson of unity, adopted a policy of primogeniture and indivisibility of lands which was to bring great rewards for the future; and all entered upon an era of unrest and almost constant strife.

If possible, southern and eastern Europe was in worse case than the rest of the continent. In Italy the rivalries among the petty principalities of the north, the Papal states in the center, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in the south, was but temporarily checked by the peace which the Turkish terror imposed. Only the divisions among her neighbors preserved Italy from foreign intervention; and her chaotic situation remained no less of a menace to the peace of Europe than to the Italians themselves. At the same time the long line of Venetian and Genoese possessions in the Levant offered to the Turkish conquerors a prize even more tempting than Black Sea and Balkan provinces, and one after the other they fell into the invader's hands.

Italy and
the Balkan
Peninsula

For the district north of the Black Sea there was already another aspirant. Two centuries earlier the Mongols had overrun that great steppe region and laid the Slavic principalities still farther north under tribute. Since then the power of the Tartar horde had gradually declined as the result of internal dissensions, and the Slav states, emerging from its suzerainty, were now busy consolidating their territory under the names of Muscovy or Russia, and Poland-Lithuania. But they freed themselves from the Tartar only to face the Turk, against whom, for two centuries more, they and the imperial Hapsburg power were to contend with varying success, playing the part of a bulwark against Asia, which the city that had just fallen had borne heroically for nearly a thousand years.

Russia,
Poland
and
Lithuania

II

Such was the political situation which confronted Europe at the moment that the Turks, in capturing Constantinople, broke down the last barrier which stood between them and the complete domination of the Balkan peninsula. But it was not alone against Turk and Arab and Mongol that the continent was called upon to contend in the long conflict which was to make Europeans the masters of the world. Great as it was, the political disruption and disorder within her frontiers was not the only nor perhaps even the most

Social
and Intel-
lectual
Europe
in 1453

dangerous foe of Europe. Not so dramatic, but of far wider and deeper consequence to her future was the intellectual and social condition of her people, their ignorance and superstition, their poverty and those ruder habits which we associate with a lower stage of civilization, and, beneath all of these, an apparent incapacity to attain higher levels of achievement and understanding. If she was to rise, these were the first hindrances to be removed. It is necessary, therefore, to describe in some detail the social, economic, and intellectual situation in which Europe found herself, that we may comprehend the problem which lay before her and understand the steps by which she emerged from mediæval to modern conditions.

The
results
of the
Germanic
Invasions

It is probable that some time between the ninth and the eleventh centuries Europeans had reached the lowest point in civilization which occurred between classical times and those of the modern world. The situation which confronted them at the beginning of the eleventh century was the natural, perhaps the inevitable result of the conditions which arose from the conquest of the lands and peoples of the Roman Empire by the Teutonic tribes. These, with all their strength and virtues, had, at the time of their irruption into the classical world, achieved only the most rudimentary civilization. They were pre-eminently hunters and warriors, and they carried with them into their new environment many of the qualities and institutions which had made them what they were. Of the fundamental industries they knew little, of the higher arts infinitely less than the majority of the peoples whom they subdued. They imposed themselves as a ruling class and held their conquests for generations as a garrison, amalgamating but slowly with the conquered. Thus they became an aristocracy, lords of the soil, collectors of tribute in labor or kind, dispensers of justice, and masters of government. Their leaders became nobles, the mass of their followers freemen, the conquered population in large measure serfs or even slaves.

The Dark
Ages

In consequence, with the coming of the German invaders of the fourth and fifth centuries, the mode of life which had

prevailed among the upper classes of what had probably been the most comfortable as well as the most luxurious society thus far in human history, that of the later Roman Empire, disappeared in large measure throughout the greater part of Europe. In the rude life of the imperfectly civilized conquerors material as well as intellectual necessities were reduced to low terms; and if the scale of daily life be any test of civilization, Europe as a whole declined enormously after the fall of the Roman Empire. Despite the great contributions made by the Teutonic peoples to many departments of human activity, to government, to liberty, in later times to art and letters, as well as to science and religion, the recovery from the first shock of their invasion was slow indeed. The society which rose from their entry into the Empire was essentially military and agricultural, self-centered and self-sustaining and so tending toward that form of organization known as particularism, or the ascendancy of local over general interests. It was prevented from following the modes of life and thought which marked the more highly organized and cultured Roman society which the Teutons had overthrown, first by the persistence of the conquerors' own customs and their contempt for the habits of a defeated foe, later by their religion which cut them off from contact with a pagan past, and at all times by the circumstances in which they found themselves. This last, indeed, conditioned the whole problem of the reorganization of European society.

For as wave after wave of migrating peoples swept across great areas of Europe, as Lombard succeeded Goth in Italy, as Northman followed Frank into France, as Dane and Norman in turn brought Anglo-Saxon under their domination in England, and as the hordes of Asia followed, pressing hard upon the heels of these invasions, many forces operated to re-mold men's lives. Little by little the influence of the Christian church of Rome replaced paganism and the rival Christian sects from the Greek Catholicism of Constantinople on the east to Celtic Christianity on the west. Little by little society tended to divide itself into two classes, the noble and

The
reshaping
of Europe
—the
church and
feudalism

the non-noble, proprietor and tenant, lord and peasant. Little by little government tended to associate itself with landholding; and, as the middle ages went on, the institution of feudalism spread gradually through the continent. It was a form of society and government based on the possession of land, in which the lower classes were bound to the soil and looked to their lords for protection, justice, and some measure of order, in return for their services as tillers of the soil or followers in war. In turn the lord was bound to his overlord by obligation of military service, and the feudal chain led, in theory at least, to the king himself. In practice such a system came to be too often an excuse for private war and pillage; and, with all its nobler features which centered in the institution of chivalry, it remained a menace to the common peace and the greatest obstacle to the establishment of settled government over wide areas.

Society in
the middle
ages—the
feudal
domains

Moreover, feudalism was productive of a system of society which overspread western Europe with a multitude of estates or manors. Here, for the most part, the lesser nobility lived, and many of them, like their superiors, possessed one or more castles, built for defense, surrounded by the cottages of their tenants, and forming independent and almost wholly self-supporting social and economic units. Here and there, at places convenient for military purposes or more often for trade, had risen towns, many dating from even pre Roman times, walled and moated like the castles. Scattered no less widely over the continent, as time went on, were monastic houses, often of great magnificence, surrounded by the lands belonging to the order which they represented. About them, too, had not seldom grown up villages like those about the castles. To the great landlords, nobles and clergy alike, belonged not merely the land but the chief public utilities of that simple agricultural society, the mill at which the grain was ground, the smithy at which the tools and armor were made or repaired, often the ovens in which the bread was baked. Under their lords' direction roads were kept up by the tenants, to the nobles and monastic orders went the tolls and charges of the trade carried on within their

domains, by pedlars or by fairs, which brought them in touch with the outside world.

Gradually the towns emancipated themselves from this overlordship. Their industry and commerce were chiefly carried on through the instrumentality of corporations or guilds. These were, in effect, associations of labor or capital or both,—closely organized bodies of men engaged in the same pursuit, weavers, smiths, leather and metal workers of many sorts,—rigidly differentiated by trades and interests. In many cases the larger towns had made terms with the invaders at the beginning, or won a certain measure of independence from their nominal feudal lords, and so governed themselves through their own corporations at the price of tribute to their feudal superiors. From them went out the traders to the fairs, small and great, which throughout the middle ages formed the chief means of exchange, to the castles and monasteries and villages; and in them was collected such body of capital, material, and skill as the times boasted.

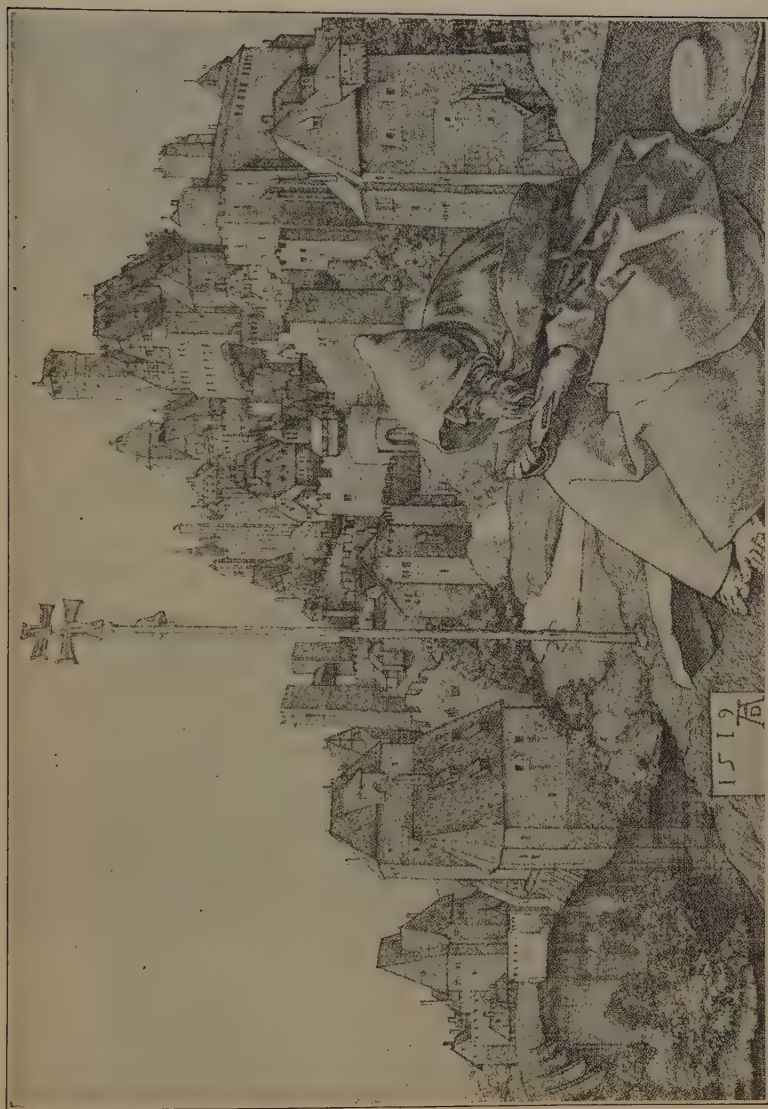
But trade and even manufacturing were hampered by the very institutions which in a sense made them possible, as well as by the dominant agricultural and feudal elements of society. The guilds promoted and at the same time restricted production. The nobles protected and at the same time levied often exorbitant taxes on the towns and tolls on the merchants who passed through their lands. Outside of a few centers, there were no accumulations of capital to finance large enterprises, and even those accumulations seem almost insignificant to modern eyes. Above all, there was no great common commercial interest. Mediæval Europe was provincial beyond modern conceptions, and, apart from a small class, but little removed from the economic disorder incident to the wreck of Roman civilization.

The social and intellectual conditions evolved under this feudal régime did even less to improve the general situation of the people than the political system which it produced. Knowing little and demanding less of the world outside their own narrow bounds, the feudal estates which sprang from the conquest were in no small degree sufficient to themselves not

only for their own administration but for their own support. They not merely lent themselves to local rivalries which made for almost incessant private war and so prevented the spread of the arts of peace in whose development lies the greater part of progress; but the demand for ideas in a society like that which they produced was virtually negligible. In consequence the growth of a desire for things which they could not supply from their own rude resources, as for the establishment of a settled peace which would enable men to engage in manufacturing and commerce to meet or create a demand for the refinements of life, was extremely slow. The development of the conceptions and desires which come as the result of intercommunication by trade and travel was slower still; while the scarcity of precious metals and the absence of any general system of exchange or any tendency toward far-reaching enterprises further handicapped economic development.

Feudal
culture

The older traditions of civilized society, indeed, lingered here and there in districts not wholly submerged by the invaders and among the clergy, who by precept and example encouraged a higher scale of material existence in this world while preparing men for the world to come. Thanks largely to them there had been spread through Europe during the middle ages something of that older tradition of living which, with the culture of the Greek and Roman world, had survived in the Byzantine Empire, and, to a less degree, in Italy after the barbarian invasions. But nearly everywhere these higher tastes and habits were exotic. Nearly everywhere commerce, manufacturing, and even agriculture during the earlier mediæval period were in an elementary stage of development. In spite of the progress made after the successive shocks of invasion had spent themselves, in general men lived and administered their affairs on a lower plane in the twelfth century than they had in the first. Though it is probable that an equal force of mediæval warriors would have proved themselves superior in arms if not in discipline to even a Roman legion, the arts of peace had been far from keeping pace with the developments in those of war, while in com-



ST. ANTHONY, BY ALBRECHT DÜRER. An idealized mediæval town.



On the left a page from a tenth-century cartulary; on the right an illumination from a Book of Hours, about 1500. These two reproductions from manuscripts, by unknown artists, whatever their difference in ability, serve to illustrate the difference between mediæval and Renaissance art. Compare the drawing of the figures, and the conventionalized border of the one with the natural border of the other. From *Facsimiles of MSS. in British Museum*.

parison with the Roman system of government, law, and culture the achievements of the men of the middle ages were all but insignificant.

Moreover, the homelier activities of daily life suffered great, if unequal, retrogression. Not only were many of the facilities for comfort and luxury which were familiar to the ancients not employed, they were not even known. Most of the ordinary arts and crafts had declined from disuse in like proportion with the amenities of civilized life. Europeans during the so-called "dark ages" between the fifth and the eleventh centuries were, indeed, far removed from mere savagery, but they lacked a large part of that skill in handicraft which had distinguished the later Roman world and was not extinct among the older civilizations of the east.

The arts
and crafts

Of the fundamental industries, cloth-making and metal-working, the first had made some progress. Weaving in wool and flax was fairly well understood, but silk and cotton were still beyond European resources and skill, almost beyond the knowledge of the greater part of the continent. Despite the universal use of armor and weapons, the triumphs of steel-making remained in Arab hands; and Toledo shared with Damascus the mastery of its closely guarded secrets, until the Italian craftsmen, especially those of Milan, began to challenge that supremacy. In building, the castle and the cathedral witnessed unusual capacity in the service of war and religion, but the hovels of the poor made the peasants little more than brothers to the ox; and even the furnishings of the rich scarcely surpassed the resources of mere barbarians, save where Oriental standards or the remnants of classical influences supplied the means and tastes for a higher form of existence. The same was measurably true in many other fields. Sheep-raising had progressed as kitchen-gardening all but disappeared. Sanitation vanished with the decline of cooking and cleanliness; and there was probably not a good piece of road-making done in Europe for more than a thousand years after the fall of the western Roman Empire.

III

The influence of the Church in the Middle Ages

Much men might have learned from the great civilizations whose monuments they saw about them adorning half the continent. But classical literature, its learning, its arts, even its handicrafts, by the twelfth century had been buried so long that there were few or none in Europe who even knew, much less who were competent to reproduce any of its achievements. Among the unfortunate results of the barbarian conquests and the conversion of the Germanic invaders to Christianity, this separation from the classical culture was probably the most serious. For Europe had been compelled to begin again, almost from the bottom, to build a new structure of society, unaided by the experience of the past in many important particulars.

The Church and the unity of Europe

This situation was not wholly due to the limitations imposed by uncultured feudalism, nor to the ignorance of those who practised it. Some of the loss of contact with the achievements of the past must be charged to the account of that organization which in many fields remained the great civilizing influence of the middle ages—the church of Rome. If the chief effect of feudalism had been to produce political chaos, the principal result of the conversion of the west by Rome was ecclesiastical unity. The organization which owed its origin to the teachings of the carpenter Jesus of Nazareth, and its beginnings to the energy of the Galilean fisherman Peter, had altered mightily by the fifteenth century from that humble company of apostles whose faith and works had spread its teachings through the Mediterranean world.

It had early divided into two great communions, the eastern or Greek, and the western or Roman church, the one with its seat at Constantinople, the other at the old capital of the western empire. The latter, in particular, had developed under the guidance of a capable and devoted succession of leaders into an organization scarcely inferior to the old empire whose traditions of world dominion it had carried into the field of religion. It had converted the peoples of the continent west of the Vistula to its faith. It had spread a

network of territorial and administrative arrangements into every corner of the new Roman Empire of the church. If feudalism had covered the continent with lordships and manors, which made for dissension and disorganization, Rome, with its system of archbishops, bishops, and priests, with their dioceses and parishes, had bound every district and every individual directly to itself in a unity comparable only to that of the political organism whose genius it had inherited.

To this it had added the monastic system by which its secular or territorial clergy were reinforced; and, toward the close of the middle ages, it had again strengthened its hold by orders of wandering preachers or friars, who supplemented the work of regulars and seculars alike. All these were subject to the Papacy, in discipline and doctrine; the Vatican claimed, and in no small measure made good its claim, to superiority over the lay princes of the continent, as the chief arbiter of Christendom. Rome became again the capital of western Europe, exercising a dominance over men's minds and beliefs no less centralized and effective than the political ascendancy she had wielded a thousand years earlier,—and not without a certain considerable measure even of that more worldly authority. *Roma caput mundi*, Rome the head of the world, became true once more under the church, as it had been under the republic and the Empire. As to her were summoned the intellectual and artistic as well as the spiritual resources of Italy, still the most civilized portion of the continent, so from Rome they were disseminated by the marvelous organization of the church throughout the Papal See. And, in no small degree, these, too, strengthened her hold upon her spiritual subjects.

This ecclesiastical conquest of those peoples before whose arms her political power had collapsed, was, indeed, in many respects a fortunate circumstance for Europe, even apart from the spiritual contribution which the Christian faith made to her peoples. It gave a sense of solidarity to Europeans as against the other races of the world, which neither feudalism nor the Empire afforded, and which came to be a powerful

force in their conflicts with extra-European peoples. It provided a common meeting-place for men of all tongues and tribes. In more senses than one it maintained a common standard of life and thought among the diverse elements of which European society was composed, especially after the barbarian invasions. It acted as a link between the old imperial and the tribal system, between Roman and Germanic ideals and practices, which enabled Europe in some measure to combine the two into a new form of polity and society.

Its intellectual contribution was of like kind. Despite its opposition to the paganism of the classical as well as that of the barbarian world, it did much to preserve those parts of the ancient culture which were not antagonistic to its own faith and practice. It maintained Latin as the universal language of educated Europe. It preserved even while it modified the Roman legal tradition, forms, and phraseology. For some centuries it kept some knowledge of Greek. It continued the Roman legal tradition in the modified form of canon law. It kept alive the transmission of knowledge by the art of writing; it was the patron of music and architecture, and, in some sense, of literature. Long after the study of Greek decayed before the theological objections to pagan thought, the influence of Aristotle persisted as the dominant force in European intellectual processes. Long after Virgil was abandoned for the same reasons, the tongue in which he wrote was the common means of communication among the peoples of the continent, and so maintained a unity which would otherwise have been lost.

Its limita-
tions

In many other directions the ecclesiastical influence worked for the perpetuation and the advance of civilization. The monasteries cleared and improved vast tracts of land and practised the principles of Roman husbandry. Monasteries and cathedrals alike carried on and encouraged schools and such education as they afforded; gave employment to artists, architects, and copyists; provided a refuge for men desiring to pursue an intellectual as well as a religious life. The monasteries in particular furnished entertainment for the

traveler and succor for the needy and the sick. The church preserved, even if it neglected, the manuscripts of the classical world. And, in a thousand ways it ameliorated the harsh and unenlightened régime established by the Germanic conquerors, no less through its efforts toward checking feudal quarrels and private war than by the pressure it exerted directly and indirectly upon the rulers of the middle ages. Without its softening and civilizing influence the dark ages would have remained mere savagery, perhaps Europe would never have recovered from the collapse of the ancient world.

But with all this great service, with all its material, intellectual, and its spiritual influence, there came a time when the church began to act as a brake upon progress, when faith overpowered intelligence, and what had been almost if not quite the only force making for the preservation and increase of intellectual achievement became a hindrance to the mind and spirit of Europe. For as the domination of the church grew stronger, it narrowed. Theology became its chief intellectual concern, logic its chief intellectual weapon, and the life to come its chief if not its only concern. In all fields which were not touched by theological considerations it remained a power for good; but with the development of its doctrines into irrefutable dogma, with the increase of its worldly strength and wealth, there came an inevitable decline in its intellectual openness. The mysteries of nature became the secrets of God, and so insoluble. Authority became the enemy of investigation; the true faith the irreconcilable foe not merely of heresy but of the paganism which it had conquered. In consequence, the writings of the classical world came first into neglect, then into disrepute, and finally under proscription. What little knowledge there was of scientific methods and results followed the same course, and man was thrown back upon himself as at once the source and the end of all knowledge, upon the Scriptures and the commentaries as the sole fount of inspiration, the church as the sole arbiter of intellectual as well as spiritual questions, and conformity to its decisions as the guide of life and thought.

The Church
and science

Moreover, whatever its divine origin, however true its

faith, the church tended to develop those imperfections inevitable to any human organization unchecked by effective criticism. Through the gifts of the faithful it came to absorb a considerable part of the wealth of the lands into which it penetrated, and as a corporation which never died, its right of mortmain, or the dead hand, removed great tracts of land and great stores of property from circulation and public service, limiting at once the strength of temporal rulers and the development of industry. Finally the natural tendency of such an organization to demand assent to its principles and practices as the price of membership in society bred a conventionalism in almost every department of life which hampered the development not alone of spiritual but of intellectual and even of material activities. As a consequence, the later middle ages found Europe conditioned not only by the demands of the feudal régime but by the scarcely less obstructive power of an intrenched ecclesiasticism. From an organization which laid stress upon souls and obedience rather than on mind and investigation there could never come the intellectual achievement upon which depended the progress of mankind. It was necessary to substitute for the idea of conformity the principle of diversity before that advance was possible; and in this substitution lay the germ of that revolution which was to remold the world.

Its
decline

Yet there was little enough in the superficial aspect of European affairs or of European culture at the beginning of the fifteenth century which promised either social or political revolution. There was still less which presaged great spiritual or ecclesiastical change. The continent was, indeed, nominally Christian save for outlying territories like the southern third of the Iberian peninsula or the vast steppes north of the Black Sea. Perhaps, in one sense, it was more devoted to that faith than now. But, apart from her lessening hold upon the minds of men, however great her contribution to the spiritual side of human existence, however profound her influence there remained, the great work which the early church had done in the cause of material civilization was all but over. Her mandate in that field at least was

all but exhausted. What she had brought to the barbarians who overthrew the old classical civilization, of the culture and arts they had so nearly destroyed, had long since become a part of European experience. She had not merely ceased to contribute greatly to the intellectual advance of the continent. She was no longer a considerable factor in the material prosperity which she had so greatly served in the days when her members were scarcely less apostles of improved agriculture, stone architecture, drainage, and cattle-breeding, than they were the promoters of learning and literature, the teachers and enforcers of a moral code, and the heralds of a new and purer faith.

As, little by little, the church had extended its influence into nearly every department of existence, it had impressed the culture which it had preserved with the stamp of its own character, and the civilization which it had done so much to produce possessed the defects as well as the virtues of its qualities. As the middle of the fifteenth century approached, in the face of the slowly altering tastes and habits of Europe, the defects came to bulk larger than the virtues in the minds of many men. In a changing world the church remained in a state of relatively arrested development, and its too rigid and inflexible adherence to its great tradition brought it into variance with the new spirit of the times. Like feudalism, it had outlived its generation; and unless, like the political system which was even then beginning to adapt itself to new ideas and new conditions, ecclesiasticism took on new form and spirit, it was only a question of time till it would find itself at variance with general if not universal tendencies.

This condition was evident in many fields. In architecture, with its glory of the heaven-aspiring Gothic arch, its miracles of fretted stone, the middle ages, indeed, advanced beyond the classic pediment and arch. But the greatest triumphs of the sculptor's art,—and Gothic sculpture in its higher ranges revealed great beauty and skill,—much less the grotesques in which the mediæval artists found characteristic expression, despite their quaint and hideous fascination of perverted fancy, scarcely rivaled the triumphs of Phidias

Mediæval
culture—
Art

and Praxiteles. In two directions, indeed, mediæval craftsmen excelled. The one was their love of nature which expressed itself in the ornamentation of all their work in stone and metal. The other was their skill not only in the carving which adorned their buildings, but in their gold and silver productions, and in wrought iron. Here they were scarcely surpassed by any men before or since.

But the same was not true of the pictorial art. Whether materials failed them, or whether this lay chiefly in the hands of those imbued with ecclesiastical influence, there was a great gulf fixed between the triumphs of the stone and metal-workers and the puerile efforts of the painters. The elaborate illumination of missal and manuscript ill endured comparison with even the wall paintings of Roman villa decorators, much less with the lost masterpieces of Apelles and his successors. In every field where formal ecclesiasticism had made itself supreme "the substitution of conventionalism for sympathy with observed life," which is "the first characteristic of the hopeless work of all ages," "the barbarism from which nothing could emerge and for which no future was possible but extinction," had blocked every avenue of advance. For such workers "the world was keyless," for they "had built cells for themselves in which they were barred up forever." From such labors only the "living barbarism" of new thought and action could save the world, only a return to nature and a rejection of convention could preserve them.

Music and
literature

If this condition was most conspicuous on the material side of life, it was no less characteristic and even more important in other fields. Music which, like literature, had been impressed for the most part into the service of the church, found itself confined to a single line of development and that not the one best adapted to its manifold capacities or appeal. With all their ingenuity and their summons to a purer faith, the writings of the church fathers poorly supplied in style or content the loss of Greek and Roman philosophy, which, save for Aristotle, had gradually disappeared from men's knowledge as ecclesiastical influence strengthened and narrowed. Still less could the church historians, bent on justify-

ing the ways of God to man, fill the place of Livy or Tacitus, Herodotus or Thucydides. The crude turgidity of late Latin versifiers, and the cruder imagination of the miracle plays, were feeble substitutes for Virgil and Homer, the great triumvirate of the Greek masters of tragedy, the mockery of Aristophanes, or the undying charm of Horace and Pindar, Catullus and Sappho. Even the Scriptures, on which the church based its intellectual as well as its spiritual existence, had been almost as deeply submerged under the notes of the commentators as the classical masterpieces had been buried under the mass of mediæval theology. Finally the formal logic of Aristotle, supplemented by a concentrated devotion to theology and presently converted into scholasticism, extended its barren empire over men's minds and sterilized their processes of thought, even while it sharpened their intelligence. For, with all its contribution to intellectual progress, it divorced men from the realities of life, and led them to believe that truth was to be achieved only by the exercise of the unaided intelligence, without observation, experiment, or that quality of vision and common-sense which embraces them all.

From this situation Europeans might possibly have been saved by the study of the classics. But as little by little these had been discredited as pagan, the manuscripts which held the wisdom of the ancient world were too often neglected or destroyed, or turned to the uses of monastic chroniclers or accountants. Scholars degenerated into schoolmen. Science lost itself in the morasses of alchemy or astrology and became anathema to the faithful. Philosophy was overpowered by theology, and this world gave place to the next as the chief concern of learned men. Speculation replaced investigation, words took the place of facts, and mind endeavored to produce from itself that knowledge and understanding which only comes from the intellect working upon material outside itself or in a medium not wholly intangible.

It was, then, in their intellectual limitations that the deficiencies of the Europeans of the eleventh century were most serious. Their knowledge of the great scientific heritage,

The triumph of scholasticism over the classics

Mediæval science and the Church

which is the conspicuous feature of man's present intellectual eminence, was all but wanting. Their ignorance of the planet which they inhabited was only equaled by that of the past from whence they sprung. It was exceeded by their ignorance of the heavens which they saw and of the complex organism which they were. Save for a superficial acquaintance with water, earth, air, and the products which their slender powers drew from those elements, or from a slight connection with their fellows in other lands, nature and art were almost equal mysteries. Mohammedanism, though it had tended to check the development of plastic and pictorial arts among its followers, especially by its opposition to representing the human face and figure, had left the realm of nature free to its investigators. Among them the Koran had not played the part of the Bible in Christendom. But in Christian Europe the reverse had been largely true. All the learning of the thirteenth century friar, Roger Bacon, "the father of science," had not saved him from imprisonment for dealings with the devil by the black arts of physics and chemistry. All the skill of his contemporary, the physician-astrologer, Arnaud de Villeneuve, had not averted the censure of the church from one who held that medicine and charity were as pleasing to God as religious services. The laws of nature were not merely unknown but unsuspected by minds which referred all natural phenomena to the direct action of an omnipotent and inscrutable deity. The church was all-powerful, and until ecclesiastical and popular prejudice was converted, conquered, or defied, all progress in unraveling the secrets of the universe was effectually barred.

The
sciences

It is not surprising in this state of affairs that biology and its kindred subjects were non-existent. As among the Arabs, the basic science of chemistry was still in the stage when alchemists devoted their slender gifts to the search for the philosopher's stone, which could transmute base into precious metals. Medicine, which had developed some method in Arab hands, among Europeans who lacked knowledge of anatomy, physiology, and therapeutics alike, depended on the simplest of old-wife herbalists, or the chance of fantastic compounds

worthy of central Africa mumbo-jumbo men. Surgery was scarcely better, and the knowledge of the existence of the organs of the human body led to little more understanding of their functions than grotesque and misleading fancies of their attributes and uses.

This was the more important on account of the situation in which Europe found itself during the so-called dark ages. The subject of human diseases is not one which we approach with pleasurable anticipation or linger upon with any enjoyment; yet, in the reckoning up of the influences which have made for modern civilization and the changes which have taken place during the long development of the race it is necessary to consider no less the ills which men have endured and from which they have in some measure escaped than the joys which they have attained. It is probable that never in its history was mankind so cursed with epidemic diseases as it was during the middle ages. Europeans had passed beyond the relatively healthy stage of outdoor savagery in their habits of life without learning any of the lessons of civilization necessary to existence in the more crowded conditions imposed by residence within the fortified places where continual war compelled them to reside. Sanitation and hygiene, the simplest of medical treatment, were unknown, the movement of population tended only to disseminate disease, and war added its epidemics as well as its casualties to increase mortality and disfigurement.

The
epidemics

The consequence was a succession of plagues which almost baffles description and certainly horrifies the imagination. Leprosy, scurvy, influenza, ergotism, and above all the so-called Black Death decimated the population of the continent and, what was perhaps worse, crippled the efficiency of uncounted thousands of those who survived. How great was the calamity may be judged from the fact that it is calculated a fourth of the population of the earth, some sixty millions of human beings, perished in the Black Death of the fourteenth century. Strangely enough, for a variety of reasons, this terrible visitation seems to have died out in the years which saw the rise of the new learning and the

discovery of the new world. That discovery, however, brought new and scarcely less virulent scourges on Europe in the form of the bubonic plague from the east, and yellow fever from the west.

Medicine

The development of medicine for many years scarcely kept pace with the progress of disease. For though the health of Europe probably improved during the sixteenth century owing to the advance in cleanliness as well as in medical science with its new methods, knowledge, and remedies, it fell far short of even the low standards of later times. In two directions the fifteenth century contributed much to this development. The one was the establishment of the principle of quarantine, either general or local in the form of pest-houses, lazarettos, or leper settlements. By such means many dangerous and highly contagious diseases, in particular leprosy, were checked or even eradicated. The other was the improvement in habits, which, however slow, gradually raised the standard of health and morals alike.

Mathematics

Nor were the sciences dependent on mathematics, which had reached no small development among the eastern nations, in much better case. Mathematics itself comprehended scarcely more than the simplest of arithmetical operation, with some slight tincture of plane geometry, whose symbols were too often better known as the incantations of astrology than as the expression of intellectual processes. At the same time that astronomy was winning new triumphs in Arab hands, the European knowledge of the heavens was circumscribed at once by the limitations of human senses and by a theology which made the earth the center of the universe, and man the sole concern of the Creator. It was still further perverted by superstition, which, not content with peopling the earth with all manner of superhuman creatures, from fairies to hobgoblins, pixies and gnomes, witches and elves, saw in the stars the determining elements of human fortunes.

Even geography was formalized in learned hands to utter impotence; and the knowledge of the world outside Europe, as well as great parts of even that continent, was crystallized

into impossible conventions. That the earth was globular was not even suspected. Men fought or traded with such eastern peoples as found their way to European borders, or from the western shores looked out across the Atlantic to infinity. But in neither direction, save for the effort to regain the holy city of Christendom, Jerusalem, from the infidel, and the occasional expeditions of some adventurous or devoted spirits into the wild wastes of the north Atlantic, had Europeans made serious attempts to penetrate the secrets of the outside world.

They were, indeed, poorly equipped for such an enter-
prise. Their knowledge of navigation was elementary in
the extreme. They were still in the coasting stage of
development. The compass was half known as an aid to
navigation, half feared as black magic, and wholly unde-
veloped as a scientific instrument. Neither in size, draught,
nor construction were their vessels designed for long com-
mercial voyages in the open sea; and they had still to learn
the art of tacking or sailing across or against the wind.
Though the almost incredible daring and seamanship of the
Norsemen—to whom the beginnings of this art were attributed
—had carried their slender craft about the coasts of the
continent and across the Atlantic to Greenland or even
America, though adventurous fishermen may have found their
way to Newfoundland, these bold spirits had contributed
little to the commerce or the enlightenment of their fellows.
They had contributed still less to permanent progress; for
their occasional visits to strange lands beyond the sea had
been rather like those of eagles or fish-hawks than the steady
advance of human conquest or migration.

Navigation

Thus to the limitations imposed by her political and ecclesiastical system Europe added an ignorance of the still all but uncharted realm of nature whose mystery and power had hitherto been more feared than any human foe. Without the conquest of the knowledge of the earth and its resources, of the heavens, of natural laws, of man's own structure and powers, of the wisdom of the preceding generations, the success of the relatively few and feeble European people against

the other races of the world would have been impossible; and, had impossibility been overcome, it would have been barren of permanent result. Without the emancipation of her intelligence Europe and mankind generally would have remained subject to those forces whose mastery has added more to human capacity, resources, and comfort in the last five hundred years than in all preceding time.

The
problem
of recon-
struction

Such an enterprise in conception and result was of far greater moment than any of the conflicts of arms and diplomacy by which it was accompanied. Its captains included men in nearly every department of human activity—scholars and scientists, merchants and adventurers, rulers and conquerors, explorers, inventors, engineers, philosophers and theologians. Their triumphs lay less in the destruction of their fellow-men—though this was not wanting—than in the extension of human faculties, the increase of man's ability to comprehend and do, the conquest of new realms of thought and power no less than new lands, which was to make man less the servant than the master of his environment.

It was essential, if Europe was to grow, that, beside the alterations in her knowledge and power she should take steps to throw off the shackles of political and ecclesiastical organization, give freer rein to individual initiative and ability, provide a more open way for the talents and a wider and more secure field for their exercise than was afforded by the feudal system and the mediæval church. For of the various disabilities under which her people labored in the period now coming to an end, three were probably the most inimical to progress,—a social and political organization provocative of particularism and private war, an intellectual habit largely circumscribed by theological and ecclesiastical limitation, and a decreasing facility for relatively quick, easy, and safe interchange of goods and ideas. Each of these in its own way enforced conformity to general or local authority, and so made for stagnation, material and intellectual. They not merely checked the unity and mobility so characteristic of the Roman world; they interfered with the development of mankind on almost every side of his varied nature, breeding

a provincialism which long remained the principal obstacle to progress in nearly every field of human endeavor. If the spirit which dominated the middle ages had prevailed, if it had been able to crush the protest which it continually provoked from those classes and individuals on whom it bore most severely, Europe would scarcely have been able to emerge from the impasse in which she found herself.

IV

But, fortunately for Europe and for the world, there was prepared in the later mediæval period a revolution in her affairs and thought comparable to that which, a thousand years earlier had set the continent on another stage of her development as a result of the barbarian invasions. For the spirit of protest against convention, like the impulse to look deeper into the mysteries of the universe, had been growing steadily for nearly three hundred years before the fall of Constantinople. Amid the forces of reaction and the dead weight of ignorance and superstition the leaven of a great change slowly made its way, and as the fifteenth century came on it began to make itself clearly felt in many directions. Little by little it became evident that, soon or late, it must come into sharp and decisive conflict with the spirit of authority, and that upon the result of that conflict would hang the future of the world. There was even some ground to hope that the new forces might prevail. However hopeless the political situation of Europe in the mid-fifteenth century appeared, it was not quite so hopeless as it seemed. Amid its weakness and dissension certain elements, though for the moment they contributed rather to confusion than to regeneration, offered more promise of future stability than the apparently aimless turmoil of selfish and conflicting interests indicated. Amid the ambitions of princely houses, and to a far greater degree outside their ranks, other forces than those which made for anarchy were slowly struggling into power. Beneath the surface of ecclesiastical uniformity enforced by the church there were being developed still other forces which had already threatened the unity of Roman

The
Revival
—elements
of
strength

Christendom. And in the success or failure of those factors lay the possibility of reform, even of revolution, intellectual no less than spiritual.

The begin-
nings of
the Ren-
aissance
—Italy

1265-1321

The movements toward regeneration were still more evident in fields beyond the bounds of politics, even, in some measure beyond those of religion. As early as the twelfth century there had begun that activity in the realm of intellect which bade fair to revolutionize at least one phase of European activity; and that movement had gathered impetus in the succeeding years, till by the time of the fall of Constantinople it had become one of the principal forces in the European world. During the fourteenth century, Italy, and then Europe generally, had felt the influence of Dante, who, fusing classical and mediæval tradition in the fire of his genius, had drawn thence his epic vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, the great trilogy of the *Divine Comedy*. That epoch-making work, reminiscent of the past, penetrated with the philosophy and theology, the social and moral indignation of his own time, was prophetic of a great future. To it he added writings on monarchy, and his *Vita Nuova*, love-songs to his ideal mistress, Beatrice, which struck a new note in literature, and gave to the nascent Italian, or "vulgar tongue," an impetus which set it presently on even terms with the long dominant Latin as a medium of literary expression. Following him the fourteenth century was amused by the diverting tales of Boccaccio which found a permanent place in world literature; and it was inspired by the sonnets of Petrarch, with which the Italian language and European letters entered on a new plane as well as a new stage of their development.

1313-75

The
literary
revival

1338-1410?

In France, meanwhile, the period which began with the twelfth century saw the rise of the *Roman de Rou*, and the *Roman de la Rose*, which followed the troubadours' tales of chivalry, and made French rather than Provençal the national tongue. To them succeeded Froissart's *Chronicles* which, immortalizing the great deeds of the Anglo-French wars, contributed to the same end. At the same time, in Germany, the epics of the *Nibelungen Lied* and *Gudrun*

preserved the traditions and romance of old Teutonic life, mingled, as in France and England, with the stories of Charlemagne and his paladins, of Arthur and his knights, and the undying legend of the search for the Holy Grail. The productions of the minnesingers, of the wandering students,—the so-called goliardists,—infused at once a new vitality into the language and the spirit of letters. In England the *Vision of Piers Plowman* voiced that protest of the c. 1362 downtrodden which was to be the motive of much future social advance; while the humane and humorous genius of Chaucer, ? 1340-1400 in his *Canterbury Tales*, brought letters into close touch with life, and made English, like French and Italian, a literary tongue. At the same time the Scandinavians with their recensions of the sagas or heroic tales of the Vikings, gods and heroes, furnished another element to that movement which, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, found Europe provided with a body of literature, which took the place of the all but forgotten classical masterpieces, and at least in popular appeal, far surpassed the achievements of the churchmen.

It found her no less equipped with new and vigorous Language—Latin and the vernaculars tongues, which, though they tended to break down the unity preserved by universal Latin, offered means of expression and possibilities of development impossible to a language which had ceased to grow. Latin was, indeed, far from extinct; and long remained the medium of communication among the learned of the whole continent. In it Dante composed his treatise on monarchy. In it scholars and scientists like Roger Bacon appealed against the dogmas of theology. In it reformers like Wiclif and Huss endeavored to rouse their fellows against the intrenched abuses of the ecclesiastical establishment. But the future belonged to the vernaculars. It was in them that the new literary movement found expression, and in them that the great preachers appealed to their countrymen. Into them they translated the Scriptures; and the appearance of the Bible in separate tongues, beside being a literary and linguistic event of the first magnitude, made the first breach between the old and new theology which

was the determining characteristic alike of a new age of faith and of intellect.

Revival of
commerce

The advance of Europe between the so-called twelfth century renaissance and the mid-fifteenth century was by no means confined to letters. During those years the way was prepared scarcely less in the every-day business of life for the transition which, at the moment of the fall of Constantinople, was beginning to make itself felt in every phase of European affairs. This was the product, in no small degree, of those alterations in habits to which we are apt to give the name of progress. In spite of the relative stagnation of the early middle ages as compared with the commercial activity of the ancient world, considerable advances were made in trade and communication between the fifth and the twelfth centuries. The world moved slowly, it is true, but it moved. And the great counter-stroke of Europe against Asia, the Crusades, which began in the latter period, stimulated improvement in communication and the knowledge of many things previously little considered by western Europeans. With them, indeed, it may be said that a new era begins; for they projected into the provincialism of the west, the goods, the ideas, and, what was of no less importance, the romance of the east. That process was continued and enlarged during the succeeding era, until Europe was familiar at least with the Levant and north Africa, and was not without some notion of the products of the lands that lay beyond.

Trade with
the East

Thus, though inferior in many respects to the Romans of the Empire, the men of the fifteenth century were prepared to make, use, and enjoy many things unknown to their ancestors of the fifth, or despised by them. Not only had commercial intercourse among themselves and with Asia gradually increased; the conquests and colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, which resulted from the Crusades, encouraged that activity. The demand for foreign products, at almost all times a sure measure of advancing civilization, had grown steadily. Medicine, chiefly derived from the Arabs, looked to the East for many of its drugs. Materials

for its incense, colors for its scribes, goods for its vestments, precious metals and stones for its vessels, brought the church into close dependence on this trade. Spices to mitigate the dreariness of mediæval cookery, or to preserve its food; dye-stuffs to relieve monotonous coloring, perfume to cloak imperfect hygiene or sanitation; cottons, muslins, and silks to enhance the beauty or disguise the ugliness of mediæval heiresses and to increase the comfort of all who could afford them; gold and silver, jewels, ivory and ornaments, found their way to Europe to brighten the lives of lords and ladies and churchmen; till what had once been almost unattainable luxuries came to be regarded in some sort as necessities, and so swelled the current of trade from generation to generation.

At the same time commerce and manufacturing had correspondingly increased in the West itself. The wool of England, the flax of France, the furs of the Baltic, heightened comfort and luxury alike, once they had passed through the hands of the weavers, the fur-dressers, and the merchants, especially those of the Low Countries, who acted as intermediaries for a great part of this traffic. The hides and tallow of the north, the fish that gave relief on fast-days to the appetite and conscience of the pious, added to this commerce. The timber, the oil, the ambergris and other products of a colder climate, found even more general demand throughout Europe than the costlier goods of the east. Century by century the caravans that made their way between farther Asia and the Levantine ports increased; and with them the fleets that plied between those ports and the busy cities of southern Europe, no less than the pack-trains which passed along the Rhône or across the Alps to the trading centers of the north. Markets and fairs grew in numbers and importance. Everywhere towns were established and flourished. The wealth of northern burgher and southern merchant prince multiplied in like proportion. A whole new world of commerce gradually took its place amid the feudal and ecclesiastical régime of the earlier middle ages, leavening its military and agricultural character with a new spirit. Before

Trade in
the West

the fifteenth century was half gone, it had made itself felt in almost every activity of life, among the upper and middle classes.

Commerce
and
culture

Foremost among its results was the intellectual progress which owed no small part of the stimulus it had experienced in the centuries preceding the fall of Constantinople to the increase in wealth and trade. Caravan and fleet and pack-train brought into all quarters of Europe ideas even more precious than the goods they bore; knowledge of the greater world and its affairs, of men and governments, of laws, religions, and learning far outside the pale of mediæval European thought. Under such influences the intellectual horizon had insensibly broadened. Problems arose whose solution was not to be found in the maxims drawn from feudal or ecclesiastical experience. A class of men was developed which was dependent not so much on the inter-relations of the old society as on its own skill and initiative, prepared to meet those problems rather by the use of reason than by appeal to authority. Less and less bound by the old ties and the old formulæ, that commercial element had grown rich and powerful enough, not merely to claim a certain measure of independence for itself, but to gain a hearing for its ideas in fields far outside its purely commercial sphere, in politics, in intellectual affairs, even in religion.

It was, then, no accident that in Italy, "the wharf of Europe," the land through which flowed the main current between East and West, a new educational force, the university, first appeared. There in the south the medical school of Salerno led the way. In the north, amid those thriving cities which had founded their fortunes in the traffic arising from the Crusades, and had taken part in the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, no less political than religious, which filled the later middle ages, there had arisen the law school of Bologna. The example thus set had been followed quickly in other communities within that same circle of influences. Thence it had spread throughout the continent. Paris, the home of theology and its great exponents, Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas, Prague and Oxford, with their off-

The Uni-
versities
c. 1050-75

shoots and followers, dotted Europe with those institutions which are the peculiar product of her intellectual genius.

For the most part the universities sprang from the cathedral schools, and they were not seldom dominated by the religious orders, which, like the Dominicans and Franciscans in particular, found in them at once a recruiting ground for their membership and a powerful reinforcement for their doctrines. They were the exponents of those scholastic principles which at once sharpened the intellect and sterilized it. But, from the days when they lent their great influence to the inauguration of a new era in European culture, to the present, they have, with all their failings, remained, on the whole, the most powerful single force making for the conservation, increase, and propagation of that knowledge upon which civilization must, in the long run, found itself. With them, education, though not for centuries emancipated from the church, at least emerged from the cloister.

And more: as no single department of ecclesiasticism had more powerfully affected every-day affairs of life than its judicial establishment, founded on canon law, so, of all the forces which the universities set in motion, none was more far-reaching or profound in its results than the erection, beside this canon law, of a civil code. This was based largely on that body of legislation compiled under the authority of the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian, in the sixth century. It was revived and revised at first largely by the jurists of Bologna; and it offered to the world a system of jurisprudence suited to its broadening needs, and relatively independent of church influence. Though it was to be long before ecclesiastical power over education and affairs was to be relaxed, perhaps no one non-theological force proved as great a solvent of ecclesiastical monopoly as that which enabled men to find professional careers outside of the church, and in this the establishment of civil law played an eminent part.

The study of law, which owed no small part of its inspiration and its initial importance to the service it was able to render to the imperial and local authorities of northern Italy in their conflict with the Papacy, was of scarcely less value

Canon and
civil law

Banking
and credit

to the business world. For in those same Italian cities there arose meanwhile, beside this new intellectual force, a system of banking and credit which likewise spread throughout Europe as far as the British Isles, where its memory is still preserved in the name of London's Lombard Street. There it came in touch with another and not dissimilar force set on foot by the northern burghers, who had been no less active than southern bankers and merchants. This was the Hanseatic League, that great confederation of trading towns, which, enlarging and protecting the interests of its members, extended its power into the remoter regions of the north and east as far as the distant centers of Bergen and Novgorod. Its treaties reached as far as Naples and Lisbon; its trading houses to half the cities of the continent, where, as in London, its once powerful emblem, the Steelyard, still perpetuates the memory of its vanished greatness. By such means as these, Europe, divided against itself politically almost to the point of impotence, had been gradually covered with a network of educational, financial, and commercial relations, as intimate as the bonds of the church itself, and even more far-reaching. And, even before the middle of the fifteenth century, these were making themselves felt in the renaissance of civilization throughout the continent, scarcely less than the literary movement which accompanied them.

Feudalism
and the
Church

Such were the chief forces which had begun to undermine the foundations of that form of social organization to which we give the name of mediæval, and to establish bases for a new edifice, long before it was apparent to the eyes of the men of the time that the old structure was being insensibly altered. For in the mid-fifteenth century the church was still the most powerful single influence in the European world. Its marvelous organization, which reached to every quarter of western Europe, was still intact. Its vast wealth, its almost complete control over men's thoughts and consciences, the intimate relation which it bore to their most sacred private affairs by means of the sacramental system from birth and baptism, through marriage and death to burial, its control of education and of a great part of legal

procedure, all this was still unimpaired, and gave it immeasurable strength. No less the feudal system, though it was beginning to face the rivalry of the national spirit as embodied in the kingships in the field of politics, remained as all-pervasive as the church itself and scarcely less powerful in the affairs of every-day life. It still limited the interplay of class with class and narrowed the avenues of advance in almost every field of secular activity, beside reinforcing the ecclesiastical influence in circumscribing intellectual achievement.

Yet the old and stately edifice of mediæval society had already suffered changes which, though as yet apparently inconsiderable, threatened the integrity of the whole system upon which the middle ages had based its life and thought. For the most part these changes were due to three forces which operate at nearly all times and in nearly every class of society. The first was the spirit of adventure, intellectual no less than physical, which impels men to seek new experiences, and, driven on by the desire to break the monotony of life, to brave the unknown for the sheer pleasure of the new sensations which it promises or affords. The second is the desire for greater comfort, which, in its higher form, we know as luxury, and, in its ultimate ranges, turns to the beauties of color and form and sound, in the domain of art and music, even in letters. The third is the innate rivalry between individuals and societies from which flows not merely physical conflict, but the stimulus to do or to have or to be something better and greater than the rest of the world. From such forces, with others less selfish—the devotion of those who seek rather the betterment of their fellows than their own advantage, whether as missionaries or reformers, or the single-hearted absorption of creative genius striving toward perfection—are derived the elements of progress; and all of these had long been tending toward a new order of affairs and thought.

The causes
of change

Among these varied forces there is at all times a certain activity; but the results which they achieve are not always wholly dependent on themselves. That common interest

Restric-
tions
of con-
formity

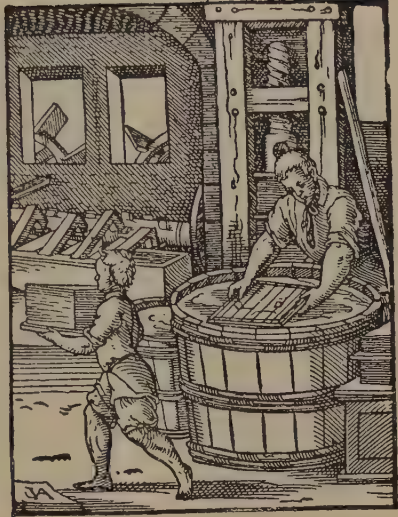
which may be called the organization of society, whether political, ecclesiastical, social, or economic, must be taken into account; and that organization is never wholly on the side of change. Too often it is wholly opposed to progress. During the period now coming to an end, conformity to a rigid system of faith and practice was the price of peace, even of mere existence, to the vast majority of men in western Europe. Submission to a scarcely less rigid political and social organization had been the price of opportunity to realize advance in any direction for those classes below the dead-line between the noble and the non-noble. And though, as the years went on, some bolder or more fortunate spirits had defied or evaded the one, and certain groups had managed to gain strength to secure terms from the other, there was as yet no open way for the talents, no unity in diversity, no general liberty of self-expression for all classes and individuals, which is the touchstone of the modern world. To achieve that was the first and most important step in the development of the race; and in one direction, the emancipation of the intellect, this had begun.

Printing

c. 1450

Finally to this movement science and mechanical invention lent their aid. In the very months when the Turks were preparing to push their conquering advance to its great success, Dutch and German artisans were engaged upon a new process of reproducing manuscripts by printing from movable types upon paper. That material had entered Europe from the Orient with the coming of the Arabs, and its manufacture and use had spread through the continent during the preceding century. Its peculiar adaptation to the new method of book-making combined with the use of press and types to revolutionize the world, marking an epoch in affairs more important even than the fall of Constantinople. For the first time it became possible to disseminate knowledge widely, quickly, and cheaply, since, "though the few had books before Gutenberg gave us our Art, not until Printing came could Learning, yes, and Wisdom also, knock at every man's door."

It is symbolic of the time that the earliest fragment



BOOK-MAKING.

From the wood-cuts of Jost Amman, 1562, illustrating type-founding and paper-making, printing and binding.



SIXTEENTH CENTURY CRAFTS.

After the wood-cuts of Jost Amman, 1562. Above the nail-maker and the weaver. Below the spectacles-maker and the clock-maker. Compare the weaver with the picture of 18th century weaving, vol. II, p. 348.

of this momentous innovation which we still possess is a Papal indulgence for those who volunteered to serve against the Turk. Most of all, perhaps, is it significant that the first book to which the new process was applied was the Bible. With the appearance of that volume, in such form that it was soon to become accessible to the masses of the laity, theology took on a new aspect; and it is scarcely too much to say that the breakdown of ecclesiastical monopoly dates from the moment when the principal source of its inspiration and its authority passed to other hands than its own.

Coincident with the spread of printing came other changes tending directly and indirectly to the same end. The first of these was the use of a new munition of war, gunpowder, then finding its way through Europe. It completed the removal of the inequality between the mounted knight in full armor and the half-armed foot-soldier, which, in the ultimate resolution of affairs, was to be a matter of scarcely less importance to social than to military development. At the same time it gave to Europeans an advantage over the peoples of the other continents which was to prove a decisive factor in the history of the world. The superiority which it brought them was enhanced meanwhile by improvements in the art of navigation. The compass and the astrolabe, the revival of scientific chart and map making, accompanied and stimulated in like proportion the conquest of the sea; and again enlarged the field upon which an increasing number of men were to play their part.

Gunpow-
der and
the com-
pass

Thus in every direction the intellect and enterprise of Europe were inspired and assisted to a degree unparalleled for a thousand years before. Those thousand years, as we have seen, had not been unfruitful. The Middle Ages had been constructive as well as destructive and without their achievements such a burst of energy as marked the new era would have been impossible, for even that could not have lifted Europe at one stroke from the civilization of the sixth century to that of the sixteenth. If the ancient culture had been overthrown, foundations had been laid for that of modern times. New forms of law and government and society had

been gradually evolved. Towns and cities had grown upon commerce and manufacturing, and vast stretches untouched by Roman influence had been civilized. The long conflict between Roman and Teutonic influences had fused those warring elements into a society whose organization and culture, though unlike that of the ancient world, was to develop into a system worthy to be set beside even the triumphs of Greece and Rome.

That mediæval culture had, indeed, begun to be exhausted by the time when Asia's last great blow against Europe made Constantinople an outpost of the East instead of a bulwark of the West. The age of the Crusades and the cathedrals was passing with that of feudalism and monasticism. The schoolmen and scholiasts were beginning to be replaced by the scholars. The new nations and the national kingships were beginning to make head against the mediæval polity, and amid the chaos which accompanies the transition from one period to another were seen not only the death-throes of the old but the birth-pangs of the new. It would be a false view of history which did not recognize the debt of the new to the old, and failed to appreciate the great inheritance of the past even in the triumphs of the Renaissance. But it would be no less false to conclude that the one was a mere development of the other, that without any fundamental change in its ideas and ideals the old merged gradually and inevitably into the new. For in this new development both evolution and revolution played their parts.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTELLECTUAL EXPANSION

THE RENAISSANCE. 1200-1500

I

NEITHER the rise of trade nor of the legal, financial, administrative, and educational activities which accompanied commercial expansion, much less the almost incessant wars amid which they went on, had exhausted European energies in the years between the Norman conquest of England and the fall of Constantinople. The increase of wealth and consequent leisure which permitted the acquisition and appreciation of things outside the necessities of life had its effect in fields far removed from counting-house and court; and, great as were the political changes which Europe was to experience during the century which midway of its career saw the old capital of the east pass from European hands, they yielded in importance to the extraordinary development of intellect and taste which, during that period, filled the continent with the inspiring fruits of its literature and its scholarship, and the beauty of its art. That movement has been well called the Renaissance, or re-birth, for from its activities proceeded no mere elaboration of mediæval forms and practices but a new world of thought and performance. The alterations in the content and the method of the mind, the revolution in artistic taste and craftsmanship, were important not merely because of their intellectual and æsthetic triumphs. They revealed the fact that Europeans were possessed of talents capable of the highest achievements, and were preparing to enter upon a new and greater stage of their development.

That movement was well on its way long before the fall of Constantinople and it was but natural that it had found its most conspicuous expression in Italy. No part of the continent was so intimately and so uninterruptedly bound up

The
Revival of
art and
learning

Italy and
the Ren-
aissance

with the achievements of the classical civilization upon whose influence the new activity so largely depended. There, on every hand, were to be seen the monuments of the ancient culture; there was to be found a tradition of learning which had never quite disappeared even in the darkest ages of the mediæval period. There the earliest centers of wealth with its consequent leisure and luxury had developed; the universities had first arisen; and the influences long gathering to destroy the older forms of thought and speech, of art and literature, had first begun to replace the standards of the middle ages with modes of life and expression more suited to the tastes and conditions of a society eager to create and enjoy a new experience of life.

Foreign
influence
on Italy

To this was added a long connection with the spiritual and intellectual processes and achievements of the east. Arab civilization had strongly influenced the southern half of the peninsula, where there had been founded the medical school of Salerno, first of European universities. It had profoundly affected that brilliant court of the Emperor Frederick II, which in the thirteenth century was at once the wonder and the scandal of orthodox Christendom. Besides this, Byzantium, with its carefully cherished traditions of the classical world, had for generations reflected to Italian eyes something of that luster of scholarship which had been somehow maintained through the vicissitudes of the Eastern Empire's disturbed political history. Moreover, into her complex society Italy had infused a Teutonic element. In the preceding centuries she had been a part of the Holy Roman Empire, and thousands of German immigrants, drawn by politics or commerce, had poured into the northern part of the peninsula. Thus, from every direction, she was open to the pervasive influences of a widely varied culture, which revealed itself not only in her receptiveness to new ideas but in the tastes and capabilities for the refinements of life, which surpassed those of any other quarter of the continent.

Political
situation
of Italy

That receptiveness had been no unmixed blessing, for it had proved the bane of her political history. At all times after the collapse of the Roman Empire, Italy had been the

prize of successive invaders. The Teutonic conquerors who had early founded Gothic and Lombard kingdoms there, the Franks, and later the German Emperors, had in turn dominated the peninsula. To this was joined the rivalry of the Italian states among themselves, the ambitions of the nobility, and that instability which made the people of the peninsula ready at all times to invite the foreign conqueror to aid one party or another against its opponent. The migrations had long since ceased. The strife of imperialist and anti-imperialist, of Guelph and Ghibelline, which vexed the middle ages, was passing; but as the fifteenth century came on it was transformed into the rivalry of the national states and dynasties as the houses of Aragon and Capet took up the contest for Italian supremacy.

Thus it was not in politics that Italy was to become the leader of the continent, nor was it in the south where this new rivalry was first felt that there now sprang up the impulse which was to revolutionize Europe. It was rather among the peoples of northern Italy that there had begun to emerge a culture which for a time made her the intellectual and artistic mistress of the European world. There a Papacy, relieved at the beginning of the fifteenth century from the exile and schism which had weakened its authority and endangered its supremacy for more than a hundred years, had begun to devote itself to establishing the temporal power of the so-called Papal States; and at the same time, to re-establishing the dominance of Rome over the intellect as well as the faith of the continent. There Venice and Genoa, though maintaining a losing conflict with the Turk, still kept a great part of their commercial strength, and the ability which had achieved it. There, above all, as the fifteenth century proceeded, the city states, like Siena, Florence, Pisa, and their followers, entered on a new era of their chequered history.

This was the Age of the Tyrants. To the long struggle of the factions for and against the domination of Germany, which had filled a great part of the middle ages, to the infinite quarrels of the nobility and the antagonisms of the various elements within these little organisms. there suc-

The Age
of the
Tyrants

c. 1450-
1500

ceeded a race of rulers and a polity which contributed, however unconsciously, to the rise of non-political, non-religious, and non-commercial interests. In Milan the house of Sforza replaced the Visconti as rulers of the state; in Siena, Petrucci rose to the head of the commune; in Modena the family of Este, in Florence that of the Medici, transmuted financial into political supremacy; while Venice and Genoa retained their oligarchies, drawn from the ranks of their leading citizens. In each place popular assent was given to absolute rulers or assumed by them. The nobles were virtually deprived of that ascendancy which brought the worst evils of feudalism upon other states, and tended to find in other fields the careers denied to them in politics. Thus the commercial centers, relieved of the unintellectual atmosphere of the feudal régime, became, with all their faults, the artistic and intellectual, as they had long been the financial, capitals of the continent.

The
Classicists

To their inhabitants the mere accumulation of greater wealth seemed not the end of human achievement, nor mere physical comfort its chief purpose. For more than a century before the fall of Constantinople their thoughts had turned to other means of satisfying their desires for a fuller existence than that afforded by commerce or politics. This took the form of art and scholarship. The slowly rising interest in the remains of the classical civilization which lay about them had early led to the collection and preservation of its more beautiful and interesting relics which escaped the greed of barbarians, the fanaticism of bigots, and the ignorant destruction of those who burned the treasures of Greek and Roman stonework for lime. Classicists like Petrarch, collectors like the great Florentine virtuoso, Niccolo de' Niccoli, scholars like Aurispa who brought from his studies in Constantinople hundreds of Greek manuscripts, contributed to this movement. Princes like the Medici, nobles and merchants, had adorned the palaces which their wealth and taste had raised in every little capital, with these relics of the past. The energies of the learned men whose services the universities had attracted and to whose abilities they

1304-74

offered a career, worked to the same end. The influence of individuals like Dante and Petrarch, bred in the classical tradition rather than in that of the church, reinforced by Byzantine scholars who found their way to Italy in person or through their students, built up a body of men skilled in the learning and culture of the classical world. From its inspiration, and from the stimulus of a reviving intellectual activity, they had begun to develop not only a new tongue and new forms of literary expression but new conceptions and ideals of life and letters alike.

Nor was this all. At the same time with wealth had come that emulation in comfort and luxury which lies at the root of a great part of progress. Riches had produced not merely the prince but the patron. First in architecture, then in the lesser arts and crafts, there had arisen a body of artists and artisans unequaled in Europe to supply the demands of improving tastes and standards of life. From their hands had flowed a stream of achievement which adorned every city of northern Italy with churches and palaces and public buildings that remain the admiration of the European world. There Giotto, in the preceding century, had laid the foundations of a new school of painting, and designed the Campanile or Lily Tower of Florence, whose plan and decorations touched the high-water mark of Italian Gothic architecture. There Pisa's cathedral and her leaning tower; Venice with its palaces and its church of St. Mark; Milan with its Duomo; Bologna with its bell-tower; Genoa, Siena, and a score of lesser towns witnessed at once the wealth and taste of a society unmatched in Europe. These, transforming Gothic into Renaissance architecture, became the models for the continent.

Art and
architec-
ture

1267-1337

The genius which produced them had sought triumphs in other and allied fields. The bronze gates of the Florentine baptistery, "worthy to be the gates of Paradise," were but the greatest of the magnificent works which came from the hands of the painter-sculptor-goldsmith, Ghiberti. The Pitti palace in Florence and the church of Santa Maria del Fiore witnessed at the same time the talents of Brunelleschi; and the marvelous statues of Donatello revealed the inspiration

1378-1455

1386-1466

of classical models and gave new impetus to this reviving art.

The
northern
Renaissance

Such were a few of the great names which lend luster to the first half of the fifteenth century of Italian architecture and sculpture. But that extraordinary burst of artistic genius was by no means confined to Italy nor to the working of stone and bronze. Throughout northern Europe the same devotion to the Gothic forms had been evidenced by such widely differing examples of that graceful school as the splendid tower of Magdalen College in Oxford and the chapel of Vincennes, which owe their origin to this same period. Yet even in these there lay the evidences of oncoming change. For though the last years of the long reign of Gothic architecture saw the erection of some of the noblest and most beautiful of its conceptions, in England its so-called Perpendicular form was passing into more florid types, and in France the Flamboyant school had already arisen. The over-elaboration which is the sure mark of decadence had begun, and as Gothic had succeeded Romanesque five centuries earlier, it began to give way, in its turn, to the Renaissance types which foreshadowed another age.

Mediæval
painting

At the same time that building and the plastic arts thus adorned Europe, painting improved, and in even greater degree. Beautiful as many of the mediæval products had been, mural decoration and the making of pictures had remained far inferior to the classical achievements in that field, and incomparably poorer than the work of the mediæval architects. The illumination of missals and manuscripts, with all their wealth of color, the exquisite skill of their lettering, the graceful basket-work designs of the Celtic school, the splendor of Lombard and French monkish imagination, lavished upon their decoration, had fallen far short of such painting as the Greeks and Romans had known. The reason is not far to seek. With all the pains and devotion of the monkish artists, their most elaborate figures were lifeless, their most carefully drawn landscapes were flat. And, apart from these miniatures, and the Romanesque designs which adorned the churches built in the later years of that period,

the middle ages had known little or nothing of the painter's art.

But as the fourteenth century merged into the fifteenth, there came a change. In half a score of centers, almost simultaneously, there sprang up a race of painters intent upon producing on larger scale and in more lifelike forms the faces and figures of the saints and angels which peopled their imagination. To this, undoubtedly, the improvement of weaving and the manufacture of smooth and permanent plaster surfaces contributed, as well as the introduction of new pigments and the discovery of methods of producing and blending color on a larger scale. Equipped with these facilities the talents of the Renaissance artists began to challenge the triumphs of Zeuxis and Apelles.

Early
Renaissance art

The earlier groups which arose in such widely separated districts as northern Italy and the Flemish Netherlands, Spain, and Germany, were, indeed, crude enough in their conceptions and execution, differing only from the mediæval predecessors in their larger scope and more varied coloring, with whatever originality of subject and grouping their new materials permitted. But as the fourteenth century went on, artistic production increased with the improvement of technique, and the demand for such work. From Bologna painting spread through Lombardy and the adjoining states till nearly every north Italian city, from Milan to Ferrara, boasted its "school" of pictorial representation, while from Naples to the Dutch Netherlands men seized upon this new means of expression, dotting the continent with studios, whence a new stream of art flowed into European life.

It was inevitable that the increasing attention to work in line and color should improve technique, and as the fifteenth century came on that improvement grew more and more marked. If one compares the monkish art with that to which the modern world has become accustomed he will perceive that, apart from the problems of color, three great changes have taken place in painting. The one is accurate drawing, the second is what we call perspective, the third is the handling of light and shade, so-called *chiaroscuro*, or the art of

The artists
of the
fifteenth
century
"the
cinque-
cento"

shadows. In no small degree it was the province of the painters of the fifteenth century to introduce these elements into pictorial representation. Their efforts in this direction, like their experiments in color, were strikingly unequal and by no means always successful. There is not one who combines in his work a skill in all of these fields approaching the perfection of their followers. But they began the solution of those problems which another generation carried to success.

They did more. By the achievements of Masaccio, the great pioneer of the "modern manner," painting was raised to a new level. From the plastic art he borrowed the treatment of drapery, from nature itself the "sense of aerial space and landscape, so that his figures stand in a world prepared for them." At the hands of Fra Lippo Lippi and his more famous pupil, Botticelli, another element made its way through the medium of an increasing group of artists in which the names of Bellini, Mantegna, and Perugino were, after those of its leaders, the most eminent. Lacking somewhat of the technical perfection to which their successors accustomed the European eye, their delicate refinement of conception and tone, the poetical element they infused into religious art, their simplicity and tenderness, above all the humanity of their creations, brought about a revolution in spirit and aims of still greater importance to the future of painting than even the advance in technique which they were able to make. With them came the end of the flat decorative formalism, the lifelessness of monastic art. And, reinforced by the achievements of the sculptors and goldsmiths, the terra-cottas and enamels of plastic artists, who, like the della Robbias, found a new medium of expression in these materials, art became at once more decorative and more akin to life.

The patronage of such men was by no means confined to any class. The nobles and merchant princes, indeed, were quick to appreciate the intellectual stimulus of the revival of antique masterpieces. But from the first the new art and the new learning found no stronger supporters than some of the highest dignitaries of the church. These, spiritual officials in name, but in fact rather Italian noblemen, with the

1444-1510

1400-1525

The patrons and collectors

tastes and standards of their class, had found in the church an outlet for those talents which in their ancestors' hands had ruled the world in temporal as they now directed the destinies of half Europe in spiritual affairs. They had not confined their patronage to the collection of antiques, the search for objects of art, inscriptions, manuscripts, and the myriad relics of a long neglected past. They embraced with scarcely less eagerness the achievements of the new race of artists; while their encouragement gave fresh impetus to the cultivation of these refinements and enlisted them in the service of the establishment.

But this was not the whole of this great movement to which we give the name of the Renaissance, nor were its efforts and effects confined to Italy and the east. While the artists reached new heights of excellence, the men of letters and learning had increased with equal pace. One by one the barriers which had separated Europe from her past broke down before them, as the collection and study of classical remains developed from mere dilettantism into the serious business of life for many men. And while the artists and architects, sculptors and workers in metal brought new elements of beauty into European life, a new race of antiquarians provided the continent with an invaluable foundation for intellectual advance. Among them one figure may be taken as the type of the whole.

This was Poggio Bracciolini, a secretary of the Roman curia, who about the year 1414 was sent to Constance on a Papal mission in connection with the church council then attempting to determine the great schism which had so long divided Roman Catholicism against itself. Trained in Greek and Latin by the most eminent scholars of his day, his talents as a copyist, his tastes and abilities which brought him in touch with men of like mind in Italy, turned his attention to the possibility of recovering classical manuscripts from their hiding-places in western Europe. To the pursuit of these, buried and forgotten, even where they were preserved in monastic libraries, he devoted his talents, his fortune, and his life. From Constance he explored the monas-

Poggio
Bracciolini

teries of Switzerland and the adjacent lands. St. Gall yielded Quintilian's treatise on oratory; Langres, Cicero's oration on Cæcina, and from other sources came much more material to illuminate the life of the great Roman advocate.

The discovery of classical manuscripts

To these were joined works in far different fields which fell to the share of this industrious and fortunate collector. Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, Firmicus' *Mathematica*, the histories of Tacitus, Livy, Ammianus Marcellinus, the poems of Silius Italicus, the architectural writings of Vitruvius, the agricultural treatises of Columella, among many others, became the fruits of his explorations. Nor was he alone. While he was busy resurrecting the letters and learning of the Roman world from the libraries and storehouses of French and German monasteries, others were ransacking Constantinople for Greek manuscripts, whose collection became one of the great activities of literary fashion. From these sources manuscripts poured into western Europe by hundreds, and even thousands, there to be copied, edited, and finally printed. Through their correspondents the commercial magnates sought such material no less eagerly than the more usual materials of trade. Private individuals employed collectors, and there emerged a new profession, that of collecting, buying, selling, and copying these masterpieces. Through such hands passed the priceless treasures of antiquity. To Niccolo de' Niccoli the scholar Aurispa brought Sophocles and the Laurentian manuscript of Æschylus. In the collection of Filelfo were numbered most of the Greek poets, the historians from Herodotus to Polybius, the writings of Aristotle, the orations of Demosthenes, Æschines, and Lysias.

The libraries

It was no wonder that with these accessions to the knowledge of Europe, intellectual processes took on new life. For their inspiration was not confined to their immediate possessors. Copyists spread reproductions of them through many hands; and, above all, there were founded libraries throughout Italy. First at Venice, then under the Medici at Florence were founded great collections; the Vatican began to

interest itself in the enlargement of its store of manuscripts; and individuals, like the learned Duke Federigo of Urbino and Cardinal Bessarion, contributed their time and fortunes to the great cause of bringing together and preserving the intellectual treasure of the classical world. With this was opened to European eyes the long vista of the past and new ways to be explored. Every year revealed new treasures to men weary of the narrow round of theological disputation, impatient of its barrenness, and eager for new information and new ideas.

As a result there came into existence not merely a new race of scholars and new professions. Education was slowly revolutionized as Greek again took its place in the intellectual equipment of Europe, invigorated by its philosophy, learning and literature. And when, almost simultaneously, the fall of Constantinople and the invention of printing altered the political and intellectual situation of the continent, the Renaissance received a new impulse. Greek scholars, fleeing before the Turks, brought with them into Italy, and even into northern Europe, not only manuscripts but a scholarship superior to that of the west. The art of printing, early introduced into Italy by the Germans, was there greatly improved, and found at once in this field of classical scholarship ample scope for its activities. It was enormously stimulated by the capture and sack of Mainz by Adolf of Nassau in 1462. That event,—comparable to the capture of Constantinople,—scattered printing and printers throughout Europe, and so gave new impetus to printing and scholarship alike. For it provided everywhere that “circulating medium of culture” which was so supremely essential to the diffusion of the new learning and humanism generally. From the young presses flowed a steady stream of volumes, which, edited by the rising scholarship of the continent, at once put into European hands the inspiration of the ancient world and secured for it a permanence and an audience impossible to the age of copyists.

Such was the humanism, or New Learning, which during the fifteenth century found its way through the continent

The
spread of
printing

The New
Learning
and the
academies

by the activities of the scholars. It was, indeed, not long confined to Italy. Across the Alps the scholars of France and Germany, England and the Netherlands, eagerly embraced the same cause, while even some nobles followed the example of their Italian contemporaries, and, like Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who enriched Oxford with its first great library, turned at least a part of their talents and their wealth to the service of civilization. That cause, meanwhile, found expression and support in a new form of organization which was to culture what universities had long been to education. This was the academy, a voluntary association of men devoting their time, energy, and wealth to the pursuit and publication of scholarly, literary, and, finally, scientific productions. Founded on ancient models, like those of Plato and Socrates, and beginning in a variety of forms during the two preceding centuries, this movement now crystallized in northern Italy. Thence it spread slowly through the European world until scarcely a nation or a city of consequence lacked an institution of this sort. And these, throwing "little specks of light on the still ocean of the past," encouraged by their existence and their patronage the extension and preservation of all forms of intellectual activity and so became a powerful factor in the life and progress of the European peoples.

Florence
and the
Platonic
Academy

1433-99

In this great development, as in art, Florence had from the beginning taken a leading part, and with the accession of the banking family of Medici to the headship of the state, especially with the reign of Lorenzo, called the Magnificent, that city became for the time the intellectual capital of Europe. There was situated the earliest and most powerful of these societies, the so-called Platonic Academy, founded by Cosimo de' Medici, and strengthened by Lorenzo. To it was summoned the scholar Ficino as president, high-priest or "hierophant" of the Platonic cult, which now stood forth to challenge the long supremacy of Aristotle. With the translation of Plato began an era in the intellectual development of Europe, which set the great humanist's idealistic, imaginative, æsthetic, eclectic ideas in opposition to the dogmatic,

material, logical system of his antagonist. It is not too much to say that with the introduction of Platonism into European thought there began a revolution of no less consequence than that presently effected by the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the worlds beyond. From this academy other elements found their way into the method and content of human thought. Politian strove to revive the golden age of classical literature, and in his hands the neo-Latin movement gained fresh beauty and strength. Midway between the new learning and the old orthodoxy, Pico della Mirandola sought in the Hebrew Kabbalah the source and proof of Christian mysteries, and from his union of scholarship and theology gave a powerful impulse to a school of inquiry which applied historical and critical methods to the foundations of dogma. And from a hundred hands there came editions of classical texts, notes, criticisms, imitations, comment and literature which revolutionized both the processes and the substance of European thought.

Under such influences the renaissance of art took on fresh life. The educational system which had dominated the middle ages with its formalized trivium and quadrivium—grammar, logic, and rhetoric; arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—which, with law, medicine, and the all-powerful study of theology, made up the training of the mediæval mind, was at once enlarged and liberalized. Literature felt a like impulse and pressed farther along the ways already pointed out by the pioneers in prose and poetry of the preceding century. The new learning was not without its practical effect in many fields. Already, under the patronage of Alfonso of Naples, then in conflict with the Papacy, Valla had applied historical criticism to the documents upon which the church founded its claims to temporal sovereignty, and had proved that the so-called Donation of Constantine, which had long been accepted as a title-deed to its possessions, was a forgery.

Meanwhile, as classical models were again set before Europe, there came an alteration in taste which profoundly affected almost every department of life and thought. It

1454-94

1463-94

1406-57

Æneas
Sylvius

1458

made its way into affairs and among its results none was more striking than the change in the type of men and minds which came into those high places not reserved for those merely born to greatness. Five years after the fall of Constantinople there came to the Papal throne Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. His very name echoed the now dominating classical impulse. He had grown rich by discovering alum mines in the Papal territories; assumed the cross for a crusade against the Turks; and gained literary eminence by such diverse works as a history of Bohemia, a life of Frederick III, geographical treatises, erotic poems, and theological tracts. The advent to the Papacy of the first writer who "consciously applied a scientific conception of history to the explanation and arrangement of passing events," marks a new stage of intellectual development; and no circumstance could have been more significant of the change in values which was coming over the European mind than the elevation of such a character to the headship of the church.

The
northern
Renaissance
and
literature

1445-1511

But Italy was not alone in her glory, nor unique in her devotion to art and literature in this period of the budding Renaissance. Across the Alps the poet-thief, Villon, brought to still greater perfection those types of formal versification, the villanelle, chant royal, ballade and rondeau which took their place beside the Italian sonnet as poetical models,

"When song, new-born, put off the old world's attire
And felt its tune on her changed lips expire."

? 1380-1471

Working through the same medium, the new French, the historian Comines took up the burden of Froissart and Monstrelet in chronicling the last exploits of a fading chivalry. In Germany the Meistersinger, last of the troubadours, first of the modern poets, held their picturesque contests. In England Malory revived the legends of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. And, noblest expression of the best side of Latin Christianity, the *Imitation of Christ*, a manual and exhortation to the Christian life, from the hand of an humble Rhenish monk, Thomas à Kempis, began its long career of comforting the weary heart of man. Than such works as these, nothing could have been more significant

of the transition from old to new. They were the products of an age which looked back to an era of knightly adventure and monastic self-sacrifice, even while it prepared a period of literary, artistic, and scientific achievement which actively, if unconsciously, undermined the foundations of a past already entering the realm of the imagination.

To these forces was added another element, the progress of a reforming spirit within the church. In the very days and place that saw the rulers of the ecclesiastical establishment strain every nerve to re-invigorate their temporal sovereignty, and the leaders of the intellectual revival turn from church and morality alike, was heard the voice of Girolamo Savonarola, the monk of Florence, thundering against the vice and folly of church and world in tones prophetic of approaching revolution. That warning was little heeded, and not for a quarter of a century was the protest thus voiced to become a part of the great movement then making for the regeneration of the continent. For the time being Europe seemed content with the absorbing pursuits which her political activities and the renaissance of art and learning and literature had made possible. But amid the multifarious concerns with which her people busied themselves in the last half of the fifteenth century, the spirit which he voiced made its unnoticed way, preparing to play its part in the next act of the European drama.

In one direction the Renaissance fell short—the development of a philosophy to combat the dogmatism of the church. Its indirect effect was, indeed, great, but had it taken classical thought more seriously, it might have developed some more practicable method of combating authority, which like rationalism in later centuries would have enabled its followers to advance beyond dogma and revelation to a more reasonable if not a more logical attitude toward life, its meanings and its problems. That opportunity it missed, and meanwhile, more pressing, and, it seemed, more practical concerns demanded immediate attention.

Had the Renaissance been confined to art and letters, or to classical scholarship, it might have proved as barren of

Savonarola

1452-98

permanent advantage as the influences which gave it birth. Without some more substantial element, some power to connect this burst of energy with every-day affairs, it might have spent itself in dreary dilettante patronage of barren intellect, with all the petty shibboleths and incapacity which accompany mere appreciation. It might well have degenerated into like courses which had led men into the deserts of scholasticism, had it not been preserved by two influences. The one was the tendency of the new literature to dissociate itself from ecclesiastical authority and to relate itself to the world about it rather than to the abstractions of either pure intellect or theology. The other was the advance of scientific knowledge, which, in like fashion, diverted men's attention from the insoluble questions of the infinite and the absolute to the more tangible problems of mundane affairs.

The
Revival
of the
sciences,
arts, and
crafts

If mediæval Europe had suffered much from the destruction of the settled system of society, and the interruption or diversion of intellectual processes into ways as barren of result as classical science, she had suffered scarcely less from the loss of that practical knowledge upon which the material fabric of the ancient world rested. With the revival of learning she began to recover not merely the thought but the usage of the older civilization. Among the literary remains uncovered by the archæological revival were treatises on war and navigation, building and gardens, astronomy, mathematics, and a score of no less substantial affairs, which contributed, if not to the thought, at least to the practice of the oncoming generations. That information, added to the hard-won knowledge of experience, helped to set Europe on new paths of activity at the same moment that her scholars introduced a new philosophy of life, her men of letters and her artists put before her new achievements and ideals, and her adventurers led the way to new lands.

Mathe-
matics

One of the earliest and greatest symptoms of this progress along practical and scientific lines was the revolution in mathematics. The early middle ages, characteristically, had preserved and taught the propositions of Euclid, but not his proofs; its arithmetical calculations had found their highest

expression in the abacus. Its elementary knowledge of geometry had been confined, where it was preserved at all, to the purposes of the surveyor and the architect, or to the less useful services of the astrologer. But with the insistent demands of the new navigation and the concurrent discovery of classical manuscripts, there came a change. Little by little the knowledge of Greece and Rome was added to that derived from experience and drawn from Arab sources. And, what was more important still, mathematics came into the hands of scholars and was infused with that spirit of investigation which ensured its development.

Its principal exponents were found in Germany. The great work of Purbach in Vienna brought to the attention of European scientists—as these men came gradually to be known—the contribution of Ptolemy who had summed up the ancient knowledge of the earth and heavens. But long before Purbach the renaissance of mathematics and astronomy had begun. The so-called *Almagest*, which the Arabs had translated from the Alexandrian geographer's writings, was brought within the widening circle of general European intellectual achievement as early as the twelfth century; and the long eclipsed science of trigonometry, of such incalculable value to geography and navigation, was rescued and revived.

The Viennese astronomer but summed up the labors of his predecessors. To him succeeded, among others of less note, his pupil Johann Müller, better known by his assumed name of Regiomontanus, sometime a student in Italy, finally a citizen of Nuremberg. There, with his associate, Walther, a rich merchant, he published books and constructed astronomical instruments, by which it became possible to correct those Arabian calculations, the so-called Alphonsine tables, which since the thirteenth century had formed the basis of European study of the heavens. In such hands map-making was revived as the pursuit of learned men, the science of geography was revolutionized with that of astronomy. New methods of measuring time, tables of declination, catalogues of stars, took their place in Europe's rapidly developing intellectual resources.

Purbach

Regiomontanus

1436-76

Spread of
printing

As secular, and, in particular, scientific, learning thus paralleled the progress of classical scholarship, art, and literature, it was reinforced no less by printing. For the first time it was possible not only to record the results of such labors in books whose very number ensured their permanence, but to make this work available to many widely separated workers in the same field, so that its fruits were quickly spread throughout the continent and progress thus made more rapid and secure.

Geography

How great a service was thus rendered was soon apparent. The Bible was, naturally, the first book to fall from the press, and printing lent its powerful aid to classics and theology. From the Italian publishing houses poured a stream of volumes drawn from the masterpieces collected by the archæologists and edited by the scholars, who, like the printers, were so largely indebted to the academies for their support. But it was not long before the interest in geography produced a literature of surprising magnitude in that field. Among the earliest books which came from the press were Pomponius Mela's cosmography, *De Situ Orbis*, and Ptolemy's great work, the *Geographia*, of which not less than three editions appeared within a little more than a decade. In the same years Marco Polo's *Travels* delighted European readers; and not long thereafter the prototype of all lying travelers' tales, the book of Sir John Mandeville, saw the light of print. Finally d'Ailly's work, the last desperate attempt of the old school to harmonize the mediæval doctrines with the new astronomy, marked the end of the long controversy between dogmatic theory and revealed fact, as Europe turned definitely toward a modern cosmogony.

One may well question whether, with all the stimulus of putting the Bible and the schools of ancient thought within the reach of every reader on the continent, the effect of these scientific works was not fully as great a factor in the intellectual advance as even scriptural and classical scholarship. In this field of print all the new intellectual movements found common ground, and printing became the universal bond among the peoples of western Europe at the same mo-

ment that the church began to lose something of its once unique position as the meeting place of all nations. Everywhere learned and even merely curious men, German geographers, Italian scholars, merchants of all lands, nobles and clergy and laity, turned their attention to new fields of human endeavor. Learning and secular literature, for the first time in a millennium, found themselves on an equality with the utterances of the theologians, and the layman began to play a part in the intellectual life of the continent.

This was the more important because of the gradual rise of that class to greater place in European society and economy during the preceding centuries. The development of organizations of merchants like the Hanseatic League and the Merchants of the Staple was not the only evidence of the progress of the non-noble elements throughout the continent. No less important and scarcely less powerful were the associations of craftsmen which owed their origin to the same period; and even more significant than the rise of the traders was the development of the manufacturing classes in whose wares they dealt.

The
Industrial
transition

That development was almost wholly the product of the towns. The feudal estates, as has been said, were, for the most part, possessed of artisans whose rude skill, supplemented by the households which were scarcely less self-contained, sufficed for the simple demands of their relatively primitive society. The towns early developed greater skill and larger production. There the early stages of manufacturing, chiefly in weaving and metal-work, took the form of the so-called handicraft system, by which the workers, largely in their own homes, carried on the labors of their crafts—spinning and weaving, leather-dressing and working, the manufacture of weapons and armor, wood and iron working, gold and silversmithing, and the like.

The
handicraft
system

One of the earliest developments was the gradual alteration from the industrial methods of the middle ages which made production of the finished article the test of craftsmanship, to the substitution of process for product. To the household industry which had raised, spun, woven, and dyed cloth,

succeeded the handicrafts which made each process the basis of its existence. To the crude smithy succeeded the more highly specialized crafts which wrought the iron, turned it into steel, and from it produced the blades, the scabbards, even the handles separately; and tempered, finished, and polished the weapons by different hands and trades.

The Guilds

Upon these there was developed during the later middle ages that form of distributing organization, at once mercantile and social, known as the guild. It was intended to ensure justice and equal opportunity to its members, to limit and standardize production, and maintain prices and quality. From that it was but one step to monopoly, which became the characteristic feature of most manufacturing and commercial activity for the ensuing centuries, as against the efforts of individuals to excel, or even to introduce new methods. By the fifteenth century that struggle was already in evidence; and beside the efforts of men to emancipate themselves from the domination of church and feudal monopoly may well be set the attempt of those unrecognized individuals to break through the privileges of organized labor and capital and emancipate industry.

To this, by the middle of the fifteenth century had been added a powerful tendency toward the emergence of a class midway between the producer and the mere merchant, the middleman, or *entrepreneur*, from whom, indeed, a considerable element in the so-called merchant class was developed, as in later years the banker was evolved from the goldsmith. Generally speaking, this promoter was the product of the so-called "putting-out" system, under which the merchant-manufacturer gathered the raw material, distributed it among the workers, and disposed of the product. This arrangement, not unconnected with the guilds, developed gradually, and under opposition from many directions slowly made way until it became a powerful factor in that part of industry which was related to commerce.

It was closely connected with another element which marks one of the principal distinctions between mediæval and modern activities in this field,—the problem of the market,

upon which depended in no small degree the development of industry. That market was limited, in earlier times, by the political chaos of the continent, no less than by the difficulties of transportation; and it was not until the establishment of settled peace over wider areas and the increasing mobility of men and goods that there came any great improvement in the volume of commerce. It was still necessary to have some more powerful body to protect trade, nor was it possible for a century more to dispense with the security of the great mercantile organizations, as political organizations took up the work. As yet, outside of these mercantile associations, trade was largely limited to relatively local areas, and organization followed the lines laid down by the market. It was already possible for individuals like the first of the Gobelins to establish great dye-works and make a fortune from his product. It was already possible for others like the first of the Fuggers to become a master-weaver, head of the guild, virtual monopolist of the region in which he lived, and even turn banker. But in the main, industry, like every other form of organization, maintained those restrictive characteristics which it had inherited. And in the beginnings of opposition to them, as in the development of new processes, and new forms of production and marketing, lay the seed of an industrial revolution which was to be no less important to the expansion of Europe than the intellectual and spiritual development by which it was accompanied.

The middle classes, to whom these great extensions of human capabilities were chiefly due, were correspondingly benefited. Every new invention opened up new means of livelihood, not merely to those whose occupations were destroyed but to thousands of others. For, with the widening of the intellectual horizon, fresh fields of activity presented themselves on every hand for the energies of those who at once created and enjoyed the new basis of life. With such impulses the beginnings of a modern world came into evidence, and another generation was to see many of their promises fulfilled.

The Renaissance, as this great movement was to be known,

The Renaissance and the middle classes

had dawned; and its first beams had begun to illuminate the Europe of the fourteenth century with the light of the New Learning, whose "humanism," as it was called, now challenged the long rule of scholasticism. At the same moment politics, commerce, even religion, or, more properly, theology and ecclesiasticism, showed signs of an impending change. "The general capacity for liberal culture, restored to the world, became a part of the higher life of the race." Coming upon a people seeking new solutions for the problems of existence, no less in their private than in their public concerns, the example of the ancient world offered at once a new basis of knowledge and new methods of approach, spiritual and material.

II

The
revival of
geography

In this development one phase of knowledge soon rivaled classical scholarship; perhaps, in certain directions, even surpassed it in interest and importance. This was geography. It seldom happens in any age of the world that even a considerable minority of men, much less a majority, allow the claims of the past, however powerful, to outweigh the more pressing demands of the present or the promise of the future. Nor was this period of the so-called Renaissance, which was rising to its zenith during the fifteenth century, an exception to the rule. It was inevitable that, whatever the changes produced by a reviving interest in the past, men should desire to know not merely what had gone before but what lay about them; that, with the undoubted charm and importance of art, letters, and philosophy, men should be still more absorbed in the practical affairs of every day. No circumstance was more typical of the transition from the old to the new, therefore, than the advances made in the geographical sciences between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century.

Ancient
knowledge
of the
world

Before this time the most extensive knowledge of the world possessed by Europeans had been attained under the Roman Empire. Summarized first by Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, and a hundred and fifty years later by the greatest of the ancient geographers, Claudius Ptolemy of



Ptolemy's Map of the World, re-drawn from C. Müller's edition, 1883-1906.

This map, drawn by Claudius Ptolemaeus in the second century A.D., became the basis of cartography when it revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (See Ptolemy, 1540 map, p. 73.) It will be noted that it includes only the "known world," omitting the Pacific Ocean, the western hemisphere, and a great part of the Atlantic. The error consists in the elongation of the degree and measuring eastward from the Fortunate Isles (Insula Beatorum), thus greatly increasing the European-Asiatic land-mass and correspondingly diminishing the size of the unknown world.

Alexandria, in the most famous of ancient maps, that knowledge was, of course, by no means perfect. It was naturally most accurate in the regions of the Mediterranean, the Red and the Black Seas; while the northern coasts of Europe were practically uncharted, and even the British Isles were distorted almost beyond recognition. Ptolemy's detailed knowledge of what was known as the "Inhabited World" was, in general, limited on the south by the Soudan and the upper Nile, which had been reached by the Romans; and on the east by the Jaxartes, which had been reached by Alexander. Beyond these he had some notion of more distant points; the Fortunate Isles on the west, whence he calculated his longitude eastward; the Mountains of the Moon on the south; the Pamirs; and even Serica, the land of silk, Sinæ, Thinæ, or China on the east. The three southern peninsulas of Asia were indicated on his map. But other and earlier charts, based on the voyages of Greek merchants—the so-called *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, and the account of the geographer Marinus in particular, which were apparently unknown to Ptolemy,—reveal a greater knowledge of these regions than that evidenced by him as it has come down to us. Finally, through an error, long discouraging to navigators, the great geographer connected Africa and eastern Asia by an "unknown southern land," which converted the Indian Ocean into an inland sea, like the Mediterranean, and rendered a seaway to the East apparently impossible.

Mediæval
knowledge
of the
world

With all its faults, the geographical knowledge of the ancients was far from contemptible; but perhaps no branch of human enlightenment was more affected by the dissolution of Greek and Roman civilization. The shock of the barbarian invasions suddenly and violently contracted both the desire and the necessity for such knowledge. The Ptolemaic tradition was in large part neglected, distorted or forgotten. When it was revived, one great improvement and two great errors made by Ptolemy were revived with it, and, as sometimes happens, the errors proved more valuable than the accuracies. The Alexandrine geographer had devised a system of measuring latitude and longitude, in itself ingenious

and useful; but, basing his calculations on insufficient knowledge, he had made the degree too long, and the circumference of the earth, in consequence, too small. Reckoning from the undetermined position of the Fortunate Isles eastward only, the apparent distance between western Europe and eastern Asia was thus greatly shortened, and men of later times were tempted to a voyage which otherwise might have seemed impossible. Long after his conception of a land connecting Africa and Asia was shown to be false, the tradition of a



The Hereford map, or picture of the world, drawn about 1280. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery* by permission of D. Appleton & Company.)

“terra australis incognita” lured them to a search which was in one sense confirmed by the discovery of an Antarctic continent, and, in another, rewarded by the finding of Australia.

Even with this interruption and these inaccuracies, had geography, when it began to revive, based itself on Ptolemy's maps and calculations and incorporated the new knowledge gained from generation to generation, the maps of the fifteenth century would have represented Europe and consid-

Monkish
geography

erable parts of Asia with tolerable correctness. But cartography, like many other branches of knowledge which came into the hands of the church after the barbarian invasions, was revived less as a science than as a curiosity. Ptolemy's map gave place to that of a circular world, bounded by a circumscribing ocean, and arranged about Jerusalem as a center according to a passage in Ezekiel, confirmed by the Psalms, "Thus saith the Lord God, this is Jerusalem, I have placed her in the midst of the peoples, and in the circuit of their lands." Paradise lay, as in Genesis, to the east. On the extreme west were the pillars of Hercules. To the northeast lay the home of the mythical Gog and Magog, shut off from Europe by the great iron gates built, according to mediæval legend, by Alexander to close the only way by which the fierce pagan tribes of Asia could pass through the mountains into Europe. Such mingled theological and fabulous conceptions, grotesquely symbolic of the school which produced them, destroyed all usefulness of maps either as travelers' guides or aids to a true conception of the world. Of these the amazing work of the Alexandrian traveler, Cosmas Indicopleustes, with its impossible reconstruction of the world from Biblical texts, was the forerunner. Thereafter their degeneration was rapid and complete. The world was sometimes represented as a T within an O; the lines indicating water—the encircling ocean, the Mediterranean, the Don, and the Nile; and the white spaces land—Europe, Asia, and Africa. Outlines of countries became formalized; natural features gave way to pictures of fabulous monsters; lands which no man had ever seen, like those of the Amazons, were set down; and to complete and adorn their work the geographers "filled the blanks with elephants for towns."

The
mediæval
travelers

If European knowledge of the outside world had been wholly confined to these, as even scholars long supposed, the discoveries of the fifteenth century would have been no less than miraculous. But, fortunately for mankind, geographical knowledge had not been restricted to the cloister. Independent of Ptolemy and the monkish map-makers alike, century after century, pilgrims, travelers, traders, and sailors

making their way throughout Europe and into Asia, and, recording their information thus gained in chronicle, itinerary, and chart, laid, slowly but surely, a new basis of knowledge. From the time of St. Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, who early in the fourth century journeyed to Jerusalem and there found the Sepulchre and the true cross, pilgrimages to the Holy Land became more and more frequent. Many, like Bishop Sighelm of Sherburne, Alfred's reputed emissary to Jerusalem and the shrine of St. Thomas in India, made that long journey "very prosperously, which a man would wonder at to-day . . . and returning home brought divers strange and precious stones . . . yet extant in the monuments of the church." As Christianity spread throughout the northern peoples from the fifth to the eleventh centuries the stream of pilgrims increased. This movement was at once stimulated and altered by the first crusade, which brought Jerusalem into Christian hands. Men like Adelard of Bath and Daniel of Kiev in the twelfth century returned from their travels in the Eastern Empire and among the Arabs with information even more precious than the jewels of Sighelm. Nor was it crusaders only who brought the armed power of Europe into touch with the infidel. Norse sea-rovers found their way across Russia to the Black Sea or around Spain into the Mediterranean to fight the Saracen. Adventurers, like Godric the English pirate, and like Sigurd of Norway and Edgar Etheling, who successively plundered the Moorish stronghold of Lisbon, at once narrowed the Mohammedan power and widened the knowledge of Christendom. Nor was interest and activity in the world outside of Europe confined to the East even in the earlier centuries. Before the first crusade, the Norsemen had discovered and settled Iceland and Greenland and even reached the eastern coast of North America; and Alfred had recorded in his translation of Orosius the reports of those stout captains, Othere and Wulfstan, who "dwelt northermost of all men," concerning their voyages to the north and east, to the furthest land of the Finns.

Early
pilgrims

and
adven-
turers

Yet it was, after all, the East which chiefly inspired an

The
Tartar
conquests

1206-27

interest stimulated alike by religion, trade, and curiosity. Strange stories of unknown Christian lands, of unnatural monsters, of amazing sights, of incredible wealth, attracted men no less, perhaps even more, than the sober truth with which they were inextricably mingled. As the Crusades went on, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the near East became as well known as most parts of Europe; and at the beginning of the thirteenth century a new series of extraordinary and unexpected events, unconnected with European history, for a time opened the farther East to European curiosity and enterprise. These were the conquests of the Tartars under the leadership of Jenghiz Khan and his successors. They fought with every people from Germany to China. They even prepared an armada against Japan; and their empire embraced the vast territory stretching from the Pacific to the Dnieper and later extended to Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor.

The nations of Europe were terrified at this advance, which many believed to be the irruption of the nations of Gog and Magog through the gates of Alexander that had so long confined them. But the Tartar conquests ceased with the occupation of the great steppes north of the Black Sea, and their power, once established, proved by no means hostile to western Europeans. On the contrary, it broke down many of the barriers to travel raised by the hostility of lesser tribes, and, once inside its far-reaching borders, the traveler found his journey was relatively easy and safe to the uttermost parts of Asia. At the same time the Tartars, not being Mohammedans, and inspired by no such crusading zeal as later fired the Turks, who were set on their long march ending at the Danube by this very Mongol invasion, even sought Christian missionaries from the west. Moreover, "just at the time when God sent forth into the Eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent into the West His faithful and blessed servants, Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct, and build up in the faith," through the great orders which they founded and which bear their names.

With these two circumstances the relations between the farther East and the West were completely altered. In particular the Franciscans took up the work of opening communication with the Mongols. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Friar John of Planocarpini had been sent to Tartary as an emissary of Innocent IV to the Great Khan, and brought back news of Kitai, Cathay, or China. Ten years later Friar John of Rubruquis, or Ruysbroek, went on a similar mission from Louis IX of France, and returned with news of Cipango, or Japan. Some missionaries settled in Tartary; a few found their way to China; and one, John of Montecorvino, even became famous as the so-called bishop of Peking. Others had sought India, where the shrine of St. Thomas and a body of Nestorian Christians had long attracted pilgrims. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a certain Friar Odoric of Pordenone set out for China by way of India, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Cochin-China, and returned by way of Thibet, perhaps visiting Lhassa, accompanied part of the time by an Irish friar, James.

The missionaries

1245

1318

Some twenty years later, in response to an embassy from the "Khan of China," Benedict XII sent a mission under Giovanni de Marignolli, who crossed Asia to Peking and thence, after some years, returned by much the same way Odoric had gone. In central Asia and in India these travelers saw relics not only of an older Nestorian Christianity but of martyred missionaries who had preceded them. In western Asia and in China, Odoric found houses of his own order. In India Marignolli visited the church founded at Quilon by Jordanus of Severac, consecrated bishop of Columbum. Everywhere Franciscan missionary enterprise was discovered actively at work, and everywhere were traces of those who were still busy with conversion, or those unnamed martyrs who "seeking Cathay found Heaven."

Thus while Christian and Mohammedan strove for supremacy in the Levant, far beyond that conflict the church was endeavoring to plant its faith in more distant fields by peaceful means. For many who sought those lands, interest

Prester John

was stimulated by one of the most striking legends which ever lured men to the unknown. This was the story of Prester John, a Christian potentate and priest, endowed by tradition with a kingdom whose location varied from the Mountains of the Moon to the Himalayas or beyond. The fable originated probably in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and was apparently compounded from the actual existence of such Christian communities as Abyssinia and the Indian Nestorians, and the more or less mythical kingdom of Karakorum. Confused with the exploits of Jenghiz Khan, and magnified by time, distance, and repetition, it was strengthened by the appearance of letters purporting to have been written by Prester John to his fellow Christian rulers of the West. The story defied the changes of time and circumstance. Thirty years after the fall of Constantinople a Portuguese king sending emissaries to the East gave them letters to this fabled potentate who, however short-lived and shadowy his real existence, for three hundred years dominated the imagination of Europe.

The
merchants

Yet, with all their great services, the missionaries had made less permanent contributions to knowledge and connection with Asia than the traders who followed in their wake. The recharting of the Mediterranean and the revival of the road-maps or itineraries of Europe began very shortly after the barbarian conquests; indeed it is probable that such practical knowledge suffered less interruption than most kinds of learning. With pilgrimages, commercial enterprise, and Crusades strengthening relations with the near East and among the various nations of Europe, this information had been gradually enlarged and recorded, and was further reinforced by contact with the Arabs. Adventurous European merchants found their way past the western barriers of heathendom and, like the missionaries, brought back information as precious as the fruits of their trading. Though, as with trade secrets of to-day, such information was guarded jealously enough, there is no doubt that some, at least, of the merchant princes of northern Italy possessed road-maps and itineraries, word-books and tables of comparative money

values, with similar material useful to the traveler from Florence to Pekin.

Beside those far-reaching systems of exchange which north Italian merchants established across the plains of central Asia, with China and intermediate trading centers like Bokhara and Samarcand, other lines of commerce ran to the south and east. From Venice and Genoa, from Marseilles and lesser ports, the vessels plied to those cities which fringed the eastern Mediterranean. And these, from Alexandria through Beirut and Smyrna to Constantinople, formed the outlet of caravan routes which brought hither the products of India and even more distant lands. From Alexandria across to Suez, or up the Nile and so over the desert to Suakin or Massowah, or still further south, the camels bore their loads to the ships which from those ports made their way past Aden into the Indian Ocean and so to the trading centers of the Malabar coast of India. From Beirut through Damascus to Bagdad, and so to Bassorah and the Persian Gulf, thence by vessel past Ormuz and again to India ran another of the great caravan routes. Or if by land, the traders from Bagdad pushed on to Kermanshah across Persia through Teheran or Ispahan and so through Afghanistan or Baluchistan again to India; while from those distant points still other ways led through northern Asia Minor to Smyrna or Constantinople. From the rich trading cities of India's western or Malabar coast, ships made their way to the still farther east, Java, Sumatra, the Spice Islands, to China itself, in this long, slender chain of trade which bound the East and West.

The trade-
routes

It was, indeed, inevitable that the length and hardships of such a precarious commerce should confine exchange to the most precious and easily portable goods; it was no less inevitable that profits must be in proportion to distance and risk; and it followed, in consequence, that to European eyes the East appeared a land of illimitable resources; that these remote caravan centers of unfamiliar name and rare products should seem dream cities of unimagined wealth, full of romance and rich in opportunity. Thus early arose the

legend of Asia's fabulous, incalculable treasures which fired Europe's adventurous spirit in later years to high emprise. Thus inspired, however slowly and however carefully guarded, knowledge of the East and the ways thither grew insensibly with the years, and with it an ever-increasing desire to share "the wealth of the Indies."

Marco
Polo

1254-1324

How considerable was this knowledge by the end of the thirteenth century is revealed in the story which the greatest of these adventurers has left us. This was Marco Polo, the Venetian, whose account of his travels marked the greatest advance in geographical knowledge since Ptolemy, and became the inspiration of like adventurous spirits for centuries. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Polo's two uncles, embarking on a trading venture, made their way to Constantinople, thence to the Crimea, so to Bokhara, and finally to the capital of the Great Khan, then somewhere south and east of Lake Baikal. Returning after nine years of wandering, they brought to the Pope a request from the Khan for a hundred missionaries to teach and convert his people. This, probably the earliest and greatest opportunity ever offered the church to win the East, was neglected. After two years at home, the Polos left again for Tartary, traveling this time by way of Ormuz, Khorassan, the Oxus, Pamir, Gobi, and Kaipingfu.

1298

They took with them the young Marco, who attracted the attention of the Khan and entered his service. For twenty years, as counselor and diplomat, he served the Tartar prince, traveling on missions of state throughout the greater part of Asia, till, wearying of his employment, he returned to Venice toward the close of the thirteenth century. Within three years after his return he was taken prisoner while commanding a vessel in the war then going on between Venice and Genoa. He was thrown into prison, where one of his fellow-captives, a certain Rusticiano of Pisa, wrote out in French from dictation the Venetian's extraordinary narrative, which thus—by means scarcely less extraordinary than the author's own adventures—found its way to the knowledge of western Europe to enlighten and stimulate its



This map, entitled *Typus Orbis a Ptol. Descriptus*—the world according to Ptolemy—from an edition of Ptolemy published at Basel in 1540, represents the type of map inherited from Greek geography as re-drawn in the 16th century. It is especially interesting on account of the insertion of lines—apparently by the hand of its 16th century owner—of the trade-routes.



This map is that of Fra Mauro, 1457. It will be observed that, as in all, or nearly all, mediæval maps, the north is at the bottom of the map, i.e., Permia, "Rossia," Sibir, etc. It includes the Portuguese discoveries, and knowledge from other sources, i.e., Sofala, Diu, "Choncibar," Sumatra, etc., and is, therefore, far in advance of the actual progress of Portugal in the East.

interest in the East. Its success bred imitators, among which that genial and accomplished book of marvels composed by the most eminent of fireside adventurers except the Baron Munchausen, Sir John Mandeville, was perhaps the most popular. Under such impulse of fact and fiction, missionary enterprise, and especially commercial activity, was directed more and more toward the fabulously rich land of wonders, from whose abundance the Venetian had brought back enough to give him the name of Messer Millione.

Though interest in the West, meanwhile, lacked the powerful religious motive, and the prospect of as great wealth as that to be won from India or China, the fascination of the unknown was as strong in the western seas as in those of the east, and the profits not to be despised. Aside from the Norse settlements in Greenland, it is probable that the hardy fishermen of western Europe early found their way to the Newfoundland banks, though their knowledge of those happy fishing grounds was long kept a secret for the same reasons that led men to conceal what they knew of the way to the East.

Mediæval
knowledge
of the
Atlantic

But whatever the West lacked in trade it made up in legends. Somewhere in the north Atlantic floated the moving island of St. Brandan. Since the days of Plato and Aristophanes men had dreamed of the island-continent of Atlantis, somewhere to the west of Africa, which had transmitted its civilization to the western world and sunk into the ocean which bore its name. Somewhere, far to the west of the Fortunate Isles, lay the fabled island of Antilla and of the Seven Cities, seats of wealth and culture, rich in the lode-stone of exploration, gold. Moreover, men were said to have visited this western world. Sometime in the twelfth century, the Welsh prince, Madoc, driven from home by civil war, had found refuge there, returned with his wonderful news, and sailed again, with many of his countrymen, to the new land. The Italian brothers Zeni, visiting the king of the Faroe or Shetland Islands, had found their way, under his direction, to transatlantic lands, rich, well-peopled, highly civilized, and had returned to tell the story. Most probable of all, the

Icelandic sagas told of Leif Erickson and the discovery, perhaps the settlement, of Vinland the Good.

Improve-
ments in
navigation

But more than all the legends of east and west, even more than the travels of traders or missionaries, the improvement in the art of navigation was developing the new geography. The greatest problem of ancient and mediæval sailors had been the difficulty of laying a fixed course through the open sea, out of sight of land. They could, it is true, use the sun or the north star in clear weather, but in cloudy seasons they were obliged to stay in touch with coast or island, or rely on pure good fortune. At least as early as the twelfth century, however, there had come into use a rude form of compass, a magnetic needle floating in a straw on water. This, first looked on as witchcraft, was gradually emancipated from the fear of the supernatural and improved. By the fourteenth century it took the form of a needle suspended by a pivot fixed upon a card which indicated the points of the compass. This device revolutionized not merely navigation but map-making as well, for it enabled cartographers to indicate the direction of coast lines, rivers, and roads, and the position of countries, cities, and natural features with respect to each other more exactly than had previously been possible. Beside this the seamen used a rude contrivance, the cross-staff, to measure altitudes; and, during the fifteenth century a more accurate instrument, the astrolabe, came into general use for the same purpose. As these were slowly supplemented by other aids derived from astronomical mathematics, tables of the sun's declination, and devices for measuring time, the scope and safety of navigation were greatly increased.

The Arabs

Not a little of this knowledge was derived from the Arabs, among whom geographical knowledge had suffered something of the same fate as among Europeans, though modified by the peculiarly scientific spirit which characterized their intellectual advance. Their superstition, indeed, evolved wild legends of the western ocean, the Green Sea of Night, peopled with fearful moving monsters of rock, where the hand of Satan was depicted rising from the waves to seize the sacrilegious intruder; of the southern lands where the sun beat

down with such fury as to make human life impossible, where rivers ran boiling water, and where was to be found that huge bird, the roc, capable of bearing two elephants in its claws. But the Arabian Nights' legend of the mountain of lodestone which drew the iron from vessels that approached it too closely and drowned their passengers did not prevent the Arabs from using bits of such metal to guide their ships. Their knowledge of the stars derived from their long desert existence was not so wedded to astrology that they could not



The World according to Ibn Haukal, 977.

This "map," or diagram, has the south at the top. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery*, Appleton).

draw from it a scientific and practical astronomy, and use the same art to direct their vessels by sea that they had long employed in their voyages across the no less trackless sands.

Moreover, situated as they were between East and West and North and South, they enjoyed unrivaled opportunities as middlemen in the great carrying trade between Europe, Asia, and Africa. By caravan and fleet, therefore, they became the great intermediaries between India, Persia, and the Levant, the Soudan and the Sahara and southern Europe. Damascus, Bagdad, and especially Alexandria, became great

centers of eastern trade, and it was largely from them that not merely goods but the ideas of the tropical world, East and West, with improved aids to navigation, came into Europe. Here, too, the south-Europeans were first to profit. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, the most eminent of Arab geographers, Edrisi of Sicily, completed his great geography under the patronage of the Norman king, Roger II, and from that time Arab influence was strong in those south-European regions where commerce most flourished. Nor was that connection so greatly affected by the Crusades as one might suppose. The greatest of those wars seldom checked it for long, and, apart from the actual scene of conflict or the actual powers involved, commerce seems to have gone on much as usual. Moreover, profit not seldom triumphed over faith. In most north African ports Italian houses had their factories, and, at times, as in a famous incident at Ceuta when the men of Genoa aided the Saracens in beating off a crusading fleet, Christian and infidel trader even joined forces against religious enthusiasts.

1234

Maps and
charts

Thus, in the interests of commerce, sailors gained knowledge on every hand; and this knowledge, their stock in trade, they embodied in charts of the coasts they traversed, plotting the Mediterranean world in *portulani*, or port-guides, which grew steadily from generation to generation in extent and accuracy. In the last half of the thirteenth century appeared a famous product of this activity. This was the so-called Catalan map which at once summed up preceding knowledge of the Mediterranean world and became the model for later *portulani*. Such an influence once established gradually found its way into more formal scientific geography. Before the middle of the fourteenth century Angelico Dulcert of Majorca produced a map of the world, modeled on the *portulani*, which delineated the Mediterranean coast line with almost modern exactness. Some thirty-five years later another Majorcan, Cresquez, added to this the knowledge of the further East contributed by Marco Polo. With such innovations, geography, associating itself with discovery, and presently with astronomy, began again to assume an aspect

1339

1375

at once accurate and scientific; and though as yet the question of the earth's sphericity had not come into the realm of practical affairs, its consideration could not long be delayed.



The Mediterranean coast in the Portulano of Dulcert, 1339; adapted from Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 31.

This sketch map, re-drawn from the Dulcert, Portulano, indicates the correctness of the mariners' charts in comparison with the formalized pictures of the world of the mediæval monkish maps, like the Hereford map, p. 67. It will be observed that though strikingly accurate in the central and southern portion, its author's knowledge of northern Britain and Ireland was extremely limited. (Reproduced from Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery* by permission of D. Appleton & Company.)

While seamen and geographers were busy plotting the known world for practical purposes, men of science, appealing to classical and to Arabian knowledge of the skies, were busily engaged in rescuing astronomy from the astrological

Astronomy

absurdities into which it had fallen; and were transforming the study of the stars from prophecy and divination into a mathematical science. Not until the seventeenth century was the Copernican system to be widely known, and until it was fairly adopted mediæval ideas of the universe cannot be said to have been overthrown; but by the middle of the fifteenth century many of its fondest traditions had been shattered and the way opened for a truer conception of a new heaven and a new earth. Thus at the very moment when Europe, divided against itself in political affairs, weak and open to attack, had lost no small part of its territory to Asia and seemed about to lose still more, the revival of its intellectual forces, which were to renew its power and increase its capacity at once for progress and for offensive action, was reaching its culmination.

The
Turkish
conquest
and the
decline of
Italian
commerce

The direction which it took was in some measure due to the very successes of the Turks themselves. As long as the Tartar empire endured and the Arabs held the ways to southern Asia, the trade-currents ran in the old lines unaltered. But the Turks were little more than fighters. Where they went intellectual life virtually disappeared, and commerce, though it went on, never attained the proportions it had enjoyed under the Byzantine Empire. Their capture of Constantinople practically closed one door to the East. And their ensuing conquests by land and sea, thanks to the almost constant state of war which their activities introduced into the Mediterranean world, even more than their own uncommercial spirit, erected further barriers between Europe and Asia till little beside Egypt was left open as a means of communication. One by one the outposts of Venice and Genoa fell into their hands; and though both these proud cities contended against them, it was, amid the rivalries at home, a losing fight.

The early, unquestioned leadership in commerce, education, finance, and the intellectual renaissance had been held by Italy. But, in the face of changing conditions, it became evident on the fall of Constantinople that, whatever the fruits of the new movement in geography and exploration,

whatever the solution of the difficulties now raised, the rewards were not for those cities which had so long held the commercial pre-eminence of Europe. Their supremacy was doomed, and the splendid energies which had raised them to such heights were worn out in a vain struggle against the inevitable, or diverted to other channels. North as well as south, the day of the commercial city state and the trading-league was passing, and with their decline went the predominance of Italy and the Mediterranean in European commerce and politics. Their place was taken by other kinds of organization, the national state and the various forms of trading enterprise which rose on the extinction of the older order. Among these one in particular had already made a beginning in the movement which was to revolutionize the world. The state which was to lead the way to the political and commercial expansion of Europe, as Italy was to lead to a new era of intellectual advance, was not Venice nor Genoa, but Portugal.

The fall of Constantinople was the crisis which accentuated the passing of the old order; but nearly forty years before that great catastrophe a series of no less important though less spectacular events had already ushered in the new. From Italy had begun that exploration into the mysteries of the classical civilization which had done much to stir an interest in matters but little touched in the prevailing ecclesiasticism of intellectual Europe. From the Iberian peninsula had come an impulse toward the expansion of European power and knowledge into the no less mysterious domains which, beginning just across the strait of Gibraltar, stretched far beyond the knowledge of the Roman world, or the imagination of the middle ages. Into these almost equally remote and uncharted regions adventurous scholars and warriors, of different nations, of widely different aims, and as yet wholly unknown to each other, had begun to penetrate. From these two streams of influence, scholarship and exploration, which, rising from widely separated sources, tended unconsciously to join, was to spring that full tide of progress which was to revive all European activity.

Conclusion

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY. 1415-1498

The
Spanish
peninsula

700-1400

WHATEVER its relation to the other movements in continental affairs, nowhere in Europe was the development of what we have come to know as national states during the fifteenth century more active than in the Spanish peninsula, and nowhere were its results earlier apparent. Every phase of that development had long been conditioned by the presence of an alien race. Seven hundred years earlier, Mohammedan power had swept across the straits of Gibraltar, whose name, Jebir al Tarik, still perpetuates that of its Arab leader; had overwhelmed the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, passed the Pyrenees, and penetrated to the Loire before it broke on Frankish resistance. Before that power it had receded again into the peninsula. But seven centuries of crusading warfare waged against it by those Christian states which survived its first onset in the mountains of the north and west had reduced its possessions to the little principality of Granada in the extreme south, and even this was hard pressed by its rivals.

c. 1253

These states meanwhile had risen to the rank of petty kingdoms. Navarre had not greatly altered its size and condition. But Aragon had extended her sway to the Ebro and the sea, to the islands and even to southern Italy; while Castile, uniting with Leon, had wrested the central plateau of Spain from the Moslem. And, on the west, the little duchy of Oporto, joining her conquests south of the Tagus to her older possessions, had formed the kingdom of Portugal. In all of these the long struggle with the infidel had not merely modified social, economic, and political conditions. It had inspired the people with a crusading zeal which profoundly

affected national character. Proud, chivalrous, and adventurous, it was often heroic, sometimes fantastic, but always a force to be reckoned with in peace or war.

Alone among the states of the peninsula at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Portugal had reached her final bounds and status. These were, indeed, not great. Small, poor, sparsely populated, worn with wars, she was cut off from continental Europe and hope of expansion on land by her powerful rival, Castile, against whom she maintained even her independence with difficulty. However well adapted to defense, her small and broken territory offered no great advantages to the furtherance of national unity or wealth. Her swift and turbulent rivers afforded scant communication with the interior, and their narrow valleys, which formed the greater part of the habitable land, were separated by mountain ranges and susceptible of cultivation on a large scale only in their lower reaches. Agriculture, thus restricted by nature, was still further hampered by the fact that the great estates of crown, nobility, the church, and the powerful military order of the Knights of Christ, had not merely checked the increase of small holdings, but were themselves not greatly productive. Moreover, Portugal's manufactures were almost negligible and her native products inconsiderable. By sea she was of more consequence; for her fisheries were of some importance, and of her half-dozen harbors, the best, that of her chief city, Lisbon, was a much frequented port of call and exchange between the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Her commerce, though not of first-rate importance, was far-reaching; and, with her navy, brought her in touch with other sea-going peoples, especially those of Genoa, England, and Flanders.

To this she owed much. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Genoese, Emmanuel Pessanha, had organized Portugal's navy, the "mother city of seamen" had been relied on to officer its ships. Portuguese indebtedness to England was even greater and of longer standing. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, English forces had helped to take Lisbon from the Moors, and two hundred

1387

and forty years later the long series of treaties which had ensued between the two countries was crowned by the marriage of the Portuguese king, John I, with Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of him who was to ascend the English throne as Henry IV. With the aid resulting from that alliance, Portugal had finally repelled Castilian aggression and was now prepared to enter the most glorious period of her history. When, in the course of that splendid career, the Atlantic islands came into her hands, no small part of their original population was drawn from the Netherlands, whose ruler, the Duke of Burgundy, had married the daughter of John and Philippa.

The
capture
of Ceuta

1415

Thus conditioned by circumstances, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ambitious energy of her king, relieved from the menace of Castilian aggression, found no outlet for its energies but the sea and the Moors. There, at least, opportunity was always at hand. Though long since driven from Portuguese territory to its strongholds across the straits, Arzilla, Tangier, and especially Ceuta, "the key of all the Mediterranean sea," Arab power had remained a menace to Portuguese coasts and commerce and a support to the Moorish kingdom of Granada. This was now to be the scene of one of the world's most momentous exploits.

The sons of King John were come of knightly age, and this circumstance was seized upon as the opportunity for the great adventure. Instead of the costly and useless tournaments incident to the ceremony of their knighting, the king was persuaded to undertake a real warlike expedition into Africa; and to this end he summoned his subjects to a new crusade against the Moors. Preparations were made on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the exploit. Adventurers of all nations flocked to his standard to share the glory and the spoil; and in July, 1415, at the same moment that his English cousin prepared that enterprise which culminated in his victory of Agincourt, the great armada, a hundred ships and eighty thousand men, according to report, sailed forth to the conquest of Ceuta, blessed by the dying prayers of the heroic queen. Investing the city with this



THE EMBARKATION OF TROOPS.

From a manuscript miniature of 1488. The ships, architecture, and costume of the period are particularly noteworthy. Cp. picture of the carrack, p. 85, and of the Armada, p. 305. From Bourel de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*.



FLEMISH ENGRAVING OF A CARRACK.

[End of the 15th century.] Compare with the picture of the Embarkation, p. 84. From Bourel de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*.

overwhelming force, the king, like his royal English kinsman at Crécy, seventy years before, left the burden and the glory of the conflict to his sons. One day's fierce fighting gave the place into their hands; the governor fled, the castle surrendered, and the political expansion of Europe had begun.

Not because it was a novel conception or a great catastrophe, but because it gave fresh direction and impetus to a far-reaching movement, the fall of Ceuta marks a turning-point in human affairs. It was, in the inception of the exploit, the echo of a feudalism already on the wane in many parts of the continent. In its execution it was but carrying across the strait that long conflict with the Moorish power which had absorbed the energies of Portugal for centuries and still vexed the other states of the peninsula on their own borders. But, in a larger view, it was the connecting link between the older crusading movement which sought to win back Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher from the infidel, and the modern conception of winning the world for commerce and for Christianity. Not the least of its claims to importance is that it brought forth the first great figure in that far-spreading movement whose direction he was so largely to determine—the young prince Henry, third son of John and Philippa, then some twenty years of age. To him the capture of Ceuta had been chiefly due, and, knighted with his brothers for his share in this feat of arms, he was presently made governor of the new conquest as well as of the southernmost Portuguese district of the Algarve, and created grand master of the crusading Order of Christ.

Prince
Henry the
Navigator

1394-1460

These circumstances inspired him with a great design. At that time the southernmost point known to Europeans was Cape Bojador on the West African coast; beyond it, as in all northern Africa, trade and knowledge of the land was in Arab hands. There ran what was supposed to be the western branch of the Nile, the Senegal, by which, it was thought, a way could be found to the East and its unknown Christian peoples, even to the fabled kingdom of Prester John. Once past the cape, rich trade might be secured, Mohammedan

power attacked in flank and rear, with the aid of Eastern Christendom; and, lastly, "was his great desire to make increase in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bring to Him all the souls that should be saved." Thus the young prince dreamed of a greater crusade and a greater Portugal. In this faith he took upon himself a task that grew under his hand; till, for near fifty years after King John's great expedition, the history of European expansion is little more than the story of the Prince's life.

The progress of his enterprise was sure if not rapid. Ceuta secured against recapture, information was gathered there of the lands beyond; map-makers and mathematicians were employed to collect, organize, and formulate geographical and astronomical knowledge. To combat the heavier seas and currents of the Atlantic, so difficult for the Mediterranean galleys, the building of larger and stronger square- or lateen-rigged, sail-driven ships, which developed into the famous caravels, was encouraged. To lay a course through fog and dark and unknown seas, independent of headlands and uncharted coasts, various aids to navigation were introduced and improved; especially devices to measure time and distance, to reckon latitude and longitude, and to determine location and direction. The university of Lisbon and Coimbra was strengthened; new ports were projected for the anticipated needs of the enterprise; commerce was stimulated and discovery encouraged by promise of reward. And, on the southwesterly point of Portugal, at Sagres, the Sacred Cape, where, seven centuries before, Christians fleeing before the fury of Mohammedan invasion had borne and buried the body of the holy St. Vincent, were built a study, an observatory, and a chapel. There the Prince planned a city to rival Cadiz, the Villa do Iffante, and thence he directed his counter-stroke against the Moslem, his crusade against the infidel and the unknown. Year by year he sent out ships to find their way down the African coast and across to the islands, charting the way for merchants who would "never trouble themselves to go to a place where there is not a sure and certain hope of profit"; striving to learn "determinatively

how far the power of those infidels extended, for the glory of God and the profit of Portugal."

Prince Henry the Navigator was not, indeed, the first to dream of African exploitation. From ancient times most of the islands toward which his early ventures were directed had been found and lost and found again. A dozen years before the capture of Ceuta, a Norman knight, Jean de Bethencourt, under Spanish authority, had seized a group whose Roman name, Canaria, Isles of the Dogs, witnessed how long they had been known to Europeans. Since Ptolemy had laid down the Fortunate Isles on his map, many had found their way thither. A century and a third before de Bethencourt, the Genoese, Malocello, had discovered and given his name to one of the group. Seventy years later the Pope had granted them to a Spaniard, Don Luis of Talmond; and, at almost the same time, an expedition from Portugal had reached and claimed them for that power. When Prince Henry's work began, their title had long been in dispute; and the controversy, complicated by Bethencourt's nephew, who sold his claims to both powers, dragged on for nearly a century before it was finally determined in favor of Spain.

Portuguese
advance
in Africa
and the
Atlantic

—the
Canaries
1400-04

1341

1495

But, though anticipated here, Prince Henry was more fortunate in other quarters of the same field. Scarcely had he entered on his work when his captains, John Gonsalvez Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, came upon a group of uninhabited islands north of the Canaries. One, where they found refuge from shipwreck, they called Porto Santo; another, Deserta; the third and largest, which gave name to the group, Madeira, or Isle of Woods, from the forests which covered it. Seventy years before, the story runs, two lovers, Robert Machin and Anne d'Arset, or Dorset, eloping from Bristol, had been cast ashore here and perished. Their sailors escaping to Africa and Arab slavery, Zarco is said to have first learned of the islands from the pilot, whom he captured as that ancient mariner was returning to Seville from his long imprisonment. The story is not probable, but the reality is scarcely less romantic. Granted to Prince Henry

The
Madeiras

1418-19

by the crown, and regranted by him to the discoverers, the spiritualities of the new territories were decreed to the Order of Christ, and the produce, when the demands of church and state were satisfied, divided equally between the prospective owners and cultivators. To Zarco was given northern Madeira, centering in Machico, whose name romance derived from Machin; Funchal and the south, with Deserta, to Texeira. And Porto Santo was conferred on a certain Bartholomew Perestrello, whose daughter, in later years, became the wife of a Genoese adventurer, one Christopher Columbus, of much fame thereafter.

The
Azores

1427

Such were the beginnings of colonial grants, and under their terms exploitation rapidly advanced. Settlers were secured, the forests were destroyed, and the land set in vineyards and sugar plantations. The Malvoisie grape, presently introduced from Crete, produced a famous wine, which took its name from the islands, Madeira; and this, with wood for furniture and houses, honey and sugar, made up the staples of the colony. So great was the success of this the first and for many years the greatest of European settlements outside the continent, that within thirty years its population numbered eight hundred souls. Encouraged by such development, in no long time the Azores, or Islands of the Hawks, like their fellows long known and long neglected, were brought, by the Prince's efforts, permanently within the circle of European influence. Of these but one, Graciosa, was colonized by his own countrymen. The rest were settled from the Netherlands, as Josua of Bruges in Terceira, van der Haagen in Flores and Corvo, and Job van Heurter in Fayal, planted settlements, which long gave to the group the name of the Flemish Islands.

The
Guinea
coast

But the energy of the Portuguese was far from exhausting itself on the islands. From the first the continent had claimed their attention. There, as in the Atlantic, they could scarcely be regarded as pioneers; for as early as the thirteenth century the great Genoese houses of Doria and Vivaldi had sent their galleys down the west-African coast seeking fresh fields of trade, at least as far as Cape Non; and, long before Prince

Henry's time, Italian, French, and Spanish vessels had made their way to Cape Bojador. But, until now, progress had ended there. That great cape, stretching far into the Atlantic, guarded by treacherous shoals and baffling winds and currents, had proved an obstacle to further advance more substantial than the Arab legends of the fearful dangers beyond.

For many years it defied even the Prince's efforts. But with the return of his brother, Pedro the Traveler, from knight-errant wanderings across Europe, bringing with him stories of strange lands and peoples, charts and maps and books, among them Marco Polo's *Travels*, Portuguese exertions were redoubled; and, after one failure, the



1426

Prince's esquire, Gil Eannes, finally rounded the cape and sailed into the open sea beyond. Two years later Portuguese ships reached and passed the Rio de Oro or River of Gold. With the advent of their keels the serpent rocks, the boiling rivers, and the hand of Satan receded into the realm of fable whence they had emerged, and real knowledge of the south began.

Such a success gave promise of great and speedy reward, but exploration was interrupted at this point for some five years by politics at home and an unsuccessful attempt on

The beginnings of the slave-trade

1441

Tangier, and when Prince Henry resumed his task it had taken on a new form. One of his esquires, Antonio Gonsalvez, voyaging to the Rio de Oro for seal-skins and oil some seven years after Eannes' exploit, seized there two natives. Nuño Tristam, who joined him and sailed on to Cape Blanco, followed his example and brought back the captives to Portugal. The suggestion was not lost. Securing from the Pope a bull for the remission of sins to those embarking on the new crusade, and from his brother Pedro, now Regent, a charter granting him monopoly of the African trade with a fifth of its profits, Prince Henry began to issue licenses to private enterprise. The venture which had hitherto relied on his resources now attracted many with a prospect of profit. Encouraged by the success of the men of Lagos who first entered the trade, others hastened to share their privileges. Within five years, it is said, forty ships brought more than a thousand slaves into Portugal, "of whom the greater part were turned to the true path of salvation." Thus the second step was taken in the exploitation of the tropics. To provide Portugal and her possessions with cheap labor able to endure exertions impossible to Europeans in a hot climate, and to bring the heathen under Christian influence, slave-catching took its place beside planting. And if the greed of gain shortly outweighed the missionary spirit, the Prince at least, while he lived, did what he could to check the baser and promote the nobler motive.

The results
of slavery

Whatever the moral aspect of the case, whatever elements of future weakness it held, there is no question but that Portugal profited for the moment very greatly by this new element in her affairs. The economic situation, already stimulated by Atlantic colonies and African trade, was revolutionized by the advent of slavery. Agriculture and commerce took on new life. Estates and fortunes crippled by war and lack of labor began to revive. Exploration was correspondingly stimulated. Zarco's nephew made his way as far as Cape Verde, and a fort was built in the Bay of Arguin to secure that district. Gonsalvez was named governor of Lanzarote in the Canaries and efforts were made to wres-

1447-48

1445-47

that group from Castile. With the accession of the Prince's nephew to the throne as Alfonso V, the crusade against the north African Moors was resumed, and in the year after the fall of Constantinople Prince Henry's monopoly was fortified by a Papal bull forbidding any Christian to trade in the territory between Cape Non and the Guinea coast without Portuguese license. The Venetian, Ca da Mosta, voyaging a few years later through the new possessions, has left a vivid picture of the vigor and success of this colonial empire in the making. Everywhere he found the evidences of its strength and activity, and the promise of its rapid development: the sea dotted with its ships, the islands and the mainland held by its settlements and trading posts, and its promoters filled with the hopes and ambitions of a new society.

Already the purpose and character of the movement was changing. Close in the Venetian's wake sailed the Prince's captain, Diego Gomez, commissioned to explore the Cape Verde Islands, sighted some fifteen years earlier by the brothers Noli; and instructed, besides, to secure information of the gold-producing lands to the eastward in Africa, above all, of a sea-way to India. For, with the success in exploiting the islands and the west coast trade, the dream of Atlantic and African expansion had inevitably widened into the design of reaching Asia around Africa. That crowning achievement of his long career Prince Henry was not to see, for before the results of Gomez' mission were available his master was dead. The aim of the Portuguese hero's life-work, begun and carried on in the spirit of his motto, "resolve to do greatly," is fitly summed up in his epitaph, which records how he labored "that he might lay open the regions of western Africa across the sea hitherto impossible to men, and sail around Africa to the remotest shores of the East." And though this last statement was rather a prophecy and a hope than an achievement of his life; though the splendid map of Fra Mauro, which records his additions to European knowledge, shows no sea-way to Asia yet traveled by men of his generation; that discovery was none the less the chief

1454

 The way
about
Africa

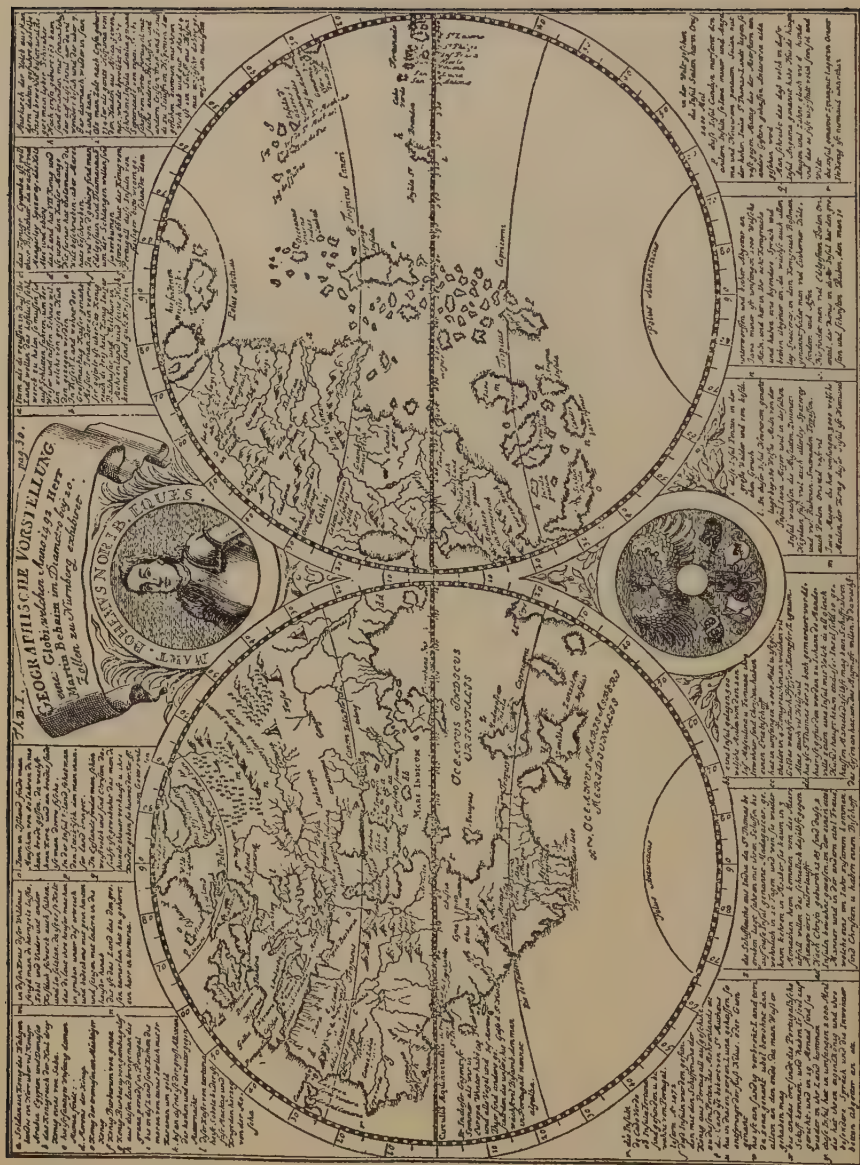
1460

result of his activities. Crusader, scientist, statesman, Prince Henry laid the foundations of an empire, and pointed the way to further greatness, determining the future, not of his country alone, but of the world.

Scarcely interrupted by his death, the Portuguese pressed to the accomplishment of his designs. From Arguin, strengthened into a fortress, successive expeditions reached Sierra Leone and the Bight of Benin. The Guinea trade was farmed on terms which compelled the exploration of five hundred leagues of coast southward; and, nearer home, after eight years of effort, Portuguese power in northwestern Africa was secured by the capture of Arzila and Tangiers. At the same time Fernando Po reached the island which still bears his name, while Estravos and Santarem passed the Equator. With these achievements the way to the East seemed almost in sight; but again further progress was interrupted by renewed war with Castile, and still more by the lack of aids to navigation in the southern hemisphere with its strange constellations, and these for a time checked the Portuguese advance.

The Cape
of Good
Hope

The accession of John II saw both difficulties remedied. Peace was made with Castile, and the Gold Coast secured by the fort of S. Jorge de Mina; a royal geographical council was formed to remedy the deficiencies of the astrolabe and navigators' tables. To its deliberations was summoned foreign aid. Adventurers and promoters of all sorts, attracted by the Portuguese exploits, flocked to Lisbon. From Nuremberg came the German merchant-geographer, Martin Behaim, son-in-law of Governor van Heurter of Fayal, with the latest achievements of the German map-makers and mathematicians. From Florence the librarian-geographer, Toscanelli, despatched a letter and a map of the world which showed lands west of the Azores and hinted of a way to Asia by that route. From Majorca and Minorca was drawn what remained of that great tradition of cartography which had long flourished there. The results were soon apparent. Within four years of the new king's accession, Diego Cam and Behaim found the Congo and reached Walfisch Bay. In two



Martin Behaim's globe of 1492. (From J. G. Doppelmayr.)

years more Bartholomew Diaz reached the most southerly point of Africa, conquered the baffling head-winds of its Cabo Tormentoso, or Cape of Storms, re-named the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed five hundred miles beyond that hard-won point, fair on the way to India. With this exploit Princee Henry's work was fitly crowned. 1486

Yet, with the prize within their grasp, the Portuguese, this time almost unaccountably, again were held back from seizing it. Assailed by doubts and fears; obsessed with visions of Eastern potentates; hampered, perhaps, by the king's ill-health, the royal council spent its strength in securing what had been won. It sought further information from monkish pilgrims, from Arab and from negro sources, strove to penetrate to Prester John by way of Senegal, and finally despatched two men, Pedro de Covilham and Affonso de Paiva, through Egypt to India with letters to the elusive Christian potentate. Meanwhile the west coast of Africa was secured. Along the shore were set up stone pillars, bearing the arms of Portugal, with the name and date of the discoverer; and protectorates were established over native chieftaincies. From Spain was secured renunciation of her claims on Guinea in return for Portugal's abandoning her pretensions to the Canaries; from the Papacy, the confirmation of the privileges it had previously conferred. While these precautionary measures were being taken, the royal messengers reached Aden by way of Cairo. Thence Paiva sailed for Abyssinia and was lost. Covilham, reaching Calicut, returned by way of Sofala and east Africa, learned at Cairo of his companion's death; and turned back to Abyssinia to find Prester John. Well received, he married and remained there, half guest, half captive, until his death. But from Cairo he had sent back letters by a Jewish merchant. "If you persist to the southward," he wrote, ignorant of Diaz's exploit, "Africa will come to an end. When the ships come to the Eastern Ocean, let them ask for Sofala and the island of the Moon [Madagascar] and they will find pilots to take them to Malabar." This, it would have seemed, should have determined immediate action. But not even this definite con- Covilham and Paiva

firmation of its hopes moved the Portuguese administration. Beyond a grant to one Fernam Dolmos, Lord of Terceira, of the "isles or continent" of Antilla, if he should discover that fabled land, the importunities of those who were urging the plan of reaching the East by sailing west had as little effect as the achievement of Diaz or the letters of Covilham. And before Portugal and her king had recovered from their long fit of lethargy, a great event had altered the whole current of the world's affairs. This was the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the lands of the western hemisphere.

Chris-
topher
Columbus

1474-6

That exploit, however startling in its conception and results, grew naturally from the circumstances of the times in which it fell. Amid the crowd of adventurers drawn to Portugal by the fame of her achievements oversea during the fifteenth century there came to Lisbon, toward the close of Alfonso V's reign, a young Genoese, Christopher Columbus, then between twenty-five and thirty years of age. The son of a weaver and innkeeper, he had followed the sea and picked up some knowledge of map-making and navigation. In Lisbon he married into the family of Perestrello, the grantee of Porto Santo, and thus improved his social status, and, in a sense, laid the foundation of his fortunes. He voyaged, as he claimed, to England, perhaps to Iceland, certainly to Porto Santo, where he lived some years, and almost as certainly to Africa, where rumor indicates his presence at the founding of S. Jorge de Mina. At all events, something in this obscure early career brought him the conviction that land was to be found beyond the westernmost islands then known.

His design

The belief was not original with him nor confined to his brain. Like the conception a generation before of a sea-way around Africa, the opinion that land was to be found by sailing west,—great islands and beyond them Asia—was held by many. The Ptolemaic tradition, reinforced by new discoveries, forecastle yarns and travelers' tales, the classical reminiscences of Antilla and Atlantis, the legends of the Seven Cities and St. Brandan's Isle, the discovery of Vinland by the Norsemen—some or all of these he must some-

where have heard. Perhaps, as tradition records, an unknown pilot, blown from his course to new lands in the west, confined his secret to the Genoese. Perhaps his belief was founded on Toscanelli's letter, which came into his hands, it has been surmised, by means which led to his leaving Portugal. However this may be, some eight years after his arrival in Lisbon, the Italian adventurer submitted his design to the king. It comprised four points: that the earth was a sphere, that all save the part between Asia and Europe was known, that this was perhaps not more than a third of the total circumference, and that there were probably islands to break a long voyage. Tradition records that the council sent a ship secretly to test the plan, and that on its return from a fruitless voyage, Columbus, disgusted with Portuguese duplicity, left the country.

To one less inspired or less persistent than Columbus this final rebuff might well have ended his endeavors; but, fortunately for his fame, the realization of his dream had become a master passion which enabled him to surmount rebuff and ridicule alike. Leaving Portugal, he carried his plan to Genoa, while his brother, Bartholomew, laid it before Henry VII of England. But it met with no response in either place, and it seemed the end had come. Every state of maritime importance, save Venice, had rejected him, and there was left only the Spanish crown, which had already turned him away. This last, however, remained his only hope, and to it, supported and encouraged by his friend, Father Perez, the Prior of la Rabida, sometime confessor to Queen Isabella, he determined to apply once more.

The moment was, in one sense, favorable. The years which had elapsed since Columbus first went to Portugal had seen the whole complexion of Spanish affairs altered; and at this crisis in his fortunes and those of Spain came an event which determined the future of both. This was the final successful attack then being carried on against the Moorish stronghold of Granada, which was to make an end of Arab power in the peninsula. Thus freed from its most ancient enemy, flushed with success, the crown, now all but supreme, was

His preparation

1478-90

no less ready for new enterprise than Spanish chivalry for a new exploit. Such was the country and the court to which Columbus now addressed himself. His cause was well-nigh lost by the extravagance of his pretensions, for misfortune had not taught him humility. But, four months after the fall of the Moorish stronghold, his persistence was rewarded by a charter granting him the title of Grand Admiral and almost complete monopoly of all privileges and profits in any lands he might discover.

His
discovery

With this concession, backed by the support of capitalists of Palos, chiefly the family of Pinzon, ships and crews were collected; and on August 3, 1492, he sailed from Palos in the *Santa Maria* of a hundred tons, accompanied by the *Pinta* of sixty tons under Martin Pinzon, and the *Niña* of fifty tons under Vincente Pinzon. Eighty-six men, chiefly from about Palos, but including at least one Englishman and an Irishman, made up the crews. Refitting at the Canaries, the little fleet sailed thence on September 3, across the unknown sea. Filled with nameless fears, half mutinous, only Columbus' will held his reluctant followers on their course until two o'clock on the morning of October 12, Rodrigo de Triana, lookout of the *Pinta*, saw a land light, and the ships hove to. When day broke, the adventurers found themselves off a small island, Guanahani, one of the Bahamas as it later appeared, upon which, in the presence of a few friendly, half-naked savages, they landed, took possession in the name of Spain, and called the place San Salvador.

His return

Sailing thence they discovered other islands. The largest, which Columbus believed "the continental province of Cathay" and christened Juana, in honor of the Spanish Infanta, has, after bearing many designations, Fernandina, Santiago, and Ave Maria, returned to its original native name of Cuba. The next, later known as Santo Domingo and Hayti, he called Española. The name of the group, the Antilles, echoes the tradition of Antilla; that of the West Indies perpetuates his error, for he had no doubt that he had reached Asiatic territory. The *Santa Maria* having been

wrecked, he left some of his sailors on Española to found a little settlement, Navidad, and hastened to carry the news of his discovery to Spain. Eleven months after the date of his patent, he arrived with proofs of his success. There was need of haste. His contemporary, Behaim, had meanwhile completed in Nuremberg a globe representing the latest geographical knowledge, and proposed to attempt such a voyage as that of Columbus. But he was too late. By his daring the Genoese adventurer, forestalling his rivals, had destroyed even the most advanced conceptions of geography, and had equalized for Spain the long and toilsome advance of Portugal in oceanic expansion. As his coat of arms later recorded, "To Castile and Leon, Columbus gave a New World."

If Portuguese discovery had unsettled mediævalism in Europe, Columbus' exploit seemed likely to destroy it. Upon the balance of trade and commerce generally the effect was not then, nor for some time, appreciable. From his voyage the discoverer brought back a few natives, a little gold, and some curious products of the western hemisphere; and for a generation this represented its contribution to the old world's material resources. But upon European thought the effect was immediate and profound, and upon its politics only less important. A thousand years of ecclesiastical conceptions of earth and man fell at a stroke. Shrewd individuals here and there doubted or discounted or denied his claim that he had found his way to the East Indies. But geographical and astronomical as well as theological ideas were none the less replaced or modified by a whole new series of deductions and hypotheses, no less important because the truth was not yet known and in many quarters judgment was still suspended.

The results

In public affairs the first result of Columbus' great exploit was the destruction of the practical monopoly of exploration by Portugal. It became immediately necessary to readjust the claims to lands outside Europe in accordance with the new situation which he created. Some thirteen years earlier, Pope Martin V, as arbiter of Christendom, had confirmed

The
division
of the
world

to Portugal the territories from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. Now, Pope Alexander VI assigned to Spain all lands beyond a line a hundred leagues west of the Azores, to which he presently added "and eastern regions to India." But Portugal protested and, in the following year, the treaty of Tordesillas fixed the line two hundred and seventy leagues further west; and here, for the time, the matter rested, while Spain devoted her energies to exploitation of her position in the new world. With that, and the discoveries of Portugal, the Mediterranean era of European history came to an end and the oceanic period began.

3-4 May
1493

25 Sept.
1493

7 June
1494

Whatever its influence on Europe, the effect of Columbus' discovery on his adopted country was immediate and powerful. Flushed with its victory over the Moors, the crown was eager for further exploits. The land was filled with men, trained to war, hating the infidel, brave, adventurous, poor, and now suddenly, on the fall of Granada, without an occupation. To such a society a new world came like a gift from Heaven. Reinforced by loans from private sources, the crown found money for a second expedition out of church tithes and confiscated property of the Jews, banished from Spain the year before. Recruits flocked to the standard of the "captain-general," and, six months from his return, Columbus sailed again with seventeen ships, a thousand recruits, two hundred volunteers; and, once at sea, this force was unexpectedly increased by the appearance of three hundred stowaways. But the ships took out not men alone. Horses, sheep, and cattle, vegetable-seeds, grain, vines, and fruit-trees from Spain; goats, pigs, chickens, orange, lemon, and melon seeds, and, above all, sugar-cane from the Canaries, where they stopped to refit, made up the first gift of the old world to the new, so curiously deficient in these necessities of European life. And, had the crown foreseen, as well, the need of women colonists, perhaps the darkest chapter of Spanish expansion would not have been written.

Columbus'
second
voyage

Discovering a new island, Dominica, on their way, no trace was found of Navidad, whose settlers doubtless died at

native hands; and a new colony, Isabella, was established, which was at once a type of Spanish civilization and a model for its later settlements. Streets and a plaza were laid out; and, among the rude huts of the men, rose public buildings of stone, an arsenal and storehouse, a fort, a hospital, and a church, symbols at once of the authority and the meaning of the Spanish power now about to be established in this new environment. But illness, disappointment at the scantiness of gold, internal dissension, and trouble with the natives ensued. Public opinion began to turn against the venture; and when Columbus, having explored Cuba, Jamaica, and southern Española, returned to Spain two years later, he had to defend his rights, restore shaken confidence, and recruit fresh settlers for his colony by any means, even from the jails.

John
Cabot

1497

Before he could set out again, other nations entered the field. A certain Zuan Caboto, Anglicized John Cabot, Genoese-born and naturalized in Venice, having visited Lisbon to learn the new geography, had settled in Bristol. Thence, under patent from Henry VII, he sailed with eighteen men across the North Atlantic in the summer of 1497; and, after six weeks, sighted land, most probably Cape Breton Island, and so returned to England to receive the title of Grand Admiral, ten pounds from the royal chest, twenty pounds pension from the customs of Bristol, and a patent for another voyage. But the results of that second voyage, if such there was, are uncertain, and with some contribution to geography and the establishment of English claims on North America, his gallant exploit ended save for its influence on the fortunes of his son and companion, Sebastian, who was destined to great deeds in later years.

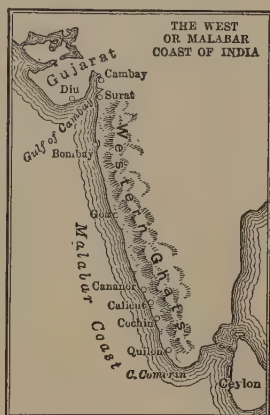
Vasco da
Gama

It was far different with Portugal. Roused by the success of Spain, her enterprise revived with the accession of Emmanuel, aptly styled, not the Great, but the Fortunate; and a fleet was prepared to find the sea-way to the East. Nothing was omitted to ensure success. Three ships and a transport, a hundred and sixty men, commanded by an able and experienced gentleman of the court, Vasco da Gama, backed by

the experience of Diaz and Covilham, set out at the same time that Cabot sailed for the greatest voyage yet undertaken by Europeans. Refitting at the Cape Verde Islands, his little fleet steered boldly out into the Atlantic for ninety-three days before making land at St. Helena Bay, a hundred miles north of the Cape of Good Hope. The cape was rounded in November and da Gama spent Christmas at a place called thence Natal. De-

Mar.-June
1497

layed by storms, winds, currents, and mutiny, he passed his destined stopping-place, Sofala, so far at sea as to miss its much desired harbor, was repulsed by native hostility at the Zambesi, Mozambique, and Mombasa, and reached Melinde before finding a friendly sultan and a pilot to take him across the Indian Ocean. Thence, after twenty-three days' sail, he finally cast anchor, more than a year from the time he left Portugal, at Calicut, a principal port of the western or Malabar coast of India, and the chief center of the spice trade in that quarter of the world.



The region to which the Portuguese had made their way was the shore line divided from the interior by a mountain barrier, the so-called western Ghâts, "the landing-stairs to India" proper. Here, when the great Hindu kingdom of Chera had dissolved, five centuries before, a group of petty sovereignties had established and had thus far maintained themselves. From Bombay to Cape Comorin a long line of them, Goa, Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, Cochin, Quilon, shared this narrow land, their chief resource their ports, their chief income derived from that commerce which made their coast the focus of exchange between the merchants from the further East and those Arab traders who carried Asiatic goods by fleet and caravan to European borders, where they were, in turn, transferred to Genoese or Venetian hands. Of

India—the
Malabar
coast

Indian affairs and conditions the Portuguese then and for long thereafter knew virtually nothing. The Hindu kingdom of Vijanayagar in the south, the Mohammedan empire of Delhi in the north, like the lesser principalities, were as yet not even names to them. It was long before they even learned of the Mohammedan sultanates about Cambay, whose jealous hostility they were to experience.

The Arabs

This was, in fact, their chief danger. They had invaded Arab commercial monopoly and taken Mohammedanism in the rear. But Arab-Mohammedan supremacy which, in the centuries since it had overwhelmed north Africa and Spain, had spread its power throughout northern and western India, was not prepared to yield its trade monopoly without a blow. Arab merchants had dotted Indian coasts with their agents, filled its harbors with ships, covered its seas with their convoys. With them had gone their faith, till, from Malacca to Alexandria, they had become the dominant commercial power, and, through centuries of active enterprise, Malabar had grown to be the center of their trading empire. They were far from intolerant. Where they went Hindu and Jew, Persian Parsee, Nestorian Christian, and Moslem Arab mingled with faiths from the farther East in the mutual forbearance engendered by commercial relations. But on one point they were resolved: not to admit another, least of all a Christian European power, as a rival in their trade.

Da Gama's adventures and return

The advent of the Portuguese into this long established circle challenged at once its faith and its economy, and the invaders felt its antagonism at once. Scarcely had they landed when Moorish merchants conspired with state officials to expel or destroy them. The ruler of Calicut, the so-called Zamorin or Sea Rajah, was influenced against them, and only good fortune and the ability of their leader saved them from destruction. Harassed, insulted, well-nigh betrayed, da Gama endured, dissembled, and at last, evading the fate prepared for him, made his way to the neighboring city of Cananor, loaded his ships, and so retraced his way by Melinde around Africa. "With the pumps in their hands and the Virgin Mary in their mouths," his exhausted crews

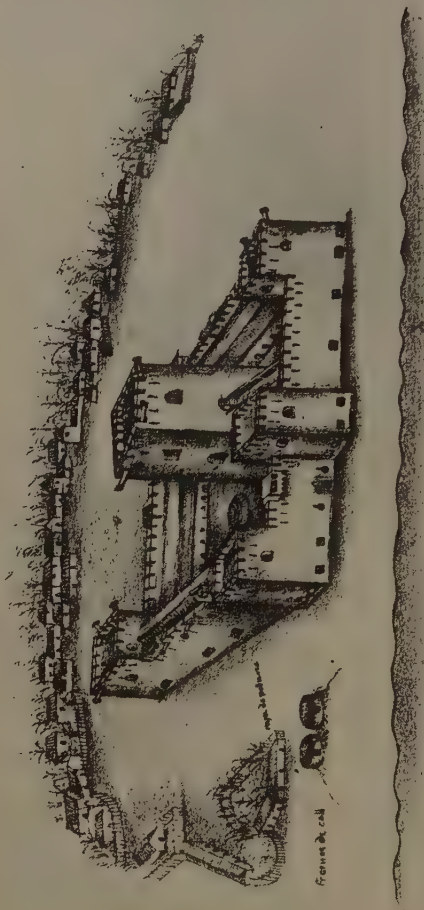


VIEWS OF CALICUT (above) AND GOA.

The view of Calicut is from Münster's *Cosmographie* (1575), from a much older original, probably drawn in the early years of the 16th century shortly after the arrival of the Portuguese. The picture of Goa is from the same source and with probably the same origin, as later pictures in each case show much larger and more elaborate city plans and buildings.

CALECOW

CALECOW



O REY DE CALECOW CÔTEMOR QUE OS NÓSOS TOMARIA DELLE VINGANÇA DA MORTE DO MACHICAL CÔMITOZ
ROGOS AFONSO DALBOGVERQUE LHE ASENIOV R3Z /ASENDO ESTA PORTELEZA ASVA- CASTA QUE ESTIEVE
EM MVITA IDA3 A TE OANO DE -1525 QUE DO JOAM DE LIMA-SENDO-CAPITAM ALIUTOV OUA ESEDE33 ESTA
FOATELESA EM TENPO DO GOVERNADOR DOM ANRIQUE DE MENESES

THE PORTUGUESE FORTRESS AT CALICUT.

Cerrea; from Albuquerque's *Commentaries*. A typical example of the more elaborate type of 16th century fortification by which Portugal secured her principal ports. It is of the older castle type, and these strongholds were commonly called "castles." Note the central tower or keep, and the cannon mounted in the tops of the towers. Compare with the view of S. Jorge de Mina, vol. II, p. 77.

brought their storm-racked, leaky vessels to the Azores with a loss of near two-thirds of their number, da Gama's brother among them. Two years and a half after their departure they anchored again in the Tagus. If their dangers and hardships had been great, the reward of the survivors was commensurate, for sixty times the cost of the expedition was returned in profits. Da Gama was ennobled and the King assumed the title of "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and China,"—at once a symbol of achievement and a prophecy. Throughout the land feasts and public thanksgivings celebrated da Gama's return; for the dream of Prince Henry had at last come true, and Portugal saw the road to wealth and power lie open to its energies.

But Portuguese rejoicings found no echo elsewhere in Europe. Far slighter in its effect on European thought, da Gama's exploit far surpassed that of Columbus in its influence on affairs. The Genoese had, indeed, found a new world, but its vast, sparsely inhabited, and wholly uncivilized stretches of coast and forest, with some curiosities, pearls, and dye-woods, enough gold to whet the appetite for more, a turbulent colony, and an unrivaled collection of marvelous tales which, six years after his discovery, formed the total result of his achievement, seemed almost trivial beside the prospects held out by this first voyage of the Portuguese. Instead of exploring vast reaches of tropical sea and shore to find, at best, half-naked savages; or bearing settlers and the necessities of life to a struggling colony, da Gama had sailed into a safe harbor filled with the commerce of three continents. He had encountered a civilization in many respects comparable to his own, in a land whose dense population, while it forbade colonization, offered unlimited possibilities of trade, with almost incredible profits. Of the vast interior of India the Portuguese knew little and cared less. For the difficulties confronting them they cared scarcely more. They had but little inclination and scarcely more opportunity for territorial conquest. Their sole interest was to secure a foothold and the control of the commerce between Asia

The results

and Europe, to become the middlemen from whom, instead of from Arab or Italian merchants, all Europe must buy.

Thus early were the differences determined not merely between the rival ambitions of Portugal and Spain, but between the types of European political expansion, and European influence in the East and West. Nor was this all. On the great trading centers of Europe—the long line of Italian posts stretching toward the East; on Venice and Genoa; even on the network of northern Hanse towns—Turkish and Mongol conquest had borne hard. Commerce had struggled through the barrier thus raised; the greater part, which had once found its way between the Levant and Italy, was diverted to Egypt or north of the Caspian, paid tribute to the conqueror, and, however crippled, had somehow gone on. To its merchants Columbus' discovery, once the more clear-sighted had perceived its significance, made little difference. From that quarter their traffic with the East had nothing to fear. But when the news of da Gama's voyage came, Italian city councils and guilds met with sinking hearts, and women wept in the streets. For the dullest intelligence could see that, unless in some way the Portuguese were checked, the ruin of the older capitals of commerce was at hand.

The blow was met in different ways. The Venetians, on whom it fell hardest of all, for a time even joined hands with Egypt to repel the invader. Florence and Genoa, the richer merchants of the north, and the Hanse towns, hastened to share the profits; and unlicensed adventurers from many lands sought, sometimes with success, the closely guarded way to the wealth of the East. The outlet for her commercial and conquering activities so long closed by the successes of the Asiatic hordes pressing upon her eastern borders was now opened in another quarter, and Europe hastened to enjoy its profits and to take her ancient enemies in the flank and rear.

Conclusion
—Europe
and the
discoveries

Such were the great events which, as the fifteenth century wore to a close, determined the future of European development. In the world of politics centralized despotism became

the order of the day among the national states of the west. In the wider field of international relations these same powers found themselves in rivalry for pre-eminence, and Italian dissension provided an outlet for their ambitious plans. At the same time the intellectual movement centering in that peninsula was confronted by the concurrent attack on the ecclesiastical establishment which had its capital there, and the astonishing revelations of the scope and content of the world through Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Hence simultaneously every department of European life was stimulated from these various centers to a new activity. The century which began with Portuguese adventure in Africa and the uncovering of the ancient civilization, which midway of its career experienced the shock of the Turkish capture of Constantinople, thus ended in a burst of conquering and creative energy which at once revealed new worlds to European experience and pointed the way to an unparalleled opportunity to exercise those qualities and resources which the preceding generations had done so much to strengthen and secure.

Of this there is one striking illustration. Between the fall of the Roman Empire and the discovery of America, Europe had been rather the passive than the active element in that great shifting of population to which we give the name of folk-wandering or migration. Within her own borders, indeed, there had been great movements which altered the whole complexion of her peoples. The Norsemen and the Crusaders had pushed a little way beyond her boundaries. But the pressure of Asia upon Europe had been far stronger than that of Europeans upon the other continents. Tartar and Finn, Arab, Magyar, Turk and Bulgarian had made good their occupation of great stretches of European territory and had reduced materially the area once held by so-called European peoples.

Now, however, all was changed. From the years which saw the entry of Portugal and Spain into lands beyond the sea to the present day the great, outstanding factor in the world's affairs has been European aggression. If there is

one thing above all others which divides mediæval from modern world history it is the fact that the conditions of folk-wandering have been reversed. Europe is no longer the goal but the starting-point of migration. And this circumstance in no small degree measures her altered status among the continents; and characterizes, as well as conditions, what we know as modern polity.

CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN POLITICS

THE RISE OF NATIONAL KINGSHIPS. 1400-1517

THE exploits of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama determine definitely that break between the middle ages and modern Europe which had already found expression in the Renaissance and a point of departure in the fall of Constantinople. The developments which culminated in the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the lands beyond, of the way about Africa and the sources of Asiatic trade, revolutionized not merely the economic bases of European life; they had no less effect upon the intellect. They accelerated progress along certain lines of thought and action, and at the same time brought the end of other activities within sight. While they opened new channels of trade and new fields for conquest, they dealt a blow to Italy's commercial supremacy from which she never recovered. While they stimulated the intellectual activities which based themselves on science and investigation, they undermined theological speculation based on dogma and revelation.

Finally the discoveries came ultimately to affect that from which they seemed for the moment most remote, the field of continental politics. They modified the relations of one state with another, in Europe itself. They brought European power into contact with strange lands and peoples, with systems and interests hitherto foreign to European experience. But these were not their greatest and most far-reaching results. For they established in distant lands new societies, modified by their peculiar environment, like, and yet unlike, Europe itself. However much they influenced the regions which they now entered, Europeans were, in their turn, affected scarcely less by the return current of the conditions and actions of

The
discoveries
and
European
politics

their opponents, and still more by the activities of their own descendants in those distant centers. And however profoundly the European intellect was stimulated by the unfolding of a great past, it was inspired no less by the prospect of a still greater future, which was revealed by the discoveries.

The begin-
nings of
modern
European
polity

These wider and deeper issues, however, were as yet far distant. For the time being men were more concerned by a problem which lay nearer at hand—the development of European polity. During the very years which had seen the vast extension of her knowledge and her power through the activities of her scholars and her adventurers, Europe had been engaged in revolutionizing the theories and practices of her political life. Among the elements which combined with the Renaissance and the discoveries, to lay the foundations of the modern world during this eventful fifteenth century, not the least was the development of national and international relationships into a system, which, however rudimentary and unformed, resembled that to which we are accustomed far more than it was like the mediæval complex from which it was evolved. Before the end of the century, so rapid was the progress of this movement, Europe had been transformed into a group of national kingships, well on the way toward absolutism, and the map of the continent, like the organization of political affairs, had taken on a form not wholly unfamiliar to our eyes.

France and
England

That development had been almost if not quite contemporary with the progress of the Renaissance and the age of discovery. In the same months that Poggio Bracciolini had turned from his duties at the Council of Constance to collect classical manuscripts, King John had prepared his expedition against Ceuta, and his nephew, Henry V of England, began the final stage of that hundred years' war with France, which had already lasted three-quarters of a century. Three months after the capture of Ceuta, the victory of Agincourt put northern France into his hands, and his marriage with the French princess confirmed his title as regent and heir of the French monarchy. For a time it seemed that

the long-cherished dream of the English kings might be realized and the two lands joined under one crown. But Henry's death, seven years later, brought that dream to an end. From the moment of the accession of his feeble son and heir, Henry VI, to the English throne, the English cause in France was doomed. Despite their desperate resistance, and the ability of their leader, the Duke of Bedford, they lost ground. With the advent of the heroic Joan of Arc, the French, aided by the designing Duke of Burgundy, inspired by what they reckoned the miraculous intervention of Providence in the person of the peasant girl of Domremy, and guided by the genius of their commanders, began to win back their land. At the same moment that Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turk, the battle of Châtillon broke the power of the English in France, and of their wide possessions they retained only Calais as the symbol of their ambitious designs.

The collapse of their continental power was not entirely due to the intervention of the martyred peasant heroine, or to the lack of the gallantry of English troops; nor was the French success owing wholly to their superior virtue or skill in arms. As the war went on England had become involved in the coils of civil dispute, which the weak Lancastrian king was powerless to check. At the same time the people of France were welded into one by their common hatred of the invader, and found in their ruler, Charles VII, "the well-served," a focus for that spirit of common custom and purpose to which we give the name of nationality. Scarcely had the battle of Châtillon been fought, when the effects of these divergent forces were apparent in the two nations. The insanity of the English king and the birth of an heir brought to a head the rivalry of the two houses of York and Lancaster, the one desirous, the other in possession of the throne. The Duke of York, deposed from his regency by the recovery of the king, took arms against the crown, and there began that devastating conflict known as the Wars of the Roses, which for a full generation absorbed the energies of the English people.

France

Meanwhile, France, under the rule of Charles VII, had moved forward toward unity and strong administration. A standing army was established; and the States General agreed on a fixed tax to support it; the liberties of the Gallican church were asserted against Papal dominance; and with these reforms and the success against the English, there began that consolidation of territory and royal power which continued

1461-83



throughout the century. To Charles VII succeeded his son, Louis XI, whose shrewd, intriguing rule brought France increasing boundaries and strength. From Aragon he bought the border fortress of Roussillon; over the Somme towns and Normandy he assumed royal rights; and, in spite of the opposition of

powerful leagues of nobles aided by Burgundy and Spain, his policy of aggrandizement made way.

1477

Finally, when the rash attempt of Charles the Bold of Burgundy to extend his frontiers in Switzerland and France brought him defeat and death, the astute French king ended his long labors with fresh accession of territory. Anjou and Bar had already come under his authority; now Guienne and part of Burgundy were added to his dominions. His work, crowned finally by the marriage of his son to Anne of Brittany, rounded out the boundaries of a new France.

1481

1485

Meanwhile, the battle of Bosworth Field, last of the many engagements which had marked the Wars of the Roses, cost Richard III his life and the Yorkist cause the throne. Henry of Richmond, of the Tudor line, took the crown as

the prize of his victory and established a new dynasty, confirming his title by marriage with the Yorkist heiress, and so uniting England again. Thus, at almost the same moment, the old rivals found themselves in the same position, their earlier internal differences largely removed and their strength consolidated under a vastly increased royal authority, prepared to use its newly won power in the cause of absolutism.

Had Europe remained in the same situation which had Spain confronted it a generation earlier, it might well have been that the reviving energy of England and of France would have renewed their quarrel where they had left off thirty years before. But politics, like every other aspect of society, had been revolutionized in the interval. On the south the long conflicts between the rival houses of Castile and Aragon, which had filled a great part of the middle ages and divided the interest of those Christian states with wars against the Moors, had come to an end. Moreover, with the accession of Ferdinand the Catholic to the throne of Aragon, six years before the battle of Bosworth Field, the fortunes of the Spanish states were finally united. For he had married the heiress of Castile, the princess Isabella, and, at the moment that England and France took their place in European polity in something of the form they were to keep for centuries, the kingdom of Spain, now finally unified, turned to conclude that long conflict with the Mohammedan power which still held the southern part of the peninsula. 1479-1516

Nor was this all. There are two circumstances beside the rise of these national kingships which in the light of later events distinguish the fifteenth century in the realm of politics. The one is the development of powerful states east of the Oder; the other is the fact that central Europe resisted the impulse toward the aggregation of lands under a centralized monarchy, and perpetuated those smaller local sovereignties which it was the purpose of the rest of the continent to merge into greater organisms. Of these the first was, for the time being, the more significant. At the same moment that western Europe was being transformed Eastern Europe

into political units which look familiar to modern eyes, these eastern regions, under like impulse, began a process of amalgamation and centralization which not merely created political entities but brought them into contact with the current of European affairs in which they were to play an increasing part. Thus, in no small degree, these contributed to the expansion of Europe, as it were, within her own geographical boundaries.

The lands which now began to take their place in European polity were those vast forests and plains east of the Oder. In the main they were occupied or at least dominated by the Slavic peoples who, with the Celtic elements in the west and the Teutonic elements in the center, made up the great ethnic groups into which the European peoples are roughly divided.

The
Scandi-
navians

800-1000

Nowhere was the process of organization more needed than here, if these races were to become a part of the European system. The Scandinavian states had been organized centuries before into the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which in varying relationships still endured. They had already made their great contribution to history in the form of a folk-wandering which had established their dukedoms and principalities along the northern borders of the continent. They had founded Normandy, conquered England, and, from Greenland to Sicily, had dotted the coasts and islands with their settlements and the states which had arisen from their conquests. Central and western Europe had evolved their own systems of society and administration. The east remained, therefore, the only district still somewhat apart from the main current of European affairs at the beginning of the fifteenth century. And its entry into that circle is, in consequence, of no less importance to Europe's history than the developments of politics and culture in the west, or the extension of European power beyond the sea.

Russia
835-935

A beginning had long since been made. In the same century that the storm of Norse and Danish invasion had burst upon the west, and the fierce warrior-seamen had gained their first booty, then a foothold in France and the British Isles,

their Swedish cousins had found among the rude and unorganized Slavs a field for like conquering activities, especially in the regions east and southeast of the Baltic. While Rollo founded the dukedom of Normandy in France, and Guthrum established his rule over East Anglia in Britain, a horde of Swedish adventurers set up principalities, duchies, and free cities, and organized a group of rival states, Tver and Pskoff, Novgorod and Moscow, and their suzerain, the principality of Kieff, whose early and long continued activities expressed themselves chiefly, as usual, in the form of wars, with each other and with their neighbors.

The dreary chronicle of this long rivalry was interrupted by the great Mongol invasion. This, in the thirteenth century, swept across the steppes from central Asia, brought the wide plains north of the Black and Caspian seas under Tartar dominion, and reduced the Slavic principalities to little more than vassal states. Thenceforth there was added to the struggles of those states among themselves a long and bitter conflict with the Great Horde of Tartars, not unlike that which the Iberian peoples had carried on against the Moors in the west. This struggle, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, had brought the duchy of Moscow into the position of the chief champion of Slavic independence and so given it a certain primacy among its fellows. Meanwhile, from among these various elements had been slowly evolved, as the only profitable result of almost constant war, the loosely-woven kingdoms known as Poland and Lithuania, which, sharing the conflict with the Tartars, had found themselves opposed by the Swedish power pressing upon them from the north and that of the Germans pushing forward from the west. These, united under the house of Jagello, were destined to endure in that connection for more than two centuries.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the advance guards of this Germanic invasion, the crusading orders of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword, had conquered a considerable territory about the southern shores of the Baltic, and had spread their power among the heathen peoples, Prussians, Livonians, Esthonians, Wends, and kin-

Moscow
and the
Tartars

1225-50

1386-1592

The
Germanic
orders
1226-83

dred tribes which occupied that district. The greater part of Lithuania fell into their hands. But, five years before the battle of Agincourt and the capture of Ceuta, the Teutonic Knights had suffered a great defeat at the hands of the united Poles and Lithuanians in the battle of Tannenberg.

1410



As a result of this catastrophe, their power, already undermined by the same forces which had weakened all such crusading orders, ceased to expand its territorial sovereignty.

Such was the situation of the east at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The destruction of Kieff by the Mongols in 1240, and its subsequent conquest by the Lithuanians eighty years later, brought the duchy of Muscovy to the leadership

Hungary
and
Bohemia

of what was to be known as Russia, while the Poles, meanwhile, absorbed the debatable land of Lithuania. Nor was this all of the eastern situation. Far to the south, at the same time that the Norsemen established themselves in the west and the Swedes in the east, a Turanian tribe allied to the Finns, the so-called Magyars, had conquered the district known as Hungary. There they set up a kingdom of their own, whose fortunes were interwoven with those of their neighbors, and at the end of the fourteenth century united them for a time under the same crown with Poland. Beside these, still, a branch of the Slavic peoples, the Czechs, as they were called, had occupied that land we know as Bohemia, and there maintained a precarious independence until the beginning of the century of amalgamation and expansion, which commenced with Ceuta and Agincourt.

875-900

1370-82

Were the history of Europe dependent on the mere recital of endless conflicts among such elements, it would have the same interest as a chronicle of the wars of kites and crows, the same importance as the struggle for better hunting grounds between rival wolf packs. But there were other factors involved in this evolution. About the year 1000 the missionaries of the Greek and Roman Catholic communions began to find their way among the new conquerors of the east, as five hundred years earlier the emissaries of the Roman and Celtic churches had begun to Christianize the Franks and Anglo-Saxons in the west, and, more recently, the Scandinavian peoples at home and in their distant conquests. Thus Russia and Lithuania became converted to the Greek—Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary to the Roman—form of Christianity. And there began that connection with Constantinople and Rome which, like the earlier activity of the church in the west, contributed to the spread of what we call civilization, as well as to the improvement of faith and morals.

The
church in
eastern
Europe

The second influence was that of trade. With the establishment of centers of population and power like those cities which, beginning with Novgorod, had risen among the rude communal settlements of the original inhabitants, came the

Commerce
in eastern
Europe

development of commerce, first among themselves, then with their neighbors, as the demand grew for things which their own resources could not provide. The shrewd and enterprising merchants of the Hanseatic League were quick to find their way to peoples who could supply them with furs and skins, with the products of forests and fisheries. Thus there sprang up, in the course of centuries, a brisk trade which, even more than the ministrations of the churchmen, brought these rude peoples into touch first with the material, then, more slowly, with the intellectual progress of western Europe. To this the struggles between the east and west contributed, for they learned of their enemies. And, however retarded in their development, by the Mongol invasions, the Slavs thus came within the widening bounds of European culture.

Social
condition
of the
Slavs

They were, indeed, far behind the peoples of the west in their social and political, no less than in their cultural evolution. Their peasantry maintained the rude organization of the village community, or *mir*, for centuries after it had been superseded by other types of land tenure and cultivation in the rest of Europe. Their ruling classes and their administration tended continually to revert to Asiatic rather than advance to European standards, and a certain barbaric spirit was evident in their habits and tastes. As late as the fifteenth century it was still possible for a Muscovite ruler to confiscate the goods of foreign merchants and so drive trade from his territories. It was possible for the Polish nobility to reduce their tenants to the condition of serfdom a hundred years after villenage had virtually disappeared in England. The doctrines and practices of feudalism and chivalry were still powerful in Poland nearly two centuries after they had vanished in western Europe, while they can scarcely be said to have influenced Russia at all. There was not in these eastern states, until far into modern times, any such middle class as that which played so great a part in western Europe. Thus the entry of these peoples into the circle of European affairs marked for them, as for Europe itself, a great step forward in the progress of the politics and the civilization of the continent.

As its earliest agents had been the Scandinavian conquerors, its later representatives had been the Germans, who, whether as merchants or adventurers, looked with longing eyes upon the Slavic peoples and their territories. And hardly had the results of the battle of Tannenberg become apparent, when the Empire took up the sword which had fallen from the hands of the Teutonic Knights. By the establishment of a mark or border county along the lower Oder, to protect Germany in that quarter from possible inroads, in the twelfth century it had conferred that region upon the house of Ballenstädt or Askania. Thence it had come into the hands of Ludwig of Bavaria, thence it passed to Austria, and now again it changed masters.

The Em-
pire and
eastern
Europe—
Branden-
burg

The beginnings of the power which now acquired these lands debatable were simple enough. The Council of Constance, among its numerous activities, confirmed and invested a certain Frederick of Hohenzollern, burggraf or city count of Nuremberg, with the territories granted to him by the Emperor, and he became markgraf or count of the marches of Brandenburg, commissioned to hold the northern borders against the Slavs. With this began the history of that house which, as the rulers of what was to be known as Prussia, thenceforth played a part in European politics. Twenty-three years later the house of Hapsburg, which had held a similar position along the Danube for a century and a half, and had advanced its borders deep into Germany by the conquest of the Bohemians, achieved election to the headship of the Empire. This it retained, through many vicissitudes, in an unbroken line of male descent and election for three hundred years. Following these adjustments, the throne of Poland-Lithuania was now confirmed in the house of Jagello, that of Russia in the line of Rurik, the house of Wettin became the rulers of Saxony, and the Scandinavian kingdoms were united under the Danish-Norwegian crown. In such fashion the eastern states now began to take form, and from this situation proceeded the events of the fifteenth century.

The
Hapsburgs

Nothing can better illustrate the contrast between the rival political principles at work during that eventful epoch than

Poland

a comparison between the two great Slavic states in these same periods. While the rest of Europe tended toward absolutism, the Polish nobles began to assert successfully the power of their order against the other elements of the state. The diet began to overshadow the king, and to legislate in favor of the class which controlled it. The result was soon apparent, not only in the depression of the peasants into serfdom, but in the exclusion of the middle class from the slender political privileges which they had earlier enjoyed. Flushed with their victory over those beneath them, the nobles turned against the crown, enacted laws forbidding the king to declare war without their consent, and took to themselves the virtual direction of executive action. Worse still, they laid the foundations of that right of free veto which, by making unanimous consent of the diet necessary to the enactment of laws, made salutary legislation impossible, and so gradually reduced the state to impotence.

Muscovy

1462-1505

While Poland established a system which, in later generations, was to make her one of the great prizes of European rivalry, her great neighbor on the east rose to power by a precisely opposite policy. With the accession of Ivan III began an era not unlike that which the reign of Louis XI brought to France. His first efforts were directed against the free city of Novgorod, which, sixteen years after he came to the throne, was overpowered by Muscovy. Thereafter Tver, Ryasan, and the dependencies of Pskoff fell into his hands, and the way was opened for the acquisition of the latter city state. As the power of the Golden Horde declined, Ivan seized the opportunity to throw off the Tartar yoke. Finally, by his marriage to Sophia Palæologus, niece of the last Emperor of the East, who found refuge from the Turks among the Muscovites, he learned from the Byzantine princes "to penetrate the secret of autocracy." He assumed the double-headed eagle as the symbol of his authority and of his ambition to be regarded as the successor of the dynasty which had fallen before the Turkish attack, and so inaugurated that policy which for more than four hundred years has directed its strength toward the recovery of Constantinople by a Christian state. To this he added a code of laws,

1469

and the beginnings of a system which looked toward the absolute power of the crown over nobles and peasants alike. And at the same moment that Columbus was discovering America, Ivan III was building his citadel, known as the Kremlin. In such fashion, strangely like that pursued by



England and France in the same years, was the Muscovite power consolidated into a Russian kingdom, at once the pupil and the presumptive heir of the Byzantine Empire, whose religion it professed and to whose leadership of the east it thenceforth aspired.

Nor was the spirit of consolidation less apparent in Germany. Its history, during the fifteenth century, though it

Austria
and Switzer-
land

1353-86

lacked somewhat of the spectacular quality of war and diplomacy which it so strikingly exhibited thereafter, and though it met with no such success as its neighbors east and west, revealed the same powerful motive as that which dominated the affairs of its neighbors. Midway of the century, after long conflict, the house of Hapsburg finally lost its hold on those tiny territories of the western Alps, which, under the name of Switzerland, combined into a species of republic which has maintained its independence, almost without a break, from that day to this. But with the accession of Maximilian in the year after the discovery of America, this was, in some measure, compensated by the acquisition of the eastern Alpine region, known as the Tyrol, and the reversion of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which have since remained in Hapsburg hands. With these, joined to the region known as Austria and the Austrian Alps, reinforced by the scattered lands of his old Swabian inheritance, Maximilian laid the foundations of the Hapsburg power which for four hundred years has played a principal part in the history of the continent.

Germany
and Maxi-
milian I

1493-1519

This was accompanied by efforts to bring the Empire over which he exercised a variable suzerainty under more direct and more efficient control, comparable to that which was being established meanwhile in the states about him. Like his royal contemporaries, he endeavored to give form and substance to his imperial title, and centralized government to his dominions, which, next to Italy, stood in most need of such stable union. Like them he proclaimed and endeavored to enforce the public peace. Like them he set up a council, the Imperial Chamber, a court of appeals, and later a so-called Aulic Council, in an effort to compose the endless quarrels of the lesser rulers, and to extend his authority over them. To these he strove to add an imperial system of taxation, the "common penny"; and, establishing units of local administration, the "cercles," as they were known, he made a serious attempt to create real unity under imperial forms and authority. To such designs the German middle classes, like their fellows in other lands, were not averse,

but among the selfish, decentralizing class of petty rulers they roused powerful opposition, which neither his authority, nor his character, nor the strength of his supporters was sufficient to overcome. On these, and on his foreign policy which involved him in Italian affairs, his great design was wrecked. Of all his schemes only the marriage alliances which united the Hapsburg house with those of Burgundy, Bohemia-Hungary, and Aragon proved ultimately successful. In them he laid the foundations for the world-empire of his grandson and imperial successor, Charles V; and this, as it proved, was his chief contribution to the next phase of European history.

If it were not enough that, during this eventful fifteenth century, England, France and Spain, Austria, Russia and Poland took on something of the form they were thenceforth to retain, so all-pervasive was the influence of the consolidating and dynastic forces in this period, they found their way even into the Papacy. Among the phenomena which the European world exhibited at the beginning of the sixteenth century, none was more typical than the career of that Giuliano della Rovere who ascended the Papal throne as Julius II. Trained by his uncle, Sixtus IV, in the arts of diplomacy and administration, he became a prince of the church in fact as in name. When the Borgias, joined with the Sforzas, outwitted their rivals, the della Roveres, and set Roderigo Borgia in the Papal chair as Alexander VI, the future Julius II took refuge with Charles VIII of France and incited him to the invasion of Italy in revenge. Chosen Pope, this greatest of the della Roveres fought, intrigued, negotiated like any lay sovereign to emancipate the temporal power of the Papacy and to advance the fortunes of his house. The Papal States were freed from the pressure of outside powers, Venice subdued by aid of France and the Empire, and these, in turn, expelled from Italy by his adroit diplomacy. Had he been a lay prince, it is by no means improbable that he might have succeeded in uniting Italy, as he aspired to do. Even in his failure to accomplish this great end he revealed not only the qualities which set him

The
Papacy

—Alex-
ander VI
1492-1503

—Julius
II
1503-13

among the great statesmen of his age, but that spirit which was then remodeling the continent. And among the various manifestations of political and ecclesiastical activity which the fifteenth century and its successors afforded, not the least significant was the contest between the church and the Papacy, the one bent upon limiting Papal power by councils, the other determined to remain, as far as possible, an autocracy.

Despotism

By virtue of these events, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, five powerful states, Spain, France, England, Russia, and Austria, arose in Europe, four of them based on the new principle of nationality, and at least three of them prepared by their position to dispute the supremacy of the Atlantic with Portugal, if and when opportunity presented itself. Different as they were, those peoples which had embarked on the uncharted sea of political experiment had one thing in common, the desire to substitute some new form of government in place of that feudal system whose evils they had experienced long after its good effects had passed away. To men who had suffered from the anarchy which it had engendered there appeared but one remedy, and that was offered them by those ruling houses which saw in this spirit of discontent an opportunity to extend their own power. This was the establishment of a central government able and willing to ensure the discontinuance of private war and those local rivalries which had thus far been an effective barrier against the development of the arts of peace. In that belief they welcomed the creation of a royal authority which grouped together peoples of like language, customs, and traditions, as well as common interests, in larger and stronger units. What democracy was to be to the nineteenth century, despotism was to the sixteenth.

Yet it was far from the despotism of an Asiatic type, especially in western Europe. It was based as much upon the consent of the middle and lower classes which saw in the supremacy of one ruler the pledge of internal peace and security so necessary to material and social prosperity, as it was upon the desires and ambitions of great dynastic interests for their own aggrandizement. Everywhere the

mercantile element, in particular, supported the growing authority of the king, and the widening bounds of an official power strong enough to check the petty oppression and the imminent dangers of local despots. For this they were willing to sacrifice something of their own slender liberties. For this they were willing to endure the burdens of national taxes and national struggles; since they felt, however dimly, something of the new national security, and of the new national greatness, in which they had a share, however humble.

With this were bound up the problems of the extent and limitations of the rapidly increasing royal authority; and of these the first naturally seemed of chief importance to the dynasties which had found their opportunity for wider power in the popular antagonism to feudal organization and the nascent spirit of nationality. Almost without exception the various states of Europe, thus being revolutionized, saw the rise of that most universal and natural of all political devices, a council of those whose secular or ecclesiastical authority entitled them to a voice in government. But the new national royal council differed from that of the feudal régime which had preceded it in at least one important particular. It represented rather the king than the nobility. It was long necessary to distribute the offices of state among those whose possessions made their support essential to the crown. But the constant tendency of the new kingship was to decrease the numbers and the influence of that baronage which had so long directed the course of public affairs to their own advantage and the popular injury. In consequence, the royal council tended henceforth to the inclusion of men dependent on the king and devoted to his interest as against all other elements in the state. As royal power had grown by the extension of its own system of jurisdiction over that highly prized prerogative of the mediæval baronage, justice became the monopoly of the crown, and as the king's council became the source of law, his courts became the fountain of justice.

The new
royal
councils

Local administration followed a like course; and beside, or in the place of, baronial jurisdictions appeared the crown

Absolutism
and local
govern-
ment

officers, to preserve peace, collect taxes, try cases, and represent the central authority. In many cases provincial courts and councils were established, dependent on the royal authority as they were created by it. And though the conflict between the particularism of the mediæval lordships and the centralizing authority of the new kingships hung long undetermined, the new absolutism gradually replaced the old. In so far as it was better administered, and affected all districts and all classes more equally, it received more and more support, until, within two centuries, it had virtually destroyed the old decentralizing feudal system in most parts of Europe. Only in the central powers, Germany and Italy, it found more than its match in the princes. These, while they maintained the same principles as the greater sovereigns, were as unwilling to fuse their interests with those of the imperial authority as they were impotent to enlarge their principalities to embrace whole nationalities.

Absolutism
and the
national
assemblies

Such was the contribution which the national kingships made to political practice by the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, however modified by time and circumstance, such it remained until it was displaced by a greater force,—for the principles of absolutism are among the oldest and most elementary in the government of men. Beside this problem of establishing unlimited authority and intimately connected with it, however, there was another element to be taken into account. Almost every European state of consequence possessed, in addition to the council, another body of advisers, inherited from the past, which had some share in the conduct of affairs. In France the States General, in Spain and Portugal the Cortes, in England the Parliament, in Poland the Diet, in Hungary the so-called Tables, thus played a part in the conduct of government, which varied with the strength or weakness of the classes above it.

The royal houses, while confronted with an opportunity to establish absolute power, found, therefore, two forces to be crushed or conciliated; and according to their circumstances or their strength, they proceeded to adjust their relations with nobles and people alike. The council, which

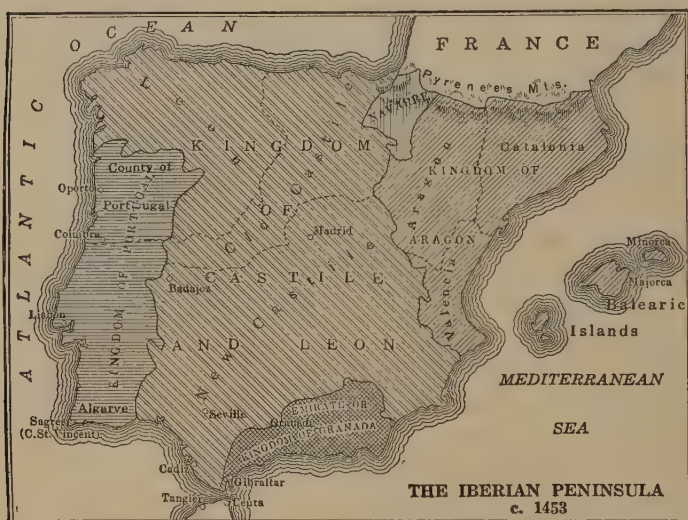
became the chief engine of their authority, was now transformed, so far as possible, into an administrative rather than a mere advisory body of great nobles; and, establishing other like bodies in the various parts of the kingdom, brought the power of the crown to bear directly on every part of the realm. As royal administration became the central fact in every department of government, whatever authority the more general if not more popular assemblies possessed tended to become subordinate to the higher power.

Their opinion was sought for less and less. As royal power grew they were more and more disregarded, till, save perhaps in England, they became almost a negligible quantity. They were called less and less frequently, and though their members and the classes which they represented struggled, often with violence, against the neglect and even the extinction of the last representative of that popular element which nearly every European state had possessed, the sixteenth century was to see the gradual decline of most of these bodies. Thus, however great the gain to the commonalty by the suppression of feudalism as a principle of administration, that gain was accompanied by a loss of most of those slender privileges which the towns in particular had earlier enjoyed; and Europe entered on her long experiment with absolutist kingships, stimulated by the spirit of nationality indeed, but sacrificing its popular liberties to the dynastic interests as the price of its release from feudal tyranny.

The most conspicuous example of this situation was found in Spain. There the accession of Ferdinand the Catholic had been accompanied by the establishment of a series of councils, for Castile, for Aragon, for Naples, and, after Columbus' exploit, for the New World. These at once limited the authority of the great nobles and ecclesiastics, who composed the group of advisers to the crown in the hands of his predecessors, and relegated the Cortes to a still lower plane in the affairs of state. To this, in Spanish hands, was added another element, dictated in part by the situation of the peninsula and in part by the spirit which that situation had done much to produce. The tribunal of the Holy

Spain—the
Councils
and the
Inquisition

Office, or Inquisition, established in the thirteenth century to stamp out heresy, had played no part in England, little in France, and less in Germany and the east. Its chief stronghold had been in Italy, but, reorganized under Ferdinand in Spain, it became an engine of both royal and ecclesiastical supremacy. Its earliest efforts had been directed against heretics in general; but it soon became a useful weapon against any whose tendency to adopt the newer principles of thought, whether religious or political, marked them out as dangerous to the old order. Its secrecy, its terrible



penalty of the auto-da-fé, whose *Cinemanderos* or cremation places claimed their victims periodically, made it a fearful symbol of the principle of terror invoked against those who ventured to differ from the establishment, and widened the breach between Spain and the liberal element in Europe.

England

1485-

However useful to the power of the crown the Inquisition proved in Spain and her dominions, it took no hold on the rest of Europe. But the political impulse which moved Ferdinand was no less strong among his contemporaries. In England, Henry VII followed almost precisely the same course as his Spanish contemporary, and though

the Parliament was too strong to be treated in the same fashion as the Cortes, it lost much of the power it had enjoyed under the house of Lancaster. In like measure the sovereigns of other realms, from France to Muscovy, entered upon the same course, and from consolidating their territories they turned to make their authority more absolute.

To this was added, almost immediately, another element, the so-called dynastic interest. Among the methods by which the unquestioned right to the throne and the amalgamation of territories in the various national states had been secured had been the matrimonial alliances of the houses which now came to direct the political destinies of Europe. By such means Castile had been united to Leon and to Aragon; by such means Brittany had been joined to the house of Capet; by such means Henry VII had confirmed his claim to the English crown, and the Hapsburg lands had been consolidated. It was but natural that this process should be extended. Scarcely was Henry VII on the English throne when he began that policy of marriage alliance with the houses of Aragon and Scotland which was to be of such great consequence in another generation. Scarcely had Ivan III begun his efforts to absorb the neighboring Slavic states when he entered on the same course. And, whatever the failures of Maximilian in emulating the successes of his contemporaries by consolidating the Empire, in the direction of his marriage policy he was the most fortunate of them all. His own marriage to the heiress of that ill-fated Charles the Bold of Burgundy, whose efforts to found a kingdom between France and the Empire had led to his defeat and death, had brought to the house of Hapsburg the greater part of the Burgundian inheritance, including those districts at the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt known to later generations as the Netherlands. And the marriage of his son to the heiress of Spain brought into the hands of his successor the greatest territories which had been until then united under one crown.

While, then, Italian scholars and Portuguese adventurers were opening new avenues for Europe's intellect and ambitions to tread, the rulers of the continent effected a revolu-

The
dynastic
interest

tion in her political condition no less important and even more spectacular than the achievements of the sea-farers and men of letters. Different as were the circumstances of their peoples and their problems, their methods and their results were essentially the same. To each the fundamental issue was the substitution of a strong and centralized royal power for feudal arrangements, the consolidation of territory and rival lordships in one family, the creation, in so far as possible, of great national kingships over peoples of like kind, and the establishment of dynasties; in brief, the division of Europe vertically rather than horizontally.

Germany

In central Europe this was not wholly possible. Whatever the success of the dynastic policy, whatever the aggregation of lands under its dominion, in one direction the Hapsburg house was bound to fail. The dynastic overpowered the national principle and there began that accumulation of sovereignties which in another generation became the admiration and the terror of the European world. In England and France, as in Spain, Portugal, and Russia, the national idea became the leading motive, and the dynastic interest, however important, a secondary element. But in Germany and Italy, divided as they were among an infinity of petty principalities, neither the national nor the imperial interest prevailed. No single house—not even that of the Hapsburgs, to which the opportunity belonged—proved itself capable of compelling unity among the decentralizing forces which dominated those regions; and these areas remained aloof from the consolidating movement of the time. Their people, in consequence, lost that opportunity, so eagerly embraced by all but the disintegrating feudal elements, to secure a broader basis of sovereignty, with relatively greater power, possibility, and peace. Despite their disadvantages, which the immediate future was to demonstrate, the national kingships that now arose offered the average man the fairest promise of security which Europe had seen since the dream of universal empire had faded before the realities of feudalism. Upon the ambitions of these new kingships the political activities of Europe thenceforth chiefly turned.

The spirit which they revealed and the direction which their energies took were determined by two forces: the one was the tendency of young and vigorous political organisms to seek new fields of power outside their own boundaries, which has, at all times, proved an active element in political history; the other was the disturbed condition of certain districts of Europe, which offered a tempting opportunity to the ambitions of neighboring rulers. Thus the establishment of the national states was marked by the beginning of a great European war. Its scene was the region which even at that moment was leading the continent along new paths of intellectual and artistic achievement, the Italian peninsula, and the chief antagonists were the two states which had thus far best expressed the principle of national kingship, Spain and France. Scarcely had Charles VIII finally united France by his marriage with Anne of Brittany when he asserted his claims to Italian territory, and, invited by the Italians themselves, made the center of the Renaissance movement the battlefield of the continent. Thus, as the first result of a century-long movement toward consolidation and absolutism, which had resulted in the formation of the national kingships, there began a conflict which was to endure in some form for more than three hundred years, only to be thwarted finally in its purpose of reducing Italy to a dependency of some power beyond the Alps.

The results
of the
national-
dynastic
system

CHAPTER V

EUROPEAN POLITICS. 1492-1521

THE ITALIAN WARS

Charles
VIII's
invasion
of Italy

1493-4

It was apparent before the news of Columbus' great discovery had been fully appreciated by European peoples that the continent had reached a crisis in its international affairs, and that the long development which had resulted in the formation of national states was about to produce some extraordinary changes unrelated either to the discovery of the western world or to the internal situation of the new political organisms now taking form. The year after the return of the Discoverer from his first voyage, Maximilian I became the ruler of Germany, and Charles VIII of France led an army across the Alps to the invasion of Italy. With those events there began a period of European history different in nearly every respect from what had gone before, and destined to the most far-reaching results. The ensuing quarter of a century, in consequence, became an era of the highest importance in the political development of Europe, and Charles' enterprise the event which, like Columbus' discovery, inaugurated a new chapter in affairs.

The situation of the continent in general, and of Italy in particular, lent itself to such exploits as that of the French king in a variety of ways, while, at the same time, it made the success of his adventure more than problematical. Spain, with the conquest of the Moors, the development of absolutism under Ferdinand, and the discovery of the western world, was now prepared to entertain designs of further conquest and take an active share in continental rivalries. England, though the cautious and politic Henry VII was still absorbed in consolidating his power at home, was not wholly averse to playing some part in that same field. And the

Emperor Maximilian, thwarted in his design of marrying Anne of Brittany, who had become the wife of the French king, desired not merely revenge for his affront, but the more substantial compensations of lands along the Rhine.

At the same time the situation of the Italian peninsula boded ill for the ultimate success of such an enterprise, whatever the immediate political triumphs which it seemed to offer. Italy was then, as it was to remain for centuries, in a state of anarchy. Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa, and Savoy, with lesser principalities like Parma and Piacenza, Mantua and Ferrara, disputed among themselves for supremacy in the north; while the Papal States in the center and the kingdom of Naples in the south added to the chaos of petty rivalry with which the peninsula was cursed. Not only was there no Italy, there were no Italians, and the doctrine of success at all costs had long since replaced any sentiment of patriotism even in the cities or states to which their inhabitants owed allegiance. For there was scarcely a petty sovereignty in Italy where the strife of party had not overpowered every other political consideration. Moreover, for years the land had been filled with mercenaries, the so-called *condottieri*, to whom war was a profession and treachery a trade. Revolt and conspiracy, feud and assassination, and petty war, in which the commonest incidents were betrayal and desertion, had long been the fate of the gifted people who revealed at once the highest triumphs of æsthetic genius and the lowest qualities of public and private morality.

Into such a maelstrom the young French king plunged, fired by dreams of territorial aggrandizement, even of re-establishing the kingdom of Jerusalem by a crusade against the Turkish power; and thus he embarked his nation upon an enterprise "for which neither his exchequer, his understanding, nor his preparations sufficed." But it took no long time to prove that, however easy it might be to win victories against his divided enemies, the conquest of Italy, or any considerable part of it, much less its retention by France, was one of the maddest enterprises which any European power had entertained since the English had been driven

The
political
situation
in the
Italian
peninsula

from France. And yet, like the English attempt against their own land, the French were to waste time, energy, lives, and treasure for a hundred years in an ambition as fruitless as it was costly. The Italians were no less fatuous in their quarrels among themselves. The Turks captured Otranto, their camp-fires were visible from Venice; yet neither that nor the French fury availed to prevent the fierce feuds of family with family, of state with state in the troubled peninsula. Least of all could Italy remain at peace when aspiring pontiffs, more eager to extend their family influence and their temporal power than to attend to the spiritual needs of the church they had been set to guard and direct, vied with the petty hatreds of local parties to betray the interests of the people who formed the most highly cultured society in Europe.

The long history of the Italian wars forms one of the most brilliantly romantic and one of the most barren chapters in European history. A sounder policy would have led Charles to oppose the designs of Maximilian on Franche Comté, wrest the post of Roussillon from Ferdinand, Calais from England, and so secure his frontiers against the enemies of France. But the adroit diplomacy of Ludovico Sforza diverted him from these substantial measures to pursue the elusive and costly domination of Italy. What was more disastrous to the interests of his country, the French king freed his hands for the Italian enterprise by ceding Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand and Franche Comté with Artois to Maximilian, a policy which was to cost France an infinity of blood and treasure in later generations to regain the places thus lightly abandoned.

1493

"The
Italian ad-
venture"

The claims which he advanced to Italian sovereignty were first those of the house of Orleans which, by virtue of its descent from the heiress of the dispossessed house of Visconti in Milan, aspired to the rule of that rich province. To these were added the still older claims of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, held by the Aragonese family, with whom they had divided the ancient lands of Anjou, retaining only Provence and Anjou itself in the

hands of the French crown. But it was rather in the rivalry between Milan and Naples that Charles saw his opportunity than in these shadowy dynastic pretensions. That rivalry was substantial enough, and the triple alliance of Naples, 1492 Florence, and Milan, which had broken down in the year of Columbus' discovery and the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, laid Italy open to the invader. The astute but short-sighted duke of Milan, pursuing his designs against his Neapolitan rival, had first sought the aid of Maximilian, then turned to urge the French king to assert his right to Naples, and, securing his aid, plunged not only Italy but Europe into war.

Charles' early operations, despite his own licentious incapacity, offered fair promise of achieving his ambitions. His motley force, French troops, Swiss mercenaries, and German lanzknechts, poured through the passes of the Alps into the territories of his ally, thence into Tuscany, without opposition. Piero de' Medici hastened to submit to the invader, but his pliancy promptly cost him his throne, and the first result of Charles' enterprise was to make the Florentine ruler a fugitive. Presenting Pisa with its freedom from Florence, the French king proceeded to Florence, exacted a ransom from that city, went on to Siena, and so to Rome, where Alexander VI, compelled to abandon his alliance with Naples, gave up a part of Papal territories to Charles. Thence the French advanced against their chief objective, Naples, whose unpopular and cowardly ruler, Alfonso, abdicated and fled to Sicily, leaving his crown to his son, Ferrante. He, in turn, after some efforts to resist, was betrayed by his own generals, and followed his father. Thus, in five months, almost without a blow, the French king found himself in possession of Naples, a considerable number of lesser territories, and the dominance of Italy.

Had Charles been possessed of his father's capacity, he might well have profited largely from so successful an enterprise, even had he not remained the master of the peninsula. But his feeble talents, his licentious habits, and, above all, perhaps, the open contempt for the Italians which he and his followers exhibited, roused the peninsula against him;

The
French
conquest

1494-5

Its
collapse

and scarcely had he secured his new inheritance when it began to slip from his hands. The Milanese ruler repented the folly which had brought the French into Italy and began to fear for his own position. The Pope, never friendly, was roused to further opposition by the dread that Charles might



summon a general council. The Venetians, at first neutral, and not disinclined to see their neighbors in difficulties, began to entertain apprehensions of French domination. And among European rulers outside of Italy, Ferdinand of Spain suspected French designs on his appanage of Sicily; while the Emperor Maximilian, disturbed by the ascendancy

of the house of Valois, was moved to join in limiting its power.

Scarcely was Charles' great prize within his grasp, therefore, when, to his own incapacity was added a powerful coalition against his power. Emperor and Pope, Spain, Venice, and Milan combined to form the League of Venice; and the French king, causing himself to be crowned, hastily began a retreat, already far too long delayed. Only the fidelity of Florence, the unwillingness of Milan to see too complete a victory over the invaders, and the undisciplined plundering instinct of the forces brought against him, saved the French king's forces from annihilation. They escaped, and with their departure Charles' conquests melted away, his garrisons were compelled to submit, his lieutenants expelled, and his authority came to an end. Of all his gains, only the cities ceded to him by Florence remained, and these he bartered away in the course of the next few years. Of all the results which he achieved, the only one of any consequence was the weakening of the one Italian power which had remained faithful to his interests, Florence. Nov. 1495

It is not easy, even were it necessary, to determine the proportion of responsibility for an enterprise which absorbed the energies of a great part of Europe for more than a century. The obstinate ambitions of the French rulers who took part in it, the real if mistaken aspirations of the people who supported it, the treacherous folly of the Italian princes who called in the foreigner to their aid,—all these combined to produce that vast expenditure of energy and blood and treasure to little purpose. Nor did successive generations learn from experience; for the first chapter of that long adventure became a pattern for the whole. When, four years after his Italian expedition, Charles VIII died, he left his successor, Louis XII, a bad example and a heritage of war, both of which the new king eagerly embraced. Like his predecessor, he abandoned Franche Comté to Maximilian, like him he hastened to embark on the Italian enterprise. And, as before, Italy welcomed the invader. The League of Venice had fallen apart with the departure of Charles VIII. Louis XII
and Italy
1498

The Pope and Venice had allied themselves with France, and Louis XII, having thus isolated his intended victim, the same Ludovico Sforza who had invited his predecessor to intervene against Naples, invaded Italy with even greater initial success. As before, Savoy gave them free passage. As before, they were reinforced by Swiss mercenaries; and, as Florence had earlier driven out Piero de Medici, so now, for different reasons, the Milanese compelled Ludovico to take refuge with the Emperor. Milan was surrendered to the French, Genoa followed suit, and, without a blow, Venice and France found themselves in possession of a great part of northern Italy.

1499

Ferdinand
and Italy

Nor did the resemblance to the earlier enterprise end here. Again the French put their own officers in charge. Again the Italians were antagonized; and when, six months after Louis' advent into the peninsula, Ludovico returned with an army, the French lost their possessions as quickly as they had gained them. Then, reinforced in turn, they defeated Ludovico, regained Milan, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Naples. But here they now encountered a more dangerous enemy. Ferdinand of Spain had looked with jealous eye upon the French ambitions. He had earlier warned Charles VIII against pressing too far in that direction; and he had restored the house of Aragon to the Neapolitan throne after the French withdrawal. Now he came to an agreement with Louis in regard to Naples, and, under pretext of a treaty with the Turks which had been negotiated by Federigo of Naples, the kings of France and Spain agreed to divide the Neapolitan lands between them.

Nov. 1500

With this secret treaty of Granada, first of those partition treaties which thenceforth played such a great part in European politics, the dynastic principle took its place in international affairs, in a form which was to endure from that day until the time when it was in some degree overpowered by the national spirit. For by its provisions whole districts and their inhabitants were transferred from one family to another, as one might sell a farm and its cattle. With this extension of the feudal principle into a far wider field, it

was apparent that, unless other forces should operate to check its activity, the unfortunate people had but exchanged a feudal for a national serfdom.

Almost immediately the agreement was put into effect. The French, welcomed by the Pope, who denounced the Neapolitan king as an enemy of Christendom for making an agreement with the Turk, overran the northern part of Naples; the Spaniards, under the "Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova, the conqueror of Granada, landed in the south, and the unfortunate Neapolitan royal family, thus beset, were driven into exile. But scarcely was this accomplished when the conquerors, naturally enough, found themselves irreconcilably opposed to each other, and there began a Franco-Spanish war of an extraordinary character. On the one side it partook of the old spirit of chivalry which found expression in tournaments and single combats, and added the names of Paredes and Bayard to the roll of knightly champions and a brilliant chapter to romance. On the other it ushered in the age of the great professional soldier, of whom the French D'Aubigny and the Spanish Gonsalvo became the great exemplars. And thus, as the expiring spirit of mediæval chivalry flamed up in a last gleam of brilliance, Europe entered upon a new phase of dynastic international rivalry.

France
and Spain

1502-3

From the beginning the result was scarcely in doubt. The French were driven from Naples; and a conflict between France and the Empire over the Burgundian possessions added Maximilian to the active enemies of Louis, thus dividing his energies and strength. Though, after his first repulse, the French king essayed twice more the fatal adventure of Italian invasion, and even succeeded in annexing Genoa, Naples remained in the hands of Ferdinand. The League of Cambrai, formed between the French king, the Emperor, the king of Spain, and the Pope, to despoil Venice of her mainland possessions, witnessed another step in the dynastic policy. It revealed, too, the same spirit which had animated Italian politics since Charles VIII's invasion, and which was to be for generations the peculiar character-

1508

1511 istic of that long rivalry. In turn that alliance gave way to the Holy League, formed of the Pope, Ferdinand, Venice, and Switzerland, to expel the French. On that rock broke the ambitions of Louis XII; and at his death he bequeathed to his successor, Francis I, only what he had inherited from Charles VIII—an ambitious and unsuccessful foreign policy.

The results
of the
Italian
wars

Such were the principal events in European politics which filled the years when Spain and Portugal were achieving and consolidating their positions in the world outside, and the Renaissance turned the finest spirits of the continent to intellectual and artistic triumphs. So far as their ultimate results were concerned, the Italian wars were no less futile than their immediate circumstances were dramatic. They checked the ambitions of Venice on the mainland, and, with the concurrent attacks of the Turks upon her Adriatic posts, they brought her long ascendancy within sight of its fall. They established Ferdinand of Aragon as the master of Naples, and raised the Papacy to the height of its ill-fated temporal power. They passed on a long heritage of war to succeeding generations, and introduced into European affairs that Franco-Hapsburg rivalry which was to run a course of more than three hundred years of armed conflict.

1499 Beyond these hollow results they were as barren of advantage to the progress of the world as the concurrent accession of Ismail Shah Sufi to the throne of Persia, and his ensuing wars with the Turks, which, at least, relieved in some degree the pressure which the Ottoman power was exerting upon the European world. They were of much less importance to the cause of civilization than the break-up of that Golden Horde of Mongols in southern Russia and the consequent decline of the Tartar suzerainty over the Muscovites, which occurred during these same years. Beside the activities of the Spaniards and the Portuguese beyond the confines of Europe, these kaleidoscopic changes in Italian politics, with all their contemporary interest, were insignificant; and in comparison with the concurrent intellectual progress of the continent they were contemptible.

c. 1500

Far more important were the efforts of the greater rulers





of Europe to unify their dominions and to increase the power of royalty. Whether, like Maximilian, they failed, or like Ferdinand, Henry VII, Charles VIII, and Ivan III, they succeeded, they accomplished two things. They went far toward breaking the political power of the mediæval feudal baronage, and they set before Europe the ideal of nationalism under absolute kingship. And this, in the last result, became the mold in which all of the continent, save Germany and Italy, was cast. Thenceforth its politics, for the most part, revolved upon the relations which came to be, in fact as in name, for the first time international. They were, indeed, still dynastic, and in no real sense popular. But they formed that transition from mediæval to modern polity which, like the intellectual revolution and the oversea expansion that accompanied them, marks the beginning of a new age. For with them, even in the futile Italian adventure, there was revealed the spirit which has dominated men in their political capacity from that day to the present, that elusive but powerful force which we call nationality.

Absolutism
and
internationalism

In that development, as in so many other movements which went to make up the sum of European progress toward a modern world, the dozen years which followed the accession of Henry VIII to the English throne in 1509 formed a peculiarly important period, with its changes of personnel and policy among European rulers. Four years after Henry assumed the English crown, the ambitious and warlike Julius II, "the founder of the Papal States," was succeeded by the son of Lorenzo de Medici, the luxurious and pleasure-loving Leo X, who brought to his new office many of the qualities which had made Florence the center of the Renaissance. Scarcely had he begun to give the Papal power a new impress when Ferdinand the Catholic and Louis XII passed from the scene of their earthly activities, leaving to their successors, the shrewd, phlegmatic Charles I, and the vain, ostentatious Francis I, their respective kingdoms and the long heritage of Italian rivalry. Three years later Maximilian was succeeded by his grandson, the king of Spain, who took the imperial throne as Charles V. Thus, almost simultane-

Changes
in rulers

1509-21

1513

1515-16

1519

ously, Europe saw the advent of three young, ambitious sovereigns, upon whose relations the political fortunes of the ensuing generation were to turn, and with them the beginnings of a fresh realignment of forces and policies.

Charles V

1519-56

The greatest and the most conspicuous of these were personified in the Emperor, Charles V. Important as the reign of Henry VIII was to be to England, and that of Francis I to France, the circumstances of the continent and of his inheritance made Charles inevitably the focus of affairs.



From his mother he inherited Spain, America, and Sicily; from his father the lands of Hapsburg and Burgundy. On him, in consequence, devolved the widest realm Europe had ever seen. His long rule touched its achievements on every side. The continent trembled at the fear of universal sovereignty; and he

was called, not without cause, "the Lord of the World" by a generation in which he played the leading part.

In his domains the Reformation took its rise; his power defended, then attacked the Pope, and finally decreed religious peace. His son's marriage to the Infanta of Portugal brought him in touch with that nation's future. His aunt's divorce by Henry VIII bound up his fortunes with the English change of faith. Half of Italy became an appanage of his house, and he took part in all the complicated politics of that long-vexed peninsula. Against his wide-encroaching power, Francis I of France entered a life-long struggle and waged four great wars. To these he summoned the aid of the reviving Turkish energies, which, having overpowered Egypt and begun to absorb the long line of Europe's old Mediterranean outposts, the Venetian factories, again pressed hard on Christendom. In consequence, Charles twice invaded Africa and twice fought the Turks, as Spain and the Empire became

the bulwark against the Ottoman. And while his subjects conquered the New World and sailed around the earth, religion and politics, European and colonial affairs were, in his day, and partly at his hands, inextricably joined.

For the moment, indeed, the weight of the responsibilities which was about to devolve upon him and the people of Europe generally was scarcely felt, and the first years of the new sovereigns were filled with rivalries inherited from the past. And if there is one circumstance more surprising than another in the history of these eight years in which her leadership was being altered, it is the ignorance or indifference of the rulers of Europe in general to the signs of coming change which were already apparent on every hand. In the field of international politics the Italian wars maintained their earlier importance. Hardly was the English king upon his throne when he was drawn into their far-reaching complexities. He became a member of the so-called Holy League, formed by Julius II to drive the French from Italy. He was given the title of the Defender of the Faith by the Pope and persuaded to revive the old and futile policy of English dominion in France. With Maximilian's aid he attacked Louis XII and won the "battle of the spurs," at Guinegate. In Henry's absence—so far did the baneful influence of the Italian adventure spread—the unfortunate James IV of Scotland, urged on by France, invaded England, only to meet defeat and death at Flodden Field, and thus unwittingly take the first step in that long history which ended in the union of the two kingdoms.

Charles V,
Francis I,
and Henry
VIII

1511

1513

France followed the same course. Scarcely was Francis I crowned when he took up the Italian policy which his predecessors had bequeathed to him, and the first five years of his long and warlike reign was spent in the pursuit of that phantom sovereignty. Like Charles and Louis, he was at first successful, and the campaign which culminated in the battle of Marignano gave Genoa and Milan into his hands. But hardly was this accomplished when the election of Charles to the imperial throne threatened France with the greatest danger she had faced since the victories of Henry V

Francis I
and Italy

1515

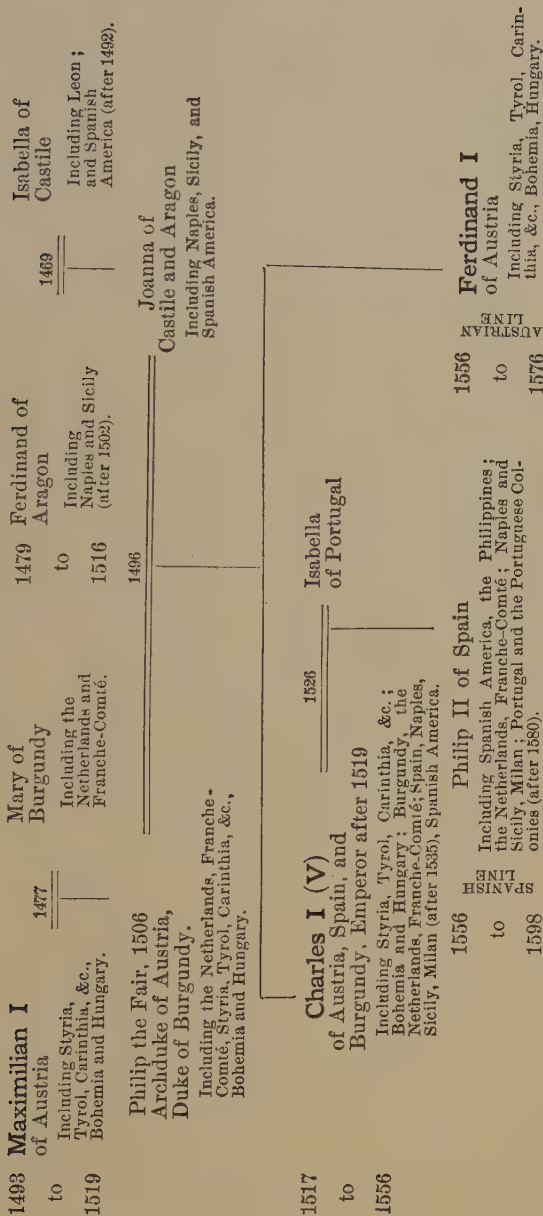
a hundred years before. Throughout their long frontiers, from the debatable kingdom of Navarre, through Italy, and along the Rhine, France and the Hapsburg power found themselves in opposition at almost every point. With his possessions on the continent, his dominion oversea, and his family alliances, Charles V hemmed in the French on every side. It is not surprising that, apart from personal ambitions, Francis found ample cause for fear of universal sovereignty and the extinction of an independent France; or that, after the lull which followed his first Italian war, he devoted the energies of a lifetime to conflict with Charles V.

But it was not in this great adventure, as events were soon to prove, that there lay the real current of European development which to the eyes of these young rulers partook rather of the past than of the future. The new reigns began, indeed, much as the old had ended; and in them, save for the fantastic efforts of Henry VIII to be elected Emperor and secure the Papacy for his adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, there seemed small promise of any striking changes in the political development of Europe apart from the progress of absolutism which succeeded the consolidation of the greater states.

The Age of
Charles V

Yet the briefest summary of the activities in which the young Emperor was to be involved in the course of his long eventful reign reveals the fact that few periods of European history have been so epoch-making as the generation in which he was the most conspicuous figure in the world. For those years saw a revolt against Papal authority which shook the foundations not alone of the church but of politics and society, dividing men into hostile communions, armed camps, and, more enduring still, opposing schools of thought. They saw the imperial power endeavor again and again to unite Germany, and the spirit of national absolutism rend the continent time after time with its rivalries. They saw a tremendous influx of precious goods and metals, a shifting of the older currents of trade into new channels, and an increase of capital alter the economic basis of the European world. And, far beyond the confines of the continent itself

THE HAPSBURGS, 1500-1600



To illustrate the development of the dynastic principle. See map of the European possessions of Charles V., p. 142.

they saw an Arab trading empire of the East replaced by that of Portugal; great civilizations in the western hemisphere discovered and destroyed by Spain; the world encircled by a single ship; "and every year reveal new wonders and new lands."

The end of
the middle
ages

As the center of European activities shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and the weight of Asia and America was thrown into the European scale, its balance was altered for all time. As the past was uncovered and the reforming movement spread, the spiritual and the intellectual foundations of the continent were profoundly changed. The deeds of living conquerors which far outshone those of the heroes of romance, the achievements of scholars and men of letters, of artists and artisans, which began to challenge the triumphs of the ancient world, stimulated Europe's thought and imagination to fresh adventures. At the same time the outworn framework of mediæval society and intellect broke down under the pressure of these new influences; and Europe's energies were rallied to develop a new system to take its place. The older principles of service and exchange, based on land and kind, gave way to those of money and day wages, labor and capital. And this movement, partly begun, partly accelerated by a huge tidal wave of sudden wealth from oversea, which all but blotted out the earlier landmarks of polity and finance, laid the foundations of a new economy. From the decaying feudal and imperial régime arose the national governments. Beside the Greek and Roman Catholic establishments the Protestant confessions took their stand. The promise of two centuries was fulfilled, and Europe, gradually secularized in thought and deed, expanding no less intellectually than territorially, turned from mediæval concepts and practices toward the ideals of a modern world.

If this was not enough to absorb her energies, these great achievements took place amid bitter conflicts between sovereigns and states striving for mastery, and in the face of attacks from the Turks, who proved almost as great a hindrance to the progress of civilization as the ambitions of

the rulers of the Christian world. Yet those antagonisms were not without their significance. For they were inseparable from the process by which Europe was set in the way which led to the divisions which have, in general, maintained themselves as the basis of national and international relationships and made modern Europe what it is. For, with all its infinite complexities, and the long conflicts which have modified its boundaries, the principle of national states has proved preferable, on the whole, to that system of theoretical unity and practical chaos which it supplanted. And in it, no less than in the other manifestations of social activity, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries laid the foundations of another age.

That principle was largely identified with the rise of so-called dynastic autocracies—Hapsburgs in Austria, Tudors in England, Bourbons in France, with a hundred lesser lines—till Europe was covered with a network of ruling families on whose relationships and rivalries her history was to turn for three centuries. Under that system the sovereign personified the state. In his hands lay law and administration, taxes, army, navy and diplomacy. Autocracy was the mortal enemy of the feudal system and the struggle between crown and nobles was long and hard in nearly every land. But autocracy, welcomed by the people as a cure for feudal anarchy, prevailed; and the nobility, deprived of castles, troops, taxes and judicial powers sank into an aristocracy, still rich, powerful and privileged, but dependent on the crown, not as it had once been, a rival to royal authority. The State, embodied in the sovereign, based on Roman models, sanctioned by the church, became the characteristic feature of European politics at the same moment that the Renaissance, the Reformation and the great discoveries revealed new opportunities to European eyes, and feudal divisions were gradually replaced by royal or even national unity.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1498-1521

IF history is to concern itself with events which absorb the attention of men at any given moment, irrespective of their importance for the future, it is apparent that the Italian wars would form the chief theme of any account of the quarter of a century which lay between the death of Lorenzo de Medici in 1492 and the accession of Charles I of Spain as the Emperor Charles V in 1519. But if the question of permanent value is to be considered, it is no less apparent that the activities of the powers which had found their way to Asia and America in those years overshadow even the achievements of de Foix, Bayard, or even the "Great Captain," Gonsalvo de Cordova himself, to say nothing of the general continental policy of the masters whom they served. For the problem which lay before those states which had burst through the charmed circle that had so long separated Europe from the world outside was, in a sense, the future of the extra-European world. Already it had taken on a twofold aspect which it was to keep to the end. On the one hand was the task of maintaining and improving the position they had won; on the other was the extension of their ancient rivalry to the farthest corners of the earth. After the manner of their kind, therefore, they hastened to strengthen and enlarge their power oversea, and at the same time endeavored to forestall each other in acquiring title to as much of this great inheritance as possible.

Columbus
—his third
voyage

The chief burden of this contest naturally fell first upon him who had led the way to the western hemisphere. Columbus was not averse to this extension of his activities, yet it was peculiarly unfortunate for him. The difficulties of the situation, Spanish inexperience, and his own incapacity made success hopeless. His supporters clamored for returns

on their investments. The crown licensed voyages in defiance of his chartered rights, and the settlers antagonized the natives by their lust and violence. Powerless to quell the turmoil, the Admiral took refuge in exploration; and, setting out on a third voyage in the days that da Gama was loading spices in Malabar, and Savonarola met a martyr's death in Florence, he found a new island, Trinidad, and the South American continent, with its mighty river, the Orinoco. 1498

But he was as little able to grasp the significance of his exploits as to insure wealth and order to the new settlement. A vessel of the rich and powerful mainland peoples which he met did not enlighten him, and the shipload of natives he sent back as slaves was received with misgiving and presently returned. A mistaken martinet, Bobadilla, despatched to restore order, threw Columbus and his brother in chains and carried them to Spain as disturbers of colonial peace. And though he was released and his injuries for the most part redressed, thenceforth the Admiral sank gradually into something of the obscurity from which he had risen: his fame secure, but his fortune declined. Vain, impracticable, inexperienced in affairs, neither a conqueror nor an administrator, he could not control the spirit he evoked, and the world went past him. To the end he remained an explorer. Latterly he became a mystic; his energies absorbed in maintaining his rights against encroachment, and in seeking new lands. One voyage was left to him, his fourth, on which he discovered Honduras and followed the continental coast southward past the Equator. Returning late in 1504, he found Spain torn by contending factions, amid whose tumults, after some months, he died, almost unnoticed. 1500

—his
fourth
voyage
—and
death
20 May
1506

What the world he found really was he never knew. To him it was always Asia; toward the end it became something more. Exposure and exertion told on his health, and his mind seems to have been affected by the strain and the tremendous stimulus of his achievement. Embittered by the inadequacy of rewards which, had they been infinitely greater, would still have seemed to him far from his deserts, he came to be haunted by dreams of an older cosmogony. His later life and position

The earth appeared to him in the shape of a pear; the Orinoco as a river of life, flowing from a central region which reflected vague traditions of Paradise; himself a Bringer of Salvation, and a revealer of divine secrets. Perhaps anticipated in his exploit by forgotten seamen; certainly not original in his conception; and followed so closely by independent discoverers like Cabral as to make it evident that, had he never sailed, his great discovery would have been made by others; the distinction still remains to him of being the first to demonstrate to all the world the transatlantic passage and the lands beyond. His initial exploit promised to make him the greatest figure of his generation, but his character and abilities were unequal to the situation he created, and the exploitation of America fell to other hands.

The companions
and suc-
cessors of
Columbus

1499-

Close in his wake a swarm of adventurers had poured across the sea seeking wealth, licensed explorers, his own companions first of all; and beside them unlicensed interlopers, ignoring royalty and grant alike. In the year of da Gama's return there sailed the reckless cavalier Ojeda, with Columbus' map-maker, Juan de la Cosa. With them went a merchant-adventurer, Amerigo Vespucci, whose later writings brought the New World to European attention to such effect that, through the suggestion of a German geographer, there was attached to it the name America instead of that of its discoverer. Christening a region which they found *Venezuela*, apparently from some fancied resemblance to Venice, and fetching home two hundred natives of Bahama as slaves, this expedition was followed closely by others of like sort. Alonzo Niño, whose family had furnished the *Niña* to the first voyage; Vincente Pinzon, the *Niña's* old commander; Diego Lepe, with Columbus' former pilot, Roldan; and others, known and unknown, seeking gold and pearls and a sea-way to Asia, increased the knowledge brought back by the great discoverer. But neither he nor his successors found that fabled strait. In the western world, at Columbus' death, the Spaniards knew only the islands and the northern coast of South America. Of the great



This is a greatly reduced facsimile of the map published by Martin Waldseemüller or "Ilacomilus" in 1513, "according," as the lower inscription says, "to the tradition of Ptolemy and the travels of Americus Vespucius." The European-Asiatic-African land-mass of Ptolemy (left-hand insert above) has been partially corrected by Portuguese exploration, in the large map; and the western hemisphere, with the Asiatic east coast (right-hand insert above), has been added from Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. It will be noted that the territories about the Gulf of Mexico and the north Brazilian coast are fairly accurate, beyond is "incognita." This map is notable not only for its admirable execution and its distinguished author, but for the fact that it first christens the New World *America*, and it is probably due to Waldseemüller's maps, more than to any other single cause, that the western land-mass has retained this name rather than that of its discoverer.



This map reproduces the twelve segments which, when pasted on a sphere, made J. Schöner's globe of 1523. They are especially interesting, as showing the route of Magellan and his companions whose ship is returning along the Guinea coast. It will also be observed that the map of the Americas from Florida south is as good as northern North America is poor. The demarcation line should also be noted.

continent to the north, of the mainland with the rich empires of the interior, as of the ocean beyond, they had scarcely a hint.

If the progress of their knowledge had been slow, that of their colony had been slower still. Of all the native tribes they might have met, the simple Aruaes, the furthest outpost of their race which covered much of the southern continent, were probably the mildest and least advanced of any peoples which the Europeans had yet encountered. But even these resented the cruelty and oppression of the rough adventurers, so eminently ill-fitted to exploit a new world with justice, or with lasting benefit to it or to their country. They quarreled constantly among themselves and with their governors only less than with the natives, and not until the coming of Nicolas Ovando as governor, some ten years after the first discovery, did real social and economic order begin. Even so, its progress was extremely slow. Lesser settlements, indeed, sprang up beside Isabella and Santo Domingo; the washing of stream-sands yielded a little gold; while clearings made with native or with negro labor afforded space for agriculture, to which the introduction of the sugar-cane gave fresh impetus.

Begin-
nings of
Spanish-
American
coloniza-
tion

1502

As the second decade of Spanish activity in America began, another circumstance did much to determine its future. The crown, forced by the exigencies of the situation resulting from Columbus' discoveries to take measures to regulate American affairs, had named a canon of Seville, Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, as colonial agent-general, and for ten years he had been virtually colonial minister. Now, with Seville as the center of colonial affairs, and this astute churchman as the director of the fortunes of Spain's empire oversea, his office began to expand into the all-powerful Casa de la Contratacion, modeled on the lines of the Portuguese Casa da India, which was meanwhile rising to the control of eastern commerce in the neighboring kingdom. The Casa was constituted to supervise all trade and licenses, vessels and cargoes, but by Ovando's time the council found it necessary to outline a scheme of government. From his capital of Santo Do-

Organiza-
tion of the
Spanish
colonial
system

1402-1503

mingo the governor was empowered to administer the affairs of the islands and the mainland not otherwise assigned, to preserve order, to convert but not to maltreat the natives, to force them to work the mines but to ensure their payment, to exclude Jews and Moors, to import negro slaves, and to reserve to the crown its moiety of the gold thus mined. With the governor were despatched a judge, twelve Franciscans, and a company of soldiers, and thus, with its three permanent elements, officials, clergy, and army, formal administration in the New World began.

Slavery

Thus, too, began the most difficult of colonial problems, labor, the native, and the negro. On this no nation spent more thought than Spain. Theologians were summoned to counsel whether the Indians had souls like Europeans, half souls, or no souls at all, since on this depended their status and usage; and when it was determined that they had real souls, the government took steps to save them and to preserve the bodies which housed them. Those sent to Spain were presently returned, laws passed to put the natives under civil and ecclesiastical protection and control, and missionary work began. The more cruel customs were checked, tribute of girls and forced labor without pay was forbidden, no arms nor liquor were to be sold to them, and they were permitted to trade and cultivate and raise cattle. Moreover, under Spanish oversight, the native caciques were to retain their old authority; and in each district, under the supervision of the priest, the Indians were permitted to choose their own alcalde or judge, their fiscal or attorney, and their regidor or administrator. In brief, the new subjects were to be protected, Christianized, and in so far as possible, civilized; while the Spanish municipal system was to be extended to the New World, in the hope that it would presently produce a civilization, if not a society, like that of Spain. Such were the earliest European plans to establish power in America.

Difficulties of Spain's situation

It was a great ideal, but the very laws enacted to carry out these plans revealed the fundamental difficulties of a problem which has at all times created sharp differences be-

tween those interested in the moral side of tropical exploitation and those interested primarily in its financial aspects. The native races were unwilling or unfit to adapt themselves to systems devised by European conquerors, the home government found its plans hampered by a situation which has since become the commonplace of tropical administration. The colonists cared little for justice in comparison with gold; profits rather than civilization or salvation was their aim. The mother country was a long way off, the natives close at hand; and they evaded, neglected, or defied the law, in their endeavor to make quick fortunes. The society they framed was that of a dominant race, basing its economic strength upon the labor of a weaker class; founded, like most later experiments in the same field, on virtual slavery. When, seventeen years after his father's first voyage, Diego Columbus went out as governor of Santo Domingo, the mold was made in which the Spanish empire was to be cast; and which, in some form, was to be the pattern thenceforth for tropical exploitation by all other powers.

The contribution made by Spain to the fast-widening sphere of European influence during her first quarter of a century in America was but slight. Compared with what Portugal had meanwhile accomplished in the East, it seemed almost contemptible. For, with da Gama's return his people had waked from their lethargy, and their activity in the ensuing twenty years became the wonder of the world. Hard on his arrival, hoping still to anticipate the Spaniards by discovering the coveted western sea-way to Asia, their first concern was to despatch expeditions to find the fabled Northwest Passage. Thus Gaspar de Cortereal explored Newfoundland, Labrador, the "land of the Bretons," and the "land of codfish," along the north Atlantic coast of North America; and, on his second voyage, lost his life as the first victim of that long-lived delusion. He was not the only one to whom such a task was intrusted, and the widening bounds of their successive maps of that quarter of the world record the efforts of their now unknown explorers in that hopeless quest.

Portuguese
discovery

1499

1500

Cabral and
Brazil

1500

These efforts were not entirely vain, for but a scant two years after de Gama's voyage, Pedralvarez Cabral, sent out with an armada of thirteen ships and some twelve hundred men to seize the eastern trade, and bearing far to the southwest under the pilotage of Bartholomew Diaz, to avoid the Guinea passage, by accident or design, sighted land beyond that reached by Pinzon three months before. This he claimed for Portugal under the name of Santa Cruz and sent a vessel back with news of its discovery. Thus with his exploit the greatest of all Portugal's colonial possessions, Brazil, was brought under her influence, and Spain's new-born monopoly was broken in the western hemisphere.

The
Portuguese
attack on
India

1501

Nor was the advent of Cabral in India of less consequence, for with it began a fresh chapter of expansion and of the relations of Europe with Asia. He compelled the Zamorin of Calicut to grant permission to set up a trading-post. But this first of European factories in the East was soon destroyed by Arab hostility; and it became apparent that Portugal must fight to gain a share of that great commerce which she coveted. Cabral was quick to accept the challenge. Sinking ten Moorish ships at Calicut, he sailed to Cochin, secured a cargo there, established a factory, and so turned homeward to rouse his countrymen to a fresh crusade. Before he reached Lisbon another Portuguese force had come to blows with Calicut; and on its way back to Portugal it crossed da Gama's formidable armada going out to avenge his wrongs and make good his master's claim to the rights of trade in the Indian seas. Up the east coast of Africa and across to Malabar; bombarding Quiloa and imposing tribute; capturing and burning pilgrim ships bound to Mecca and rice boats from Coromandel; forcing the rulers of the Malabar coast to grant him a monopoly of trade and renounce their connection with Calicut and Egypt, da Gama laid down the lines upon which was to be fought the first great conflict between the West and the farther East.

1502-03

Fired by these events, the Portuguese bent every energy to the great adventure to which their chivalry flocked in search of glory and wealth; while the Arab trading powers

rallied their forces with those of Calicut to defend their commerce and their faith. Marked by the heroic episodes and the fearful cruelties incident to a religious war, this bloody conflict went on with increasing fury. Fleet after fleet, "flocks of sea-eagles, eager for the spoil," hurried to the East, bearing adventurers, "mad for wealth and war," and the fortunes of the conflict shifted from side to side with bewildering rapidity, till the heroic defense of Cochin by the "Portuguese Achilles," Duarte Pacheco, turned the tide in favor of the invaders. The Zamorin was defeated and part of his city destroyed; "Portuguese vengeance" visited on the hostile Arabs and their native allies; and Mohammedan power in Malabar was crushed. From trading-voyage to permanent post, from commercial rivalry to holy war, within eight years Portugal became the most feared and hated power in the Indian seas, fair on the way to the monopoly of the carrying trade between the East and West.

1503-

1506

But she soon found that she had overthrown one set of antagonists only to be confronted by far more dangerous foes. Every interest of the Indian world and of powers far outside its boundaries roused to resist the Portuguese peril. The Mohammedan states of northwestern India about Diu; the Arab sultan of Egypt, his revenues diminished and his faith insulted by the invaders; the Turks; even the Venetians were summoned to oppose these daring adventurers. Yet this did not daunt the Portuguese. The Sultan threatened the Papacy with the destruction of the holy places of Palestine, the Sepulchre itself, but the king of Portugal retorted to the Pope's ambassador that none in Europe did their duty on the infidel more manfully than his subjects, and no Mohammedan threat would check the new crusade. And so far from drawing back, the Portuguese extended their plans of conquest.

Portugal
and the
Mohammedan world

To this end Francisco Almeida was despatched to establish permanent bases on the east African coast, and a regular pilot-service thence to India. His second task, the suppression of Arab power in Malabar, had been largely accomplished by his predecessors. The third, to overthrow the Moslem dom-

Almeida
1505

ination of the sea, remained. To strengthen his hands, to mark the altered policy and permanent purpose of Portugal, he had been commissioned Viceroy of India; for Portuguese power now aspired to the mastery of the Indian Ocean and the ways thither. To that end a fleet was sent out to remain in permanence, and plans were formed to seize the keys of navigation; Aden to control the Red Sea; Órmuz to command the Persian Gulf; Malacca to secure the Straits and the way to the Spice Islands and farther Asia; and a capital on Malabar.

Portugal's
triumph
1505-

With these far-reaching plans Almeida was not wholly in accord. It seemed enough to him to hold the sea against the Mohammedan power which from Calicut to Cairo was combining to crush the Portuguese. To lesser men even that task would have seemed insuperable, and only after the most incredible exertions was it accomplished. Almeida's brief viceroyalty was signalized by almost incessant conflict on the sea, the brunt of which was borne by his gallant son Lorenzo, who in three successive years crushed the Zamorin's forces, compelled the submission of Ceylon, and met defeat and death in striving to hold off the united fleets of Egypt and the north Indian powers from the relief of Calicut. A twelvemonth after his death the battle of Diu avenged the young hero and gave Portugal command of the sea for a hundred years. In such wise was laid the foundation of her power in the East.

1508

Portugal's
colonial
policy

With it was raised the issue of imperial policy and control. Already a colonial office, the Casa da India, had been formed to administer the trade; already the merchants of Florence and Genoa, of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and the Netherlands had begun to share the profits. And in the first year of Almeida's viceroyalty Affonso da Albuquerque and Tristan da Cunha had been despatched as harbingers of a new policy and a new war. Discovering the island which still bears da Cunha's name, they carried fire and sword up the east African coast, seized Socotra, and invaded the Persian Gulf. From Kuria Muria they sailed to the capture of Muscat and thence to the siege of their objective, Ormuz. Their attack

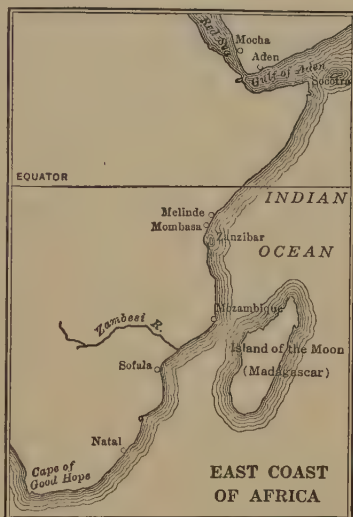
1506

failed, and on their arrival in India, Almeida, stung by the king's ingratitude, refused to surrender his post, and threw his designated successor, Albuquerque, in prison. Thence he was released by the arrival of another fleet, in the same year that Diego Columbus began his governorship of the West Indies, and entering on his viceroyalty of the East, the new governor began a new chapter in the world's affairs.

Far different from the activities of Spain in the West, Portugal's venture had done much to alter the balance of trade and politics throughout Europe and Asia even before the advent of Albuquerque. Lisbon was already superseding Venice and Genoa and Alexandria as the *entrepôt* of eastern commerce; and the trade routes in Europe were changing to meet the new conditions. At first, hampered by lack of capital and mercantile experience, the Portuguese permitted the merchants of other countries to share their enterprise, and foreign firms had quickly

established Lisbon agencies, embarked on trading voyages, and financed ventures under royal license. Thus Europe as a whole took no small part in the new exploitation of the East. But in politics the reverse was true. The Papal bulls, the closely guarded secrets of navigation, the possession of the harbors from Lisbon to Calicut barred the way to other powers, and only here and there had an occasional daring interloper found his way to India. From these the Portuguese had little to fear, and from the other European states, absorbed in matters nearer home, nothing at all.

Thus undisturbed, she strengthened her power oversea.



In the wake of trader and conqueror poured a stream of other folk, officials, soldiers, sailors, adventurers, with occasional settlers, missionaries, commercial agents, making their way from port to port, till from Lisbon to Calicut there ran a slender thread of Portuguese through the great masses of the native population. Too few to dispute pre-eminence with these, and disinclined, like the first colonists of Spain, to wage a war of conquest or extermination, or aspire to great territorial dominion, the Portuguese contented themselves with conquering ports and setting up mere trading-posts. Recognizing, where need was, native kings, treating, trading, settling, mingling, and marrying among the native races, with little sense of race repugnance or superiority, they founded a curious society, trader and planter, free and slave, white, native, and *meti*. Under such circumstances they served to spread a much modified European people and civilization along the coast, throwing in their lot with the new-found races to a degree little known as yet even among the Spaniards and scarcely tolerated by the northern Europeans who were presently to take up their task.

Thus by a fortunate coincidence of skill, courage, and accident was the circle of European knowledge and influence widened more in a decade and a half than it had been in the preceding two thousand years of its history, and far beyond even the imagination, much less the achievement, of all preceding generations. Yet it was the work, not, as might well be supposed, of the energies and thought of a whole continent, but of a mere handful of men from two small kingdoms. For with all the promise of the new discoveries, the other European states found themselves less concerned with this than with their local interests in the years which saw the boundaries of Europe thus enlarged.

Even Spain, whose energies were so largely absorbed in the Italian ambitions of Ferdinand, and whose exploits in the western world had been so much less profitable than those of her neighbor in the East, paid correspondingly less attention to the work of her discoverers. In consequence the

center of the new impulse lay almost wholly in Portugal, and, at the moment that Charles and Francis took up the burden of their respective sovereignties the long and glorious reign of Emmanuel the Fortunate finished its burst of conquering advance, and his people stood out as the first colonial power of the world. This coveted pre-eminence they owed to the genius and energy of their last and greatest empire-builder, Affonso da Albuquerque, who crowned the work of da Gama and Almeida by rounding out the Portuguese commercial domination of the farther East.

The great figure who now personified the expanding power of Europe was a type and product of his people and his age. Born in the year that Constantinople fell, of warrior-sailor-courtier ancestry, long service in Africa and on the sea among those bred in the school of Prince Henry had filled him with the ambition "to render the great service to Our Lord in casting out the Moslems from the land." From a voyage to Malabar he brought a design destined to alter the direction of the world's affairs. There Arab rivalry had made da Gama's plan of peaceful, unrestricted trade impossible; and to it had succeeded Almeida's efforts to control the sea by fleets and naval base. Building on this, Albuquerque planned to extend Portuguese power from the sea-ways about Africa and ports on the Indian coasts to the sources and channels of the whole of that trade which centered on the Malabar coast.

Albu-
querque

His strokes were swift and sure. As a center of operations, at once a naval base and a commercial capital, he seized the port of Goa in north Malabar, killed or drove out its Moslem inhabitants, conciliated the Hindus, built a fortress, transferred to it the privileges of the older ports, established magazines of arms and supplies, and set up a central administration. Meanwhile, a squadron made its way to Sumatra, through the Straits to Java, and so to the Spice Islands, whither Albuquerque followed on the conclusion of his operations in Malabar. With aid from Java he attacked Malacca, built a fort there to control the Straits highway to the farther East, and thence despatched a fleet to establish

1512-

posts in the Spice Islands as far as Amboyna, in order to control the spice trade at its source.

1513

Thence, having made treaties with the rulers of Indo-China, he turned to avenge a Turkish-Persian attack on his new capital, and struck at the Red Sea. Though beaten off from Aden, he took Ormuz, the key to the Persian Gulf, and its rich trade, and strengthened his hold on India by factories at Calicut and Diu. His wilder dreams of ruining Egypt by diverting the Nile into the Red Sea, and paralyzing the Moslem world by stealing Mohammed's body from its shrine at Medina, were scarcely less amazing than his deeds. In five years he replaced the Arab trading empire with that of Portugal, opened the way to farther Asia, and fastened the hold of Europe on the East. He had done more. Following the Navigator's policy of taking Mohammedanism in the rear, he had helped to divert Turkish attention from European conquest, and so relieved the pressure from that quarter for a time. At his death the Portuguese empire of the East was an accomplished fact, and, completed precisely a hundred years after the fall of Ceuta, his task, conceived and executed in the spirit of Prince Henry, fitly crowned the century of expansion.

1515

His
successors
1516

His work was carried on by other hands. Within six years Saurez had secured Colombo with a fort to dominate Ceylon; Pereira went to China as envoy; Andrada had explored the Chinese coast, whose trade, with that of farther India, now fell to Portugal; and the vast eastern archipelago, as far as Borneo, was visited by her ships. At the same time the Turks conquered Egypt. Venice and Genoa were thus cut off from their last highway to the East; and Lisbon took their place as the great *entrepôt* of Asiatic goods. Turk, Arab, Persian, and Egyptian strength was still to contend for mastery of the sea; the long demarcation line between their power and that of Portugal was to swing back and forth with the uncertain hazards of an endless war; but, till her independence was lost at home, Portugal was to hold her power in the East.

1517

Such was the prize. How was it to be kept? Had Per-

tugal's development at home, or her ability to organize and rule abroad equaled her daring and her enterprise, the edifice thus raised might well have stood, and Golden Goa remained the mistress of the East. Perhaps no state so circumstanced at that time could have revealed superior capacity, but Portugal's development at home scarcely kept pace with her progress abroad. Her government grew highly centralized; Cortes was merged in Council; popular liberties disappeared; and the king's authority, like that of his contemporaries, increased. But futile foreign policy and a false economy weakened the state. Her feudal organization was better fitted to conquer than to exploit the new empire; and her million and a third inhabitants were too few for the great task thus thrust upon them.

Moreover, sudden wealth demoralized society. Her nobles found their way to wealth and power by courtly arts that won them the commands abroad which were the perquisite of their class. The influx of slaves compelled the peasantry, unable to compete with forced labor, to leave their holdings. Agriculture correspondingly declined; manufactures tended to disappear; and, save for the fisheries, Portugal, abandoning herself to a single interest, ceased to support herself. Never a nation of varied resource, she had called sailors and shipwrights, merchants of all lands to reinforce her daring and her enterprise. But success narrowed her policy. The Jews were forced to embrace Christianity or follow the Moors into exile; and, as capital increased, foreigners found their privileges cut off. Royal monopoly was extended to a lengthening list of articles, the quantity of imports limited and prices raised. To prevent interlopers, the secrets of the passage were guarded with increasing vigilance. Papal interdicts were reinforced by prohibition of the sale of maps of lands beyond the Congo; and those waters became a *mare clausum*.

Yet, strangely enough, the Portuguese neglected trade with European ports. Flattered, perhaps, by homage to their capital, or seeking easy profits from its port dues, they suffered Germans and Flemings, French, Italians, Jews;

The
effect of
Portugal's
policy

In
Portugal

In relation
to Europe

Welsers and Fuggers, Hochstetters, Imhoffs, Marchini, Salvaggi, Carducci, half the great merchants of the continent, to establish branch houses in Lisbon and absorb the distribution of their goods throughout Europe. From these in turn they bought the necessities of life, and this, with the vast expense of their establishment oversea, ate up their profits. Thus, with the unequal distribution of her wealth, and economic decline which reduced her taxable property, Portugal early began to degenerate at home.

In her
colonies

Nor was this compensated by development abroad. Her population in the East gave small hope of permanence or increase, still less of impressing its culture or power upon the natives whom she met. Few women of the better sort went out even while their emigration was allowed, which was not long. The men, encouraged by the government and the church, married among the natives and bred a new race, Eurasian or Eurafrican, lacking the strength of either element; while from too close contact with alien blood at home and in the colonies the national fiber weakened and grew Orientalized. The church, which accompanied the Portuguese advance, scarcely extended its influence beyond the greater ports, and competed ineffectively with the native faiths.

Portuguese
imperial
organiza-
tion

Such were the first fruits of Portugal's achievements in the East. Yet, in spite of them, it might have been Emmanuel's fortune to build up a system of colonial administration which would have counteracted these defects in some degree. But the task seemed beyond his strength. The huge Estado da India, created in Almeida's day, was governed by a Viceroy who, from his capital at Goa, ruled some fifteen thousand miles of coast with vast but vague authority. At home the Casa da India, or India House, extended its oversight to all the business with the factories, while the Casa da Mina, or Guinea House, controlled the gold output of Africa. Beyond the Cape were presently established seven governorships, and a system of inspection by royal officers. An Indian army was created, and squadrons stationed at the danger points to guard the trading fleets.

But the long line of scattered posts could be but slightly

supervised at best. The Viceroy fought and administered as best he could; the Casa da India prepared cargoes, divided profits, enlisted soldiers, supervised the fleets; the royal agents looked after the king's interests when and where they could; the supreme court in Goa settled such cases as came before it. But, withal, captains and governors exercised their powers almost without restraint, and from the first a fatal error nullified all efforts at honest government. In their hands administration was combined with oversight of trade, and the temptation to sacrifice the public good for private gain was thus made irresistible. Worse still, the Portuguese did not learn. The commission of the Admiral of the East was made in the same terms as that of Pessanha, centuries before, even to the necessity of employing twenty Genoese subordinates; while Goa's charter, ignoring difference of conditions, was copied from that of Lisbon.

Trade and
adminis-
tration

Thus, though Portugal had great sources of strength,—a prestige won by the fighting qualities of her noble adventurers and their followers, superiority in vessels, seamanship, and arms,—from the beginning she revealed sources of weakness as well. Her rulers were not only ignorant of administration and trade; they held to older forms and rigid measures, and never rose to great heights or wider vision of imperial or commercial needs. Equally incapable of imposing her own system on alien peoples, or of devising new methods to suit new conditions, only the absorption of other European states in their own affairs and the courage of her agents abroad enabled Portugal to maintain the power she had won by the daring of her heroes.

And at the very moment when she achieved her greatest success she had a rude awakening from her dream of complete monopoly. It came, as might have been supposed, from Spain. While Portugal had pushed her power to farther Asia, her rival had feverishly sought two objects in America, gold and a western way to Asiatic trade; and, almost simultaneously, at this juncture in affairs, she suddenly achieved them both. Her success was the climax of a decade of strenuous activity. The year that Albuquerque sailed, 1508

Spain in
the West
Indies

1510 Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba and Vincente Pinzon found his way along the eastern coast of South America to the fortieth parallel; while Ponce de Leon, a colonist-companion of Columbus, and first of a new race of conquerors, brought Porto Rico under Spain's control. As the great Portuguese empire-builder began his work, Diego Columbus, son of the Discoverer, went out as Viceroy of the West.

1512 With his coming a new age began in America. The old Columbian monopoly was broken down and on every hand Spain's subjects began to exploit the new world. Coincident with the Portuguese advance to the Straits, Jamaica was occupied; Diego Velasquez conquered Cuba and established a settlement at Havana; Ponce de Leon, seeking, it was said, the fabled fountain of youth, found a peninsula of the western continent, which he called Florida. A short-lived settlement was planted on the Isthmus of Panama; and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, having founded the first permanent mainland colony at Darien, led a force across the Isthmus to look out for the first time upon the waters of a peaceful western sea, which he christened the Pacific. This he claimed for Spain, while two of his more daring followers seized a native boat and, first of all Europeans, pushed out upon its waters.

1513 Upon the news of this discovery, the Spanish king despatched his captain de Solis to find a way around America into its waters, and thus anticipate, if possible, the Portuguese discovery of the Isles of Spice. But Portugal, who likewise sent an expedition on the same track, had meanwhile won the race from the other end. Before de Solis sailed, her ships had loaded at Barida and Amboyna in the heart of the Moluccan archipelago; and, in the year that Albuquerque died, the Spanish leader fell by native hands on the great estuary which he named La Plata; his men turned back, defeated in their enterprise; and Portugal retained her hard-won domination of the East.

1514-15

1515-16

The results Spain's opportunity, despite her great activities, seemed lost. She had been in the new world a quarter of a century; her subjects had explored and conquered widely, spending their lives and fortunes freely in their quests; but thus far

she had failed of sudden wealth like that of Portugal. She had won the West Indian archipelago and some thousand miles of tropical coast; laid some rude peoples under tribute, or set them to work; found some store of gold and pearls; built up a slender trade; sent out some colonists; and laid foundations for a sure if slow prosperity from the products of the soil, like and not so great as that in the Portuguese island-colonies. Of native races she had met only the mild and peaceful Aruaes, from whom she wrested tribute and forced labor; and the fiercer Caribs, from whom she got scarcely more than hard blows, a new name, Caribbean, for the Antillean sea, and the word cannibal. But both Aruaes and Caribs were savages of low type, mere hunters and fishermen; neither of them offered prospects of profit beyond what had been or was being obtained from them, and that was far from considerable. As yet no land of gold; no spices, silks, nor gems; no rich nations fit for conquest or for trade; no sea-way to the East rewarded her adventurers in the western hemisphere.

Yet at the end of her costly enterprise Spain found a great success. From native chiefs the founder of Darien learned of lands "flowing with gold," sufficient to satisfy even the "ravenous appetites" of his rapacious followers. These, as the event was to prove, lay to the south; but long before they were attained, adventurers had begun the exploitation of the coast lands to the north. Within three years Cordova 1517 found the peninsula of Yucatan, the home of the highly civilized Maya tribes; and Juan de Grijalva, coasting north- 1518 ward thence, got news of a great mainland empire of fabulous wealth. This information, with some store of gold, he sent back to Cuba; and with the exploration of the Gulf coast from Florida to where Grijalva had left off, the problem of gold and a sea-way to the East took on more definite form, as the Spanish-Americans prepared for continental conquest.

The first to move was Cuba's governor, Velasquez. Fired 1519 by Grijalva's gold and information, he hastened to equip a force to seek the mainland empire. Ten ships, some six hundred foot, a score of horses, with artillery and supplies,

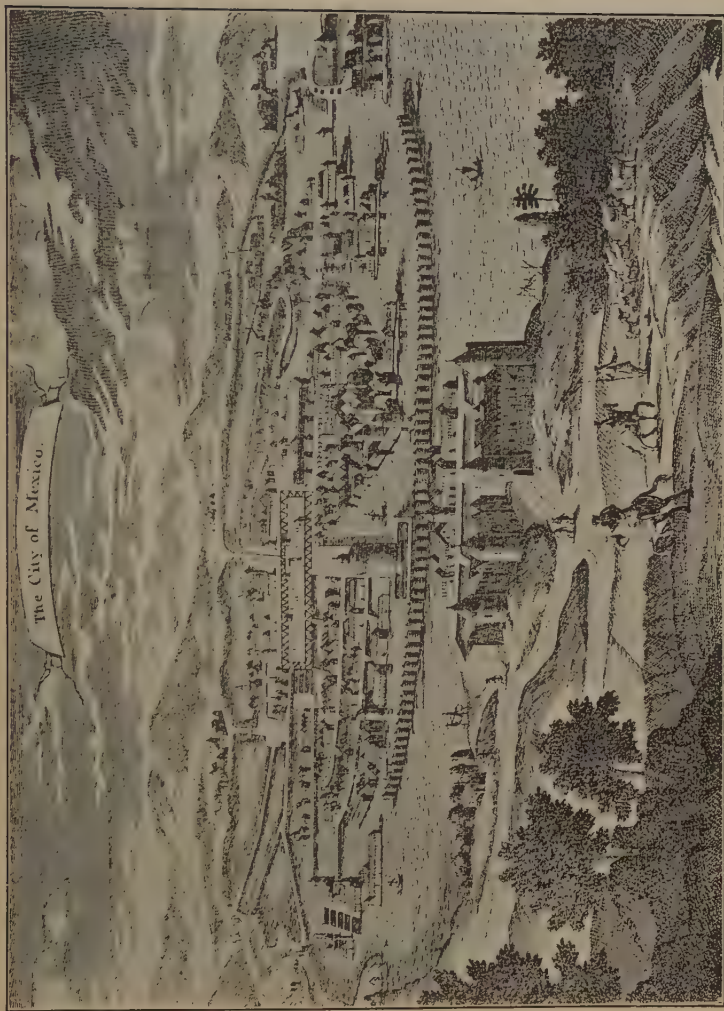
The
rumors of
the Aztecs

Hernando
Cortez
1519

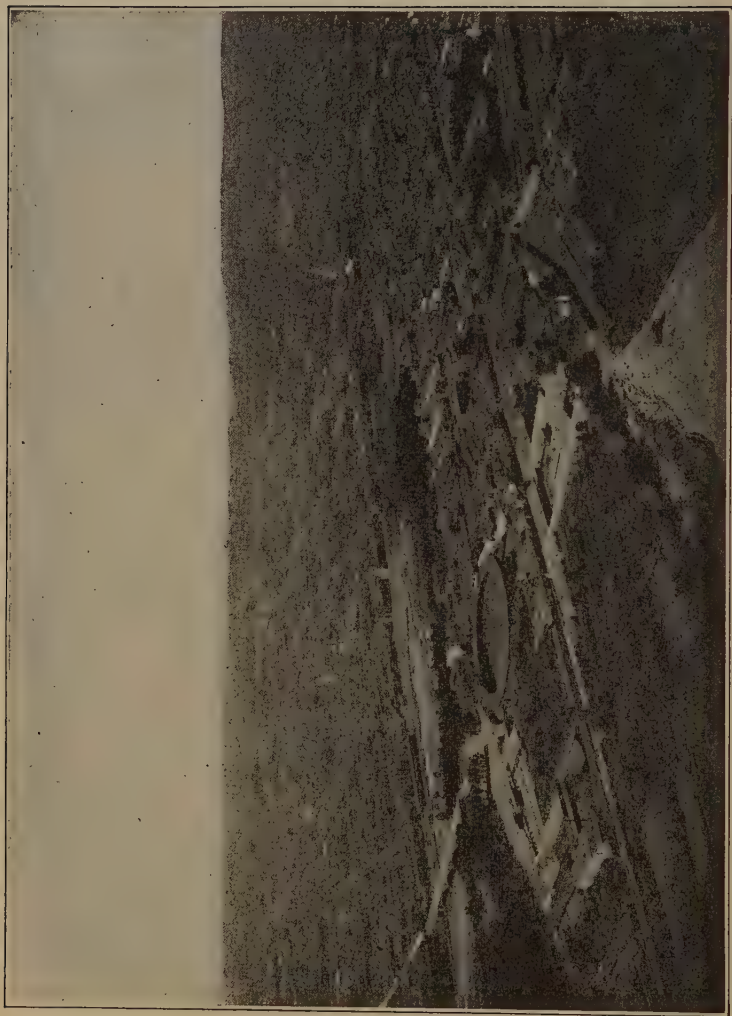
were intrusted to the command of the alcalde of Santiago, Hernando Cortez. In one view the choice was fortunate. A soldier's son, born in Estremadura, "the cradle of conquerors," brave, adventurous, poor, able, and ambitious even beyond his kind, the new commander, after long service under Ovando and Velasquez, had thus far been denied an independent command and the great opportunity of which he dreamed. He was neither slow nor scrupulous in availing himself of it, now it had come. Sailing at once to evade recall, recruiting his forces and supplies as he went, he found his way to Tabasco, thence to Vera Cruz. There he was elected governor and captain-general by his followers; sent back word to Charles V of his adventure and his new dignities; and thus severing the last tie which bound him to his patron, the Cuban governor, he prepared his great exploit. Meanwhile, the ruler of the inland empire, Montezuma, sent him presents and a command to leave the country. But the sight of gold only confirmed the invaders' resolution "to go to see what this great Montezuma might be like, and to make an honest living and our fortunes." Cortez burned his ships to commit his men irrevocably to the adventure, and advanced toward the interior with some four hundred Spaniards and his native allies.

The Aztecs

Of it and its inhabitants he had meanwhile learned much. Centuries earlier a fierce northern tribe, the Aztecs, had fallen on the cultured Toltec race, which held the central Mexican plateau, subdued them and their neighbors, absorbed the civilization which they found, grafted on it their dark and bloody religious observances, and became the rulers of the greater part of what came to be known as Mexico. Save for the use of iron, gunpowder, and domestic animals, especially the horse, and for the ferocious superstitions of their religion, they seemed scarcely inferior to the Europeans with whom they were now to be brought in contact. They built in stone, wove cotton cloth, mined and worked the precious metals, dug canals, and were pre-eminent in agriculture. Nor were their intellectual acquirements inconsiderable, for they reckoned time, used hieroglyphic writing, and were no mean



This view of the City of Mexico is a formalized plan of the Spanish city. It is taken from A. de Solis, *History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (translated by Townshend, London, 1724). It must be regarded as a typical rather than absolutely correct drawing of the city, but is none the less interesting.



LIMA. The modern city.

astronomers and mathematicians. In their own land of Anahuac, the heart of Mexico, they were a ruling warrior caste; elsewhere they exercised a rigid suzerainty, whose severity was emphasized by an enforced tribute of victims for human sacrifice from the subject tribes.

To conquer such a race with four hundred men would have been preposterous, nor was it Cortez' design. His policy was to divide and rule, to conquer the Aztecs by the aid of their enemies and the subject tribes. With the allies he had already made he overthrew the warlike Tlascalans, whose lands, which lay on his march to Montezuma's capital, had remained independent of the Aztec rule. Enlisting them against their ancient enemies, he finally advanced on Anahuac itself. Mountains and desert offered as little obstacle to the Spanish adventurers as native hostility. Though no European eyes had ever looked on such tremendous scenes as those through which Cortez' force now passed, the natural wonders they encountered, amazing as they were, astonished them scarcely as much as the first sight of the Aztec capital, the island city of Tenochtitlan, "like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis—great towers and buildings rising from the water—and some of our soldiers even asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream." Thus defended, approachable only by long causeways, impregnable to his little force, the capture of this great city seemed hopeless enough.

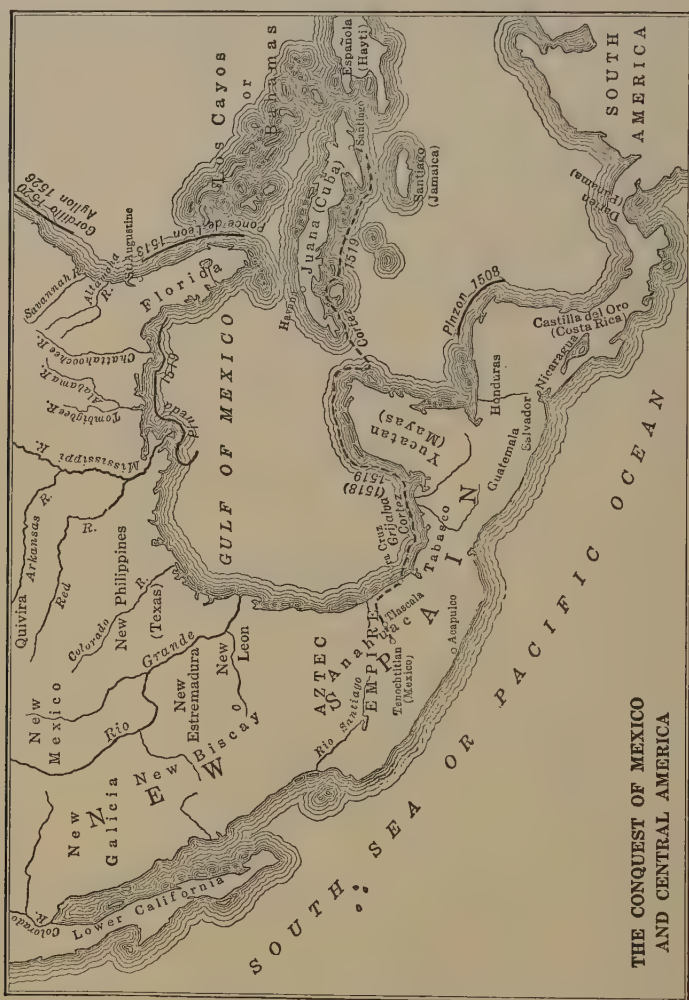
But what he would have been unable to accomplish, fortune did for him. The superstitious Emperor was alarmed by intestine feuds, by prophecies which foretold the downfall of his race, by likeness of these "Children of the Sun" to a divinity who, according to tradition, had come from the East, centuries before, taught the arts of peace and departed, promising to return. He admitted the invaders to his capital. Once within the city, Cortez fortified the palace assigned to him; secured the Emperor's submission to the king of Spain; and finally, by a daring stroke, seized Montezuma and exacted a huge ransom as the price of his safety.

From this success he was summoned to confront a force sent by Velasquez to supersede him. That force Cortez

The
Conquest
of Mexico
1519

1520

bribed to betray its leader, and, thus reinforced, he returned to Mexico to find the natives aroused against the Spaniards by the cruelty of his lieutenant, Alvarado, and the Emperor



deprived of his authority. The invaders, compelled to fight their way out of the city, took refuge with their allies, the Tlascalans, and in the following year again advanced. The subject tribes were summoned to Cortez' aid; the city was

invested; and for three months the Aztecs, under a new leader, Guatomozi, defended themselves with the fury of despair. They were defeated, and the Aztec nobility was all but annihilated. The city was destroyed and upon its ruins another capital was begun. The tribes which aided the invaders found that they had only exchanged new and more powerful masters for the old. The land and its inhabitants were parceled out among Cortez' chief followers, its treasures were distributed among the conquerors, save for the royal fifth. The native temples were broken down or turned to Christian usages, the missionaries began to preach the new faith; and the conquerors, entering on their inheritance in this great realm now added to the Spanish crown, laid the foundations of a new society.

Great as was this achievement, it was not alone in its glory. While Cortez and his followers were winning this rich land, another and a smaller Spanish force had been engaged in an exploit no less important but productive of far less reward. This was the conquest of the western sea. Six weeks before the Spaniards saw the Aztec capital for the first time, five ships had sailed from San Lucar in Spain under command of a Portuguese adventurer, Fernão Magellan, sometime a captain under Albuquerque, who, six years earlier, had sailed with d'Abreu from Malacca to the Isles of Spice. He conceived the idea that the Moluccas were not within Spain's demarcation line, and that they could be reached by sailing west, but he had failed to interest Emmanuel and so entered the service under Charles of Spain.

Given command of this little fleet, he took de Solis' course to the la Plata, whence, following the eastern coast of South America beyond the farthest point then known, he wintered in Patagonia. His men mutinied, one of his captains deserted him. But, undaunted by his losses and the dangers of an unknown sea, a year from his departure, while Cortez was advancing for a second time upon the Aztec capital, Magellan reached the strait which still bears his name at the extremity of the continent. Escaping its perils almost by miracle, after six weeks he cleared the dangerous

1521

Fernão
MagellanSept. 20
1519

1520

passage, turned "the desired cape, 'Deseado,' " and sailed out on the Pacific.

For a time he followed the coast northward, then struck out boldly into the open sea. Week after week he doggedly went on. The water spoiled, the fleet's supplies gave out. Men lived on leather, rats, the sweepings of the ships, meal full of maggots, or, more often, died. For a hundred days they plowed across this vast, unknown, apparently illimitable, expanse, haunted by the fear that they would sail over the world's edge into space, and at last made land at the Ladrões or Isles of Robbers. Even so the great captain was not to see the end of his exploit; for in another group, later named, from the Spanish heir, the Philippines, he fell by native hands. But his work was done. He had invaded Portuguese monopoly from the rear and given Spain a foothold upon Asiatic soil. Far more than this, he had revealed the mystery of the Pacific. His surviving followers found their way to Borneo and Tidore. One of their two remaining ships, the *Trinidad*, attempted to return to Panama, but put back to the Moluccas, where it was captured by the Portuguese; while the last vessel of the fleet was voyaging, by Portugal's well-known way about Africa, to Spain. Three years from their departure this ship, well-named the *Victoria*, with eighteen Europeans and four Asiatic sailors, under Sebastian del Cano, sailed into San Lucar, after the greatest feat of seamanship the world had ever seen. Thirty years before, Columbus found the transatlantic passage. Now the great age of maritime discovery was crowned by the circumnavigation of the earth which revealed its size and its sphericity. With it, for the first time, mankind conceived the world which it inhabited. Portugal and Spain, "the one of them departing toward the Orient and the other toward the Occident," had now "met again in the course or way of the middest of the day" and "compassed the world," between them. It remained apparently only for them to exploit what they found.

Effect of
Spanish
conquest

With these two great adventures, Spain found herself again on an equality with her rival in the colonial field; and, like

Portugal a decade before, was confronted by the problem of organizing and administering the empire which was being won and settled by her adventurers. Scarcely less than the progress of territorial conquest, the development of society in her possessions had demanded the attention of the home government. The slight stores of native gold in her island possessions had been soon exhausted by the plundering conquerors. The product of stream washing and rude mines proved inconsiderable; and the growth of planting had imposed fresh burdens on the unfortunate Aruaes, which they soon proved unable to sustain. Added to war and wanton cruelty, the unaccustomed and exacting labor which their masters required of them was scarcely less fatal than the Spanish arms, and, despite the efforts of the administration, they died by thousands.

The
natives

In order to prevent their complete extermination, accordingly, the government devised a plan which, with some modifications, became the basis of Spanish economic power in the new world. With the design of protecting the natives and raising them at least from slavery to a species of serfdom, those within the bounds of Spanish occupation were placed in charge of leading colonists, by groups or villages proportioned to their holdings, and these so-called *encomenderos* were held responsible for the well-being, faith, and safety of their charges. Such was the system known as that of *repartimientos* or *encomiendas*. This, in some form, spread through the Spanish-American colonies, and became at once the pattern for the later development of their resources and the chief contribution of Spain to the solution of the problem of tropical exploitation.

The *repartimiento*
system
1512-

1516

Opposed by impartial and enlightened men like the great missionary, Las Casas, this design was welcomed by the colonists, and even approved by the Franciscan commissioners sent out to investigate its workings. But however defensible in theory, and however admirable when properly administered with due consideration for the natives, too often it accelerated the destruction it professed to check, since it served only to confirm and legalize a bondage from which there was no

Slavery

1508- escape but death. With this came another development. As the demand for laborers continued to increase, and the native supply continued to decline, the Spanish planters, like the Portuguese, turned to Africa for negro slaves, better fitted to endure the hard labor in the tropics which had proved insupportable to European and Indian alike. An increasing number of these new immigrants was soon introduced into the West Indies from the Guinea coast. And, though at first forbidden by the crown, the slave trade, supported by powerful interests and even the eloquence of good men like Las Casas, who hoped to save the Indians by its means, finally received the royal sanction and became a part of the colonial life. With this the ultimate success of planting and cattle-raising was assured, and a society was formed upon the basis thus laid down. Planter and native, negro and half-breed, poured into Spain an increasing stream of its produce, dye-stuffs and wood, fruits, drugs, tobacco, cotton, hides and cattle products, and, above all, sugar, which, introduced into the colony within a generation after the discovery, became the first great staple of the West Indian colonies. Thus though progress was checked by the continual drain upon the population for mainland exploits, the island settlements began a course of slow but sure advance.

1517

c. 1520

Organiza-
tion of
Spanish-
America
1508-

With the development of planting and the influx of labor came administrative changes. Two years before Diego Columbus had taken his place as governor, the Española towns had been granted their petition for municipal privileges; and within a year of his arrival a court had been established, independent of the executive authority, to hear appeals from his justices. Thus began that characteristic institution of Spanish colonial administration, the *audiencia*, at once a governor's council and a supreme court, empowered to present memorials to the home government and so act as an effective check on executive authority. Almost at the same time the colonial director, Fonseca, and the king's secretary, with other members of the Council of Castile, had been named a committee for American affairs. From this had been developed, as early as the first year of Columbus'

governorship, a Council of the Indies, and, after the accession of Charles to the throne, this became a permanent body, which grew into the controlling authority, under the king, for justice and administration oversea. Meanwhile conquest and exploration spread, as the Antilles, Darien, Florida, and Mexico, with later additions, were brought under Spanish power. And though the governor of Española remained, under the home government, the nominal ruler of the Spanish-American colonies, new governors were appointed for each fresh acquisition, with slight relation to the authority of the original colony. Under such auspices, administration and society were extended with the progress of the Spanish arms. Spanish civilization, modified by slavery and the conditions of a new world, made its way gradually throughout the territories around the Gulf of Mexico at the same time that Magellan's exploit enabled Spain to invade the regions in which Albuquerque had just completed the edifice of Portuguese colonial supremacy. c. 1524 1520

Thus simultaneously and by not dissimilar means, America and Asia were opened to European enterprise; and there began that interaction among them from which was to grow a great part of the world's history. While the continent itself was rent with the rivalries of new princes and newly organized states, there were laid the foundations of dominion oversea which was to make a European world. This, rather than the Italian wars, remains the event of lasting importance in the political activities of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. For the future belonged not to the captains and kings who filled the public eye and were to monopolize the pages of history. While explorers and conquerors determined the paths which Europe was to take abroad, the scholars and men of letters were altering the whole basis of life and thought at home; and they, with their fellow-adventurers, remained the real directors of European destinies.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. 1492-1521

1492

At the moment that the little Spanish town of Palos rang with the preparations for that voyage which was to bring a new world into European view, and the envoys of Milan were seeking to persuade the French king, Charles VIII, to intervene in the affairs of the Italian peninsula, the greatest princely figure of the Renaissance, Lorenzo the Magnificent, lay on his death-bed. Before the news of the discovery reached Florence, or the emissaries of Ludovico Sforza had received assurances of French support, the noblest patron of the New Learning had gone. Had the movement which unfolded the past to European minds been of like nature with those political activities which drew his city into the maelstrom of French and Spanish rivalry, it might well have been that his death would have checked the splendid burst of scholarly and artistic genius evoked in the preceding generation and its budding splendor would have failed to achieve its full fruition. But such movements as the Renaissance depend little upon the individual, however great; and less upon the ambitions of a prince, however powerful; least of all upon the vicissitudes of politics. For, even while Italy became the battle-ground of Europe, her genius made her the artistic and intellectual capital of the continent.

For the first quarter of the sixteenth century, though filled with great actions by land and sea, the rivalries of princes and the adventures of nations and individuals, was far from being wholly dominated by even the most insistent demands of war and politics. Deeply influenced as they were by these activities, the mind and heart of Europe were still more profoundly stirred by the concurrent developments in far dif-

ferent fields. Art and letters, science, above all theology, assumed a fresh importance in the life of man. New lines of achievement, new fields of opportunity were opened on every hand; and while the creative genius of the European race rose to still greater heights of excellence, there was evolved a new school of religious faith and practice in opposition to the old establishment.

This expansion of man's intellect and capabilities was Italian art nowhere more evident than in the realm of art; and nowhere were its achievements more remarkable than in Italy. At the same time that the Iberian powers revealed an amazing burst of conquests and discovery, the Italian peninsula revealed a no less amazing development in art and letters. And it is not the least remarkable of the coincidences in this extraordinary period that concurrently with the deeds of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque, and Cortez, painters like Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, and writers like Machiavelli and Ariosto, should have appeared to enlarge Europe's literary and artistic empire while her political boundaries were extended oversea.

This was a natural result of those same forces which had operated to produce the humanist renaissance and to lay the foundations for rebirth of art. As the centers of intellectual effort in the peninsula, and, more slowly, in Europe generally, felt the scholarly and literary impulse which emanated from Florence under the golden age of the Medici, so these same Italian cities had become the fountainheads of a new art. "The oil of commerce fed the lamp of culture," and it was a culture which took on the form of beauty. There the Florentine, Leonardo da Vinci, architect, engineer, scientist, 1452-1519 and artist, in Milan, in Florence, in Rome, in France, had pursued his varied callings, and crowned the achievements of his versatile genius with the masterpiece of fresco, the Last Supper.

What Leonardo's influence was to the Lombard cities that of Giorgione's pupil, Titian, was to Venice, whose beauty 1477-1576 and opulence flamed from his glowing canvas in a splendor of color till new unrivaled in pictorial art.

1483-1520

1475-1564

Meanwhile, the genius of the master of the Italian school, Raphael Sanzio, "the Divine," of Urbino, crowned the achievements of the period. In his work the deep sense of the older religious inspiration was blended with the technical skill developed by two generations of unparalleled progress in portraiture; and in his Madonnas and Holy Families, the zenith of achievement in that field was reached. Finally, the Titanic talents of the Capresian, Michelangelo, trained in the school of Lorenzo the Magnificent, infused into painting, sculpture, and architecture alike that greatness of conception, that combined strength and delicacy of execution, which, whether in the colossal frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, or in the superb design for the projected church of St. Peter, or in the compelling vigor and fidelity of his statuary, set new standards in each field. Of these Leonardo, Titian and Michelangelo, by virtue of long life, carried on into another generation the tradition of greatness, and no less by their lives than by their works established the artistic revival on an enduring foundation.

To their achievements in form and beauty must be added another element, that of majesty. If the earlier painters of the Renaissance had tended toward delicacy, and those of the middle period toward a subtle sensuality, if the age of Savonarola found its ideal in humility, that of the oncoming generation tended toward a pride of bearing, a dignity, a courage which reflected the altering attitude of this world toward the next. Men were becoming conscious of their powers and opportunities, and painting was quick to catch the altered tone of life.

The
Papacy
and the
Renaissance

Thus in the decades which saw French and Spanish power waste themselves in their futile rivalry, and Spain and Portugal win new worlds for European energies to exploit, Italy made secure the edifice of her artistic supremacy and established once for all the canons of taste and craftsmanship. Not since the days of Pericles had Europe seen such a galaxy of artistic genius as Italy brought forth at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Not during her whole history had Europe seen such an advance in painting as in this genera-



LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE.

From the painting by Raphael. A typical example of the new school of art; notable not only for its beauty, but for the accurate drawing and perspective, the use of landscape and the traces of classical influence.



THE EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA.

After a panel in his cell at S. Marco. This view of the Piazza Signoria in Florence, with the Palazzo Vecchio in the right background and the gallows in the center, is typical of the place and period, even to the costumes of the citizens and the architecture of the city.

tion. To Lorenzo's patronage succeeded that of the warlike Julius II, and to his encouragement that of Leo X, as with its last great effort to establish temporal power the Papacy became the center of Italian culture. Whatever its shortcomings on the spiritual side, as it enlisted artists and architects to embody and adorn its greatness in stone and fresco, and clothed its spiritual leadership with the splendor of creative art, it served greater ends than mere improvement in technique and decoration. It helped to develop the soul of art which underlay all these material manifestations, and so aided in the emancipation from the formalism of the past.

For it was not merely Titian's color and Michelangelo's application of anatomy to painting and sculpture, nor Raphael's mastery of technique, which accomplished these new miracles. Behind the advance in drawing and design, the development of perspective and chiaroscuro, lay a spiritual force. If the scholars had brought Europe in touch with the past, and the adventurers had brought her in contact with the world outside, the artists brought her in touch with nature, and that service, reinforced as time went on by the scientists, was to prove no less important to her future development than even the greatest results of her more material activities. Nor was the sense of achievement, which is the most powerful incentive to further effort, less in the realm of art than in those other fields. From it proceeded new confidence and new strength, and that impulse to new adventure which was to win fresh triumphs with the advancing years. As full, rounded landscape took the place of the rude, jagged sketches which the preceding century had largely used as a background for its figures, it symbolized an altered attitude toward life. The flowing lines, the more fleshly figures, the spaciousness of conception, like the attention to details of dress and furnishing, revealed that man had come to look on his environment with pleasure rather than distaste. For good or ill the world was becoming more worldly. And as comfort and luxury were no longer reckoned sinful this world lost something of its terrors, the next something of its joys.

1503
1513

The spirit
of Renais-
sance art

Italian
literature

1474-

1533

Italy was not unique in this achievement nor was it distinguished merely for its painting and sculpture. In poetry, the genius of Ariosto revived, expanded, and adorned an earlier poem into his romantic epic of *Orlando Furioso*, the beauty of whose verse, no less than the skill of its construction and the vivacity of its imaginative qualities, set it among the masterpieces of the world. What Ariosto was to Italian poetry, the Florentine secretary, Nicolo Machiavelli, was to statecraft and literature alike. From long experience in politics and letters, he drew a history of Florence which established a new form of historiography. Far more enduring and more pervasive in its influence, he formulated in his great masterpiece, *The Prince*, those maxims for the management of men and bodies politic whose subtlety and skill made their way deep into the minds of men of affairs. Divorcing morality from method, it became the model for that school which, from this day to ours, found in the accomplishment of its ends a full excuse for exercise of all the means which lead to power. With these as the chief exponents of a wider school, Italy retained in literature, as in art, the primacy of the continent. Humanism had produced no philosophy of its own, but in Machiavelli's work was summed up not merely the cynicism to which it gave rise, but a political philosophy, drawn from the phenomena of absolutism about him, and at once a portent and a manual of the greater absolutism which was to come.

German
art

1471-1528

Yet far beyond the Alps, partly inspired by Italian influence, but more largely drawing from its inner consciousness, still other schools made way during this period. The father of German painting, "prince of artists," Albrecht Dürer, sometime court painter to the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V, trained in his birthplace, Nuremberg, and in Italy, drew from each source those qualities of exactness and breadth which, joined to his natural quaintness of conception, made him the "Chaucer of painting." Beside his work with the brush, he added another element to the growing appeal of art; for he became the founder of a school of wood-engraving which, in his hands, was developed from rude

caricature to the rank of a fine art. With it he, like his contemporaries, of whom the elder Holbein was chief, made that appeal from princes to people which was the characteristic of the modern world, bringing the masses into closer touch with this field of human endeavor through the medium of the printing-press.

While the genius of Italy led the way toward that emancipation of the intellect which was the chief product of the New Learning of the Renaissance, northern men of letters, like northern artists, had begun to strike out ways for themselves and to infuse the scholarship of the continent with a spirit less conservative than that of Italy, clinging to the past, yet looking more and more toward the future. The painters of the Teutonic world, following Dürer and Holbein, tended continually to the delineation, not so much of saints and angels as of the characters and scenes about them; and their genius seemed more closely in touch with the living world than with the realm of faith or fancy. As scholarship spread northward it revealed the same characteristic. Though the older forms remained in art and letters and intellect, their power waned before the new spirit, till they became rather the relics of a fast-fading past, than the expressions of a living present.

The New
Learning
in northern
Europe

Throughout the fifteenth century the great outstanding fact in the intellectual development of Europe beyond the Alps had been the foundation of universities. There, especially in Germany, those centers of learning and education had increased enormously in number and importance. Louvain, St. Andrews, Upsala, Leipzig, Freiburg, Tübingen, Basel, Wittenberg, with many others, less famous or long-lived, thus took their place in lengthening the roll of such institutions, while in England, Oxford and Cambridge saw corresponding increase in the number of their colleges. With this came an access of scholarly pursuits. At first, like the schools of France and Italy, whence they sprung, the new race of teachers adhered to the strictest rules of the past. Dialectic reigned supreme, Aristotle retained his dominion over their intellectual processes. But this was not for long.

The new
universi-
ties

1400-
1500

Like their prototype and prophet of this new order, the German scholar-poet Agricola, they felt the new forces then making way in European thought. His work on dialectic, which led the way in this tendency, evidenced a general reaction against the older scholasticism in favor of the on-coming intellectual processes which sought a sounder basis for their conclusions than mere tradition or authority.

1455-1522

Agricola was but one of many. In his own land were found men like Reuchlin, whose talents were devoted not merely to Greek and Latin but to Hebrew, now, with the impetus given by Pico della Mirandola, beginning to make way in European scholarship and even into theology. Still more was the cause of the new learning furthered by the English or Oxford school of humanists. These—Colet, Lily, Latimer, Grocyn, and the English chancellor, More—carried the labors of the Florentines one step farther. They were not content with the study and editing of classical texts. They wished to make them a part of general education, and in their hands began a movement to alter the fundamentals of instruction. Thus, reinforced in many other quarters, arose that system of mental training based on the classics and mathematics, which slowly but surely superseded the mediæval school system.

More
1478-1535

One of them, at least, went farther still. Not content with aiding the cause of the new learning, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, moved by the spirit of sympathy with the unfortunate lot of the lower classes, and by the general discontent with social conditions which marked the early years of the sixteenth century, gave to the world the first sketch of an ideal commonwealth which Europe had seen since the days of Plato. His *Utopia* was not merely a remarkable literary achievement, it was a sign of the times. For in its pages were voiced the dreams and the aspirations of a multitude of men who saw the old order disintegrating about them, and who sought a new basis of society no less than a new basis of knowledge in reason rather than inherited authority.

1516

Erasmus
1466-1536

Greatest of all this northern school was the Dutchman, Desiderius Erasmus. Bred to the church, trained in theology

and the so-called "humane sciences," he brought to the humanistic movement a scholarship unrivaled in his day, wide knowledge of the world, a keen and critical intellect, and, above all, a literary style which made him a leader in this movement. His connection with the Venetian publisher, Aldus, and the Swiss publisher, Frobenius, placed him in touch with the great exponents of scholarship and letters. His edition of the Greek New Testament revealed learning and acumen which put him in the first rank of European scholars. His *Praise of Folly*, and still more his *Colloquia*, went farther still along the lines laid down by More in looking toward a church reform inspired neither by pagan philosophy nor Papal predominance. For, not content with satirizing society as it was then constituted, he ventured to attack the ecclesiastical establishment, especially on its weakest side, monasticism. To England he brought a new impetus of classical scholarship by his lectures at Oxford and his relations with the English humanists. To the continent he brought that note of antagonism to the entrenched authority of Rome which was to bear such bitter fruit.

In this he was the herald of a new age. For his careful and conservative skepticism not only inspired such men as Reuchlin and the young Melanchthon to voice more openly the prevalent discontent with Rome, but infused the Teutonic world with a classicism touched by religious and social sentiments, and concerned with every-day affairs. Like the English school, with which they were so closely connected, Erasmus and his followers ventured to apply scholarship to Scripture and at least some modicum of reason to theology, and to inform the spirit of the time with learning, common-sense, and a fresh ally, humor. From the spirit thus evoked there came in no long time a new movement of scarcely less consequence to the social than to the ecclesiastical system.

That movement was meanwhile active in other quarters and in very different hands. The Frenchman, Rabelais, destined, like Erasmus, for the church, but soon rebelling against his fate, evolved his extravagant masterpiece of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. This gigantic satire on the old

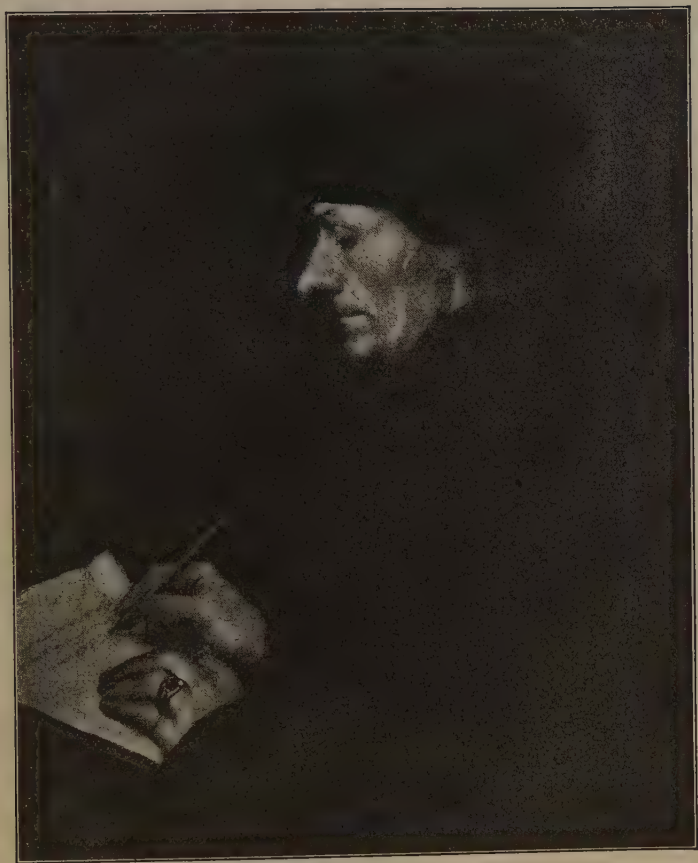
Rabelais
1490-1553

system of thought and education at once condemned the intellectual and educational models of the church and extolled the ideals of the apostles of the new learning, mingling its wisdom with a humor too coarse for modern taste, but peculiarly fitted to combat the outworn ideals of the ecclesiastical system which it attacked. Such were the leaders of that movement, which, expanding the labors of the Florentine humanists, brought the new learning another stage in its progress, and formed the connecting link between the Renaissance and the reforming movement in the church.

In their hands the rapidly approaching trial of strength between the champions of the old order and the new was carried on to another generation from that which saw the discovery of the transatlantic passage and the way to India. And it is not, perhaps, surprising, amid such abundant fruits of the literary and scholarly renaissance, that the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century were occupied rather with the letters and thought than with the science of the classical world. For they were concerned with those things which pressed most closely on their daily life, the affairs of a church sorely in need of reform and of societies busied in establishing themselves into states on new foundations of national and international relationships.

Amid this conflict of ideas and ideals, three other movements typified the changes then coming about in European life and thought. The first was the emergence of historical scholarship, the second the revolution in taste which injected classical conceptions into a society long accustomed to Gothic models, the third was the extraordinary progress of the art of printing. They were, perhaps, co-ordinate phenomena. It was no mere casual concurrence of unrelated circumstances that in the same year of the preceding century in which the Portuguese were finding their way about Cape Bojador fair on the way to India, the Italian scholar, Valla, not only demonstrated the falsity of the so-called Donation of Constantine, but detected flaws in Livy and even in the Vulgate itself. From that spring flowed a stream of destructive historical criticism which, by the beginning of the sixteenth

Other
influences
—history



ERASMUS.

From the painting by Holbein, in the Louvre.



MARTIN LUTHER.



JOHN CALVIN

century, had powerfully aided not only the humanists but the reformers.

To its development the investigations of the Roman, Biondo, in the Papal archives contributed. To this the labors of the Florentine historians, Varchi, Guicciardini, and, above all, Machiavelli, joined to produce a new school of history. Of these the last was the greatest. In his *Discourse on the Language of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio*, in his books on Livy, and, still more in his *History of Florence*, he typified that method of critical investigation which was rapidly superseding the blind processes of "harmonizing" rather than comparing historical material, by discarding what seemed to be untrue and so raising history from legend to at least an approximation to truth. To these he added his great contribution to political thought, on which his chief fame rests, *The Prince*; and, whether it be reckoned merely a description of the motives which ruled men in the age of the tyrants, or as a satire, or as a manual of the theory and practice of despotism, it remains not merely a masterpiece of the maxims of that school of statecraft, but an example of a new school of thought which for the first time in modern history looked its phenomena in the face and set them down as they were.

The great and obvious debt which historical writing owed to the revival of the learning of the ancient world was shared by architecture, though to modern eyes the gain was hardly compensated by the loss. The change in fashion, at once irrational and inevitable, which arises from the innate human desire for a new experience, had, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, greatly altered the character of the Gothic school of building that had slowly evolved through various forms during the middle ages. As is so frequently the case, its very triumph brought with it the seeds of its decadence, which had revealed itself in weakening of design and excess of ornamentation. The Renaissance, among its many results, turned men's tastes away from the forms toward which the later Gothic tended. Classical models, which had profoundly affected sculpture, to its huge betterment, found their way into the buildings which the sculptures

1500-

Machiavelli
1469-1527

1513

Architec-
ture

adorned. The development of painting tended toward the same end, for that art needed what the Gothic lacked, clear wall space to display its frescoes. From such elements proceeded the alteration which now began to exhibit itself in the buildings of the continent. Thus while in France Gothic architecture continued in the so-called Flamboyant style, whose name describes its character; while in England the later or Tudor Gothic persisted in scarcely dimmed beauty of form and spirit; in Italy by the beginning of the sixteenth century a change began which slowly but surely made its way throughout the continent during the next two hundred years and more. It was the evolution of the neo-classic style which, in the hands of Italian architects, began to imitate the models of the ancient world, and to replace the Renaissance types as they had replaced the pure Gothic. Column and flat wall space, dome and rounded arch again took their place in European building. On these artists and sculptors lavished their art, and so gave another expression to that classical influence which had commenced to invade education, and which had already begun to drive scholasticism from the field of intellect.

Printing

The rapid spread of these influences might, however, have proved impossible had it not been for the third great force then making way in Europe's affairs—the printing-press. During the preceding generation this great invention had been the wonder of the continent; and the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in particular, had seen the spread of printers to every part of Europe. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherlands had a score of presses, France twice that number, and Italy four times as many. In the same years that Columbus came to Portugal seeking his fortune, the English printer, William Caxton, brought from his apprenticeship on the continent the first press to his native country. His earliest ventures abroad had been a French romance on the history of Troy and a book on chess. His earliest volume in England was a translation of the *Sayings of the Philosophers*. And, in a peculiar sense, these typified the interest finding expression in print through

northern Europe beside the Bible and the classics: for they made the new art not merely the vehicle of purely intellectual achievements, but brought it into touch with every department of life.

In printing generally, in publication and editing, as in the scholarship which gave it impetus, Italy took the lead. The art brought thither by German craftsmen, and first practised by them, was, almost at once, adopted and improved by Italian taste. There, in some measure, it experienced the fate of architecture. To the Gothic forms of type, or **black letter**, which the northerners had invented and used at first almost if not quite exclusively, was soon added the lighter and more legible Roman type, adapted from the so-called minuscule letters of the ninth century Carolingian manuscripts. To the great Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius, in the first 1450-1515 years of the sixteenth century, is usually attributed the development of so-called *italics*, and the Greek font, which from that day to this have been familiar to typography.

This progress was not confined to Italy. Before the first quarter of the century had passed, there was not a considerable city in Europe without a press, and northern printers rivaled those of the south in contributing to scholarship by their editorial activities, and to typography by their technical taste and skill. From their hands flowed a steady stream of classical texts, and, scarcely less, of more modern literary and scientific writings. And when the growing controversy between the church and its antagonists came to a head, it found ready to its hand the means by which both sides could appeal to a wider audience than would have been possible a century earlier. This redounded rather to the advantage of the protesting element, but its immediate effect upon the art of printing was very great. Among the reasons for the success of the reforming movement which accompanied the advance in letters and learning must be reckoned not the least the craft which owed its original largely to Luther's fellow-countrymen; while among the reasons for the extraordinary increase of printing during the sixteenth century, the theological controversies hold a high place.

Thus the half-century which saw the discovery of the seas east and west, the emergence of national kingships, and the beginnings of revolt against the church, marked a great epoch in the artistic and intellectual, even in the technical advance of Europe. In one view no movements could have well seemed more diverse than those which brought into existence the masterpieces of Italian and northern art and letters, new fonts of type, and new schools of architecture, historical scholarship, and education. Yet at bottom no circumstance of the period was more characteristic than the simultaneous appearance of these widely differing phenomena. For there was not one of them which did not owe its origin in some measure to the Renaissance, and which did not connect itself directly or indirectly with that growing tendency toward emancipation from the traditions of the past, that reliance on self rather than tradition, which was the characteristic of the oncoming modern world.

The Renaissance
and the
Reformation

How powerful these influences were to be, the generation then taking its place upon the stage was soon to show. While rulers and statesmen wove their plans for greater power or wider dominion, their people, however involved in the immediate concerns of politics, found in this field of spirit and intellect, of arts and crafts, a firmer basis for a new fabric of culture and society than the ambitions of their kings and captains could conceive. And even while the ensuing drama of war and politics unfolded its successive acts, the studies and workshops of the European world prepared a more enduring triumph for the race than all the glories of diplomacy or war were able to achieve. From the work of the Renaissance there sprang not merely greater knowledge and skill in arts and letters, but that long and complex movement, social, religious, and political, which we know, inadequately enough, as the Reformation. From it and its results, in turn, joined to the progress of letters, art, and science, there was evolved a new society.

1517

That movement had already begun. At the very moment when the young Flemish prince Charles made his first progress in Spain, on the way to his coronation, and Francis I was

reaping the rewards of his first attack on Italy there began in Germany a revolt against Papal authority, which, reinforced from many directions, seriously threatened, for the first time, a permanent division of the western church. And the years which saw the recrudescence of the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry in Italy, the extension of European power in the east and west, and the culmination of the renaissance of art, became no less memorable for a final, and, as it was to prove, a successful effort to throw off the domination of the Papacy from a great part of Europe.

The Reformation was compounded of many elements. Throughout its history the Roman hierarchy had been compelled to contend with those classes and individuals who, from time to time, resented the dictation of their faith, or found themselves opposed to the abuses which inevitably creep into any establishment. In no small degree these were connected with that social discontent which is the product of too great inequality of condition between the rich and poor, and by that passion for moral betterment which found material for its denunciation in the laxness of many members of the church. To these, with the advance of the new learning, and the injection of classical thought into the European mind, was added an element of disbelief in the dogmas of Roman Catholicism, a spirit of inquiry, and, in extreme instances, of downright paganism, among looser or more advanced thinkers. Especially was this true of the leaders of Italian liberal culture, and from its influence some of the higher clergy themselves were not wholly free. Mingled with this was a vaguer but no less powerful feeling that the wealth and pomp of the establishment were scarcely in accordance with the poverty and simplicity of the early church and its founder. That spirit had operated to found the so-called mendicant orders; it had been the basis of popular sentiment against the higher clergy in particular; and at all times it had been a powerful factor in the appeal of reformer and revolutionary alike in their denunciation of what they reckoned the vices of the church. And, as the Papacy represented in concrete form the worldly power and

The
opponents
of the ec-
clesiastical
system

splendor, no less than the dogmatic authority of the ancient church, as it remained the guardian of her traditions, the mouthpiece of her doctrines, and the actual and visible symbol of the unity of western Christendom, it became at once the chief upholder of uniformity in belief and practice and the chief target of criticism.

Wyclif
and Huss

1207-

1414-18

1320-84

Revolt against the ecclesiastical establishment was not new. The middle ages had seen various efforts to shake off the domination of Rome and to escape the formalism or dogmas of the mediæval church. From the time when, two centuries earlier, the Papacy had summoned a crusade to crush the Albigensians in the south of France, to the Council of Constance, in the first years of the fifteenth century, Papal domination had been disturbed by successive heresies and schisms. Since the twelfth century the so-called Waldenses had maintained their independence of Rome in the high-lying west Alpine valleys. Thirty years before the Council met, there had died in England one John Wyclif, who, as fellow and master of Balliol College, Oxford, and rector of Lutterworth, had passed from an attack on the mendicant orders for their luxury and uselessness to criticism of the whole establishment, and an endeavor to establish greater simplicity in the ecclesiastical organization. He had formed a sect, known as the Lollards, and had brought such great numbers under his influence that church officials, in the divided state of Papal authority, found it impossible to discipline him.

Huss

Fortunately for Wyclif, he died before a reformed and reunited Papacy could summon him before a general council. His successor in the ranks of heretic leaders was not so blessed. In the very days of July, 1415, that John of Portugal set forth on his high emprise against the Moors, and Henry V prepared the expedition which led him to Agincourt, the assembly whose meeting had drawn Poggio Bracciolini to Switzerland, the Council of Constance, had taken a momentous step in the history of Europe. For, having finally healed the Great Schism which had rent the church for nearly forty years, replaced three popes with one, and con-

firmed the headship of the church again in Rome, it had summoned before it one John Huss of Bohemia, rector of the University of Prague, and ordered him to recant his heresies. His doctrines and his teachings had been, to all intents and purposes, those of Wyclif, whose example he had followed, and whose plea for greater liberty in thought and greater efficiency and simplicity in practice he had supported and amplified. Despite a safe conduct granted him by the Bohemian king and the protests of the rulers of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, his works were condemned and he was burned at the stake. 1373-1415

But the seed thus sowed had not all fallen on stony ground, nor was it all consumed by the fowls of the air. The close relations of state and church had, indeed, brought many of the so-called innovators in opposition to the secular as to the ecclesiastical power. Heretic and schismatic were thus easily transformed by law or fact into rebels, and so suppressed in every region of the continent where royal and ecclesiastical power found a common interest. But much remained hidden from the gaze of the authorities, and, as the Roman church was again unified, the spirit of dissent from the establishment, its doctrines, and still more its practices, spread slowly through the masses of the west-European peoples during the fifteenth century. Among the upper classes the tendency to disregard the long-hallowed dogmas of the church was given a tremendous impetus by the humanism of the Renaissance, which supplied not merely a fresh interest but offered a new philosophy of life to intellectual minds. Its first result was seen in those circles which, like the brilliant court of the Medici, most eagerly seized upon the new learning, and took that opportunity to dispense with religion and morality alike. And, as usual, this in turn produced another reaction.

Unrelated to Wyclif or Huss or any of the so-called reformers, there was raised in Florence, at the height of its splendor under Lorenzo, the protest of Girolamo Savonarola, denouncing at once the frivolity and irreligion of his own townsmen and the vices and corruption of the Papacy. For Savonarola 1452-98

a brief period Florence experienced the frenzy of a religious revival and Rome trembled before his eloquent denunciation. But that moment passed. The extravagances of the leader and his followers, the disinclination of the people to forego the pleasures to which they had been accustomed, the authority and the astuteness of his opponents combined to check the new wave of reform. Its leader's voice was hushed in the year that Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope; and the attempt to purify the Italian church, like the reforming movement in England and Bohemia, fell before the strength of the intrenched establishment.

Had the Papacy heeded the warning then sounded, its history and that of Europe would have been spared one of their bloodiest and most disastrous chapters. In the voice of Savonarola, amid the tumults of war and the negotiations of diplomacy, might have been heard the note which was presently to dominate war and diplomacy alike. While the ambitious Julius II laid the foundations of the temporal power of the Papacy, fought, schemed, treated, and intrigued, like any secular prince, the great organization of which he was the head had drifted more and more rapidly toward a great catastrophe from which its newly won lands and authority, which were the fruits of his endeavors, were powerless to save it.

1503-13

Humanism
and the
Church

For, with all their efforts to extend its temporal sovereignty in Italy and maintain its long ascendancy throughout western Europe, the leaders of the church had lagged behind its members in grasping the new concepts of the universe and society, the new ideals of learning and morality. Under the scholarly Leo X, as under the warlike Julius II, the Papacy retained, with all its intellectual interests, its old claims to spiritual supremacy and its political ambitions; increasingly out of touch, like the establishment generally, with the progress of the world about it; deaf to entreaty and to threat alike. Wyclif and Huss had long since passed, the eloquence of Savonarola had thundered fruitlessly, and, to all external appearances, the authority which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was preparing to embody its pre-eminence

in the construction of the most magnificent church in Christendom, had no need to fear attack on its position. But at the very moment that the Papacy was thus preparing to proclaim its supremacy, the humanistic and the theological forces prepared a fresh assault. The adherents of the New Learning had already done much to undermine the intellectual and the educational foundations of ecclesiasticism. They had made great breaches in its philosophy. From motives of prudence or indifference or both they had refrained from any direct attack upon the church itself. They had been silent or paid lip-service to its doctrines and conformed to its practices even while their own beliefs had penetrated deeply into its membership. But man is not saved by intellect alone; and it required an emotional stimulus to produce an open resistance to Papal supremacy which the humanists, with all their intellectual independence had thus far avoided. Against the threatened power of the great establishment there was an increasing host anxious to be led, but it was not among the ranks of the intellectuals that a leader was to be found.

The opposition to Papal dominance was not confined to any country nor to any class. Apart from selfish reasons, which moved many powerful interests to join the new movement, the best friends of the church were pleading for a change. Her enemies urged other charges. The wealth which contributed so little to the state; the claims which seemed to grow as faith declined; the vices and corruption of the Vatican; the obstinate pride of an intrenched establishment; the decay of the monastic life, no longer rendering its once unquestionable services to society; the obscurantist policy, stubbornly maintaining outworn dogmas—these were the grievances which the church, convinced of its own strength and wisdom, impervious to persuasion as to threat, disdained to correct.

Reform denied, revolution became imminent, and the outbreak, though long prepared, came suddenly upon an astonished world. Political disturbances, says Aristotle, spring from small events but great causes; and like many such

St. Peter's
and the
Indul-
gences

movements which illustrate the Greek philosopher's profound observation, this so-called Reformation began simply enough. For, though its causes lay deep in the past and in the hearts of men, its immediate outburst was due to seemingly trivial circumstances apparently far removed from the field of theology. In connection with plans for beautifying Rome in the first years of the sixteenth century, Julius II summoned the genius of the most famous engineer and architect of the time, Bramante, to design an edifice to replace the old metropolitan church of St. Peter's, now fallen in decay. To this great enterprise the Papacy, then nearing the zenith of its temporal power, committed itself, and, by a curious coincidence, at the moment that Christopher Columbus was on his death-bed, the first stone was laid in what was to be an architectural wonder of the world. But Bramante's plans, however modified by later architects, were no less impressive for their cost than for their beauty, and to defray the projected expense the Vatican, among other devices, resorted to the sale of so-called indulgences, especially in Germany.

1504

Thus, some ten years after the inception of the project, while Francis I's incomparable captains, the Chevalier Bayard and Gaston de Foix, were conquering northern Italy, a persuasive monk, Tetzels, carrying out the mission intrusted to him, made his way to the "milk-cow of the Papacy," as Germany was satirically called. There he fell foul of a certain Professor Martin Luther, of the University of Wittenberg, who from his pulpit and in his lectures bitterly denounced the sale of indulgences, and crowned his protest by nailing to the church door his ninety-five theses or propositions against that practice. It was significant that opposition should come as the direct result of Papal supremacy in the patronage of the arts, still more significant that it found its first voice in a university, and, most significant of all, that it arose in Germany. Nowhere had the ecclesiastical establishment been more burdensome. Nowhere was feudalism more powerful or its anarchy more oppressive; nowhere, in consequence, was there more social discontent, and nowhere had religious

Martin
Luther
1517

humanism, as distinct from the Italian intellectual humanism, struck deeper root.

Martin Luther was the expression of his nation and his time. By training and environment, no less than by his character, he was peculiarly fitted to sustain the part of a popular leader in such a situation as that in which he now found himself. The son of a Saxon slate-cutter, he had been trained in jurisprudence at Erfurt, entered an Augustinian monastery, been ordained a priest, and finally risen to a professorship of philosophy at Wittenberg. His study of Aristotle and St. Augustine laid the foundations for his opinions of scholasticism and theology. A visit to Rome convinced him of the venal worldliness of the Papal court. Thus equipped, the simple vigor and eloquence of his literary style, no less than the strength of his resolution and courage, once he had challenged the authority of the Vatican, made him a formidable antagonist. Moreover, the time for a revolt was ripe. As the translation of his theses against indulgences spread through Germany, he became a popular hero; and though for the time he did not leave the church, he refused to recant his heresy or to obey a Papal summons to Rome. From his study poured forth a stream of tracts attacking Papal supremacy, appealing for wider tolerance; and, above all, urging the doctrine of a personal connection between the individual and the Deity, not through priestly intermediation but through prayer.

"The spiritual estate, what is it," said he, "but a fine hypocritical invention? All Christians are of the spiritual estate; a priest is nothing but a functionary, and when deprived of his office loses his authority; there is no indelible character; he is a simple layman. . . . It is a false and lying specter by which the Romanists have kept our consciences in subjection. . . . Italy is a desert! Why? The cardinals! The revenues of all are drawn to Rome. So will Germany become! . . . Let every one look to his own salvation!"

It was no wonder that his antagonists declared the author of such stupendous heresies as one mad or possessed

of a demon, "a limb cut off from the Church of God, an obstinate schismatic, and a manifest heretic." Making all allowance for the more vigorous language of the time and the dogmatic tone which has characterized theological controversy at all times, it is apparent that there lay here the root of a quarrel in which compromise was impossible, and Luther's challenge, if not withdrawn, portended the disruption of the western church.

His
supporters

For Luther found allies. Apart from those, like the scholar-theologian, Melancthon, who supported him, and the still greater scholar-humanist, Erasmus, who more than half sympathized with the new movement, and aided, though he did not join it, the attack was reinforced from other quarters. In Switzerland, especially, the priest Huldreich Zwingli thundered against the abuses of the church, while, like Luther at Wittenberg, he opposed the sale of indulgences. And though the Saxon and Swiss reformers failed to effect a union, in his native land, the Zürich priest laid enduring foundations for the new communion on which a later reformer was to build a stately edifice. Meanwhile, Luther published his address to the Christian nobles of Germany, issued a tract on the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, in which he denounced Papal supremacy and doctrine alike; burned the Papal bull directed against him, and so made the breach all but inevitable.

The
Church
and the
Lutheran
Revolt

It was in vain that the Papacy, thus attacked, endeavored to bring the reformers to its side by persuasion and threats. While the Emperor was engaged in foreign wars and his captains were winning a new empire oversea, revolt spread fast and far, and Germany was absorbed in social and religious strife. In the very days that Magellan made land in the Ladrones and Cortez prepared his final attack on Mexico, Luther appeared before the Emperor and his first Diet at Worms. There his refusal to recant his heresies struck a spark which set Germany in flames. He found powerful support and protectors; and, spirited away from enemies who would not have scrupled at his life, he took refuge in the Elector of Saxony's castle of Wartburg. Thence he pro-

1521

ceeded to rouse his countrymen against the Papal power and the abuses of the church. He translated the Bible into German; and thus not only supplied his people with a version of the Scriptures which they could read in their own tongue, but gave to that tongue a literary form which became the foundation of the German language—performing for it the same service that Dante and Petrarch had earlier accomplished for Italian. But it was not merely the defects of the establishment, the literary talents of Luther, the intellectual influence of the new learning, nor the selfish interest of those who saw some advantage to themselves in the break-up of the ecclesiastical system which gave the Reformation its following. Behind these lay a force which, for want of a better name, we call spiritual, and which, however influenced by intellectual or theological considerations, was rather emotional than logical. “It is only on the wings of enthusiasm that we rise, and he who depends on reason alone will never fly.” A considerable part of the world was dissatisfied with the spiritual relationship and sustenance provided by Rome. It was ready for a form of spiritual expression more in accord with its changing circumstances and thought—simpler, more direct, less ornate and less highly organized, more personal. In its mind, to adopt a phrase from one of the greatest of the church fathers, it required a church which was more of a “spirit” and less of “a number of ecclesiastics,” more individual and less corporate. This want Lutheranism supplied, and to it and its successors, in consequence, that portion of the world turned. To that spirit Luther appealed, and of it, for the moment, he became the principal spokesman, and, in consequence, the hero and the protagonist of the anti-Papal party throughout Europe.

Meanwhile, his tracts inspired revolt against ecclesiastical authorities and his words became the guiding influence for increasing thousands of his countrymen. With this he gave the new movement form and direction. From his pen appeared in quick succession an Order of the Worship of God, a hymnal, an Order of Baptism, a prayer-book, and a catechism; and with these Lutheranism began to take on form

Lutheran-
ism

as a communion separate from that of Rome. Based on a more direct relationship with God, it lacked, indeed, the dogmatic coherence of the Roman faith and the unifying influence of a highly organized establishment, and so remained rather a spiritual force than a rigid system of doctrine or a disciplined hierarchy. From it, in time, emerged nine separate creeds, and, so numerous were the forms it took in various hands, so loose its organization, that scarcely a German state but held its own variety of worship.

None the less, amid disputes among the Lutherans themselves, their faith spread rapidly till, despite the efforts of Pope and Emperor, it took its place among the permanent elements of European life. For the first time in her history since the earliest days of Christianity, the continent felt the presence of a school of faith, which elevated the individual above established authority. The "founder of Protestant civilization," Luther and his followers contributed to European life the principle of personal independence in matters spiritual, which, active in other fields, intellectual, and presently political, set the European world on another and greater stage of its progress.

Luther's defiance of the Papacy by his attack upon indulgences, his burning of the Papal bull launched against him, and his refusal to recant before the Diet, mark the beginning of the movement known variously as the Reformation and the Protestant Revolt. With it the breach between the church authorities and those who were dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs was made irrevocable. Increasing numbers of all classes, from prince to peasant, rallied to his cause; and the Lutheran movement became almost immediately as much a social and a political force as a religious phenomenon. It was a standard under which the most diverse elements combined, and its spread was accompanied by those disturbances which general disaffection with existing conditions is certain to produce. It found a speedy echo in regions remote from theological controversy, and in lands unconnected with the fortunes of Germany. In Switzerland, in France, in England, in Scandinavia, even in Italy itself, it

stirred men to question the claims and practices of an establishment then ill-prepared to meet its challenge.

Only the Iberian peninsula, absorbed in oversea expansion, paid no heed to this new movement. Nor was this to be wondered at. Spain and Portugal were the last of the crusaders, and still in close touch with the infidel. It had been centuries since France or Germany had felt the presence of Hun or Arab. But within the memory of living men there had been a Moorish kingdom in Spain; and oversea her people, like those of Portugal, still bore the banner of the cross with as fiery zeal as the northern races three centuries earlier had striven to wrest the Holy Sepulcher from Saracen and Turk. With them the church was still a living force, a test of race and blood and national existence, bound up with every fiber of their society. And as, absorbed in war and commerce, they found small leisure for the artistic side of life which had so deeply affected their neighbors, so these new movements of religious thought touched these men of action little or not at all.

Spain and
Portugal
and the
Reforma-
tion

Thus, as the second decade of the sixteenth century came to a close, apart from their political rivalries and economic change, the people of Europe faced three great issues. The first was the revision of their religious beliefs and their ecclesiastical system. The second was the development of their power oversea. The third was the reconstruction of their intellectual and artistic life in accordance with the standards set by the preceding generation. And it is significant of the diversity as well as the unity of European development that as yet these were but slightly related to each other. The intellectual and artistic impulse was spreading rapidly through the continent, but its principal seat still remained in Italy, which gave it birth. The religious movement began among the Germanic peoples, the oversea expansion with those of the Iberian peninsula, and, though, like the Renaissance and Reformation, these two forces were to be vitally connected with each other in future years, they now ran in widely separated channels. There was thus laid upon the men of the early sixteenth century a burden of such un-

The new
issues

paralleled magnitude and such diverse aspect that, whether they were to prove themselves competent to solve the problems thus thrust upon them, or what form their solutions would take, one thing was clearly apparent,—Europe could not stand still. Before the third decade of the century had ended the time for peace and compromise, had such a time ever existed, was already past, and, for good or ill, her people had set forth on new and dangerous paths. It was evident that, if these new movements succeeded, the society which emerged from these great tasks would find itself far different in spirit, substance, and practices from that to which, a century before, these problems were all but unknown.

CHAPTER VIII

EUROPE: REFORM AND POLITICS. 1521-1542

THE dozen years which followed the accession of Henry VIII 1509-21 to the English throne form a period of epoch-making events in many fields. The extension of European power through the East, the conquest of Mexico, and the circumnavigation of the world, together with the Lutheran revolt, had altered the whole aspect of affairs, and portended still greater developments in religion and politics alike. At the same time Francis I's attack on Italy and Henry VIII's invasion of France, with the consolidation of the lands of Hapsburg, Burgundy, Castile, and Aragon under Charles V, presaged a new era of international relationships. For the moment, Europe's most pressing concerns were the antagonism between Francis and Charles, and the events which flowed from Luther's challenge to the Papacy. The one, which formed the great outstanding motive of general European affairs in the oncoming period, was wholly political. The other covered a wider field. For the Reformation, as it came to be called, involved not merely questions of the church, but those of state, and, ultimately, of world polity, greater and more far-reaching than even the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry; issues of profound social and economic importance; and an intellectual movement of scarcely less intensity than the ecclesiastical controversy with which it was bound up.

This was, however, not so clearly evident in the first months of Luther's revolt against Papal authority, for the attention of the continent was centered on the most recent development in that phase of the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry, which for more than twenty years had found expression in the Italian wars. The sudden and daring stroke by which Francis I at the moment of his antagonist's accession to the Spanish throne

The
renewal of
the Italian
wars
1517-25

had brought Genoa and Milan into his hands had been followed by a "perpetual peace." This, joined to a concordat with the Papacy, seemed to assure to France predominance abroad, and the so-called Gallican liberties of her church at home against the interference of the Vatican. The summer of 1520, which was marked by Cortez' attack on Mexico and Luther's appeal to the German nobility, saw a conference between the Emperor and his aunt's husband, Henry VIII of England, and another between Francis I and Henry on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." These meetings, under more favorable auspices, might have evidenced a reconciliation of all western Christendom and joint action to solve the great problems then pressing on society.

But those problems were far from the thoughts of the ambitious princes, absorbed in the extension of their own power and the humiliation of their rivals. Far from being the harbingers of peace, these conferences were but the prelude to new European conflicts. The Emperor revived his claims upon Milan and Burgundy. Francis countered with pretensions to Naples and Spanish Navarre. Each sought the aid of England; and within a twelvemonth the nations were again at war. In quick succession the French were driven from Italy and Navarre. Charles V's diplomacy enlisted the English monarch in his cause; the Pope joined in. The constable of France, Charles of Bourbon, threw in his lot with the Imperialists; and France was invaded simultaneously from Spain, England, and Germany. Thus isolated, Francis rallied all his energies, drove out the invaders, and pushed into Lombardy. Repulsed by their forces which again invaded his territories and laid siege to Marseilles, he defeated them, followed them again into Italy, and besieged Pavia. But his zeal outran his discretion, for, flushed with victory, he despatched a force to occupy Naples; and the Imperialists, seizing their opportunity, fell on his weakened army, destroyed it, and made the French king prisoner. Such was the first of the long series of conflicts between Francis and Charles, which commanded the attention of Europe. Since the English triumphs at Agincourt and Poitiers a hundred

1520

1521

1522

1523

The
battle of
Pavia

1525

years before, France had suffered no such reverse as that which brought this struggle to an end and carried her king a captive to Madrid.

Yet with all its dramatic circumstance and tragic climax, the Italian war yielded in real importance to events elsewhere, and the victorious Emperor, despite his great success, found himself at the moment of his triumph over Francis I compelled to deal with a situation beside which even the results of the battle of Pavia seemed almost insignificant. For, while Charles had been so busily engaged in the extension of his boundaries, in the heart of his dominions his authority, with that of the church, had been challenged by the new forces roused in Germany which now threatened the very foundations of society. This result of Luther's activities was no less surprising than it was important, for the Wittenberg professor's refusal to recant his doctrines before the Diet of Worms had been followed by an edict which condemned him as a heretic. Such an action, supported by an engagement between the Emperor and the Pope to suppress the new movement, had seemed amply sufficient to those arbiters of Christendom to crush the presumptuous monk.

Revolt in
Germany

1521

But had the Pope and Emperor abandoned northern Italy to the French king and bent their strength against the German professor they might have been better advised. For while they triumphed over their mutual enemy, Francis I, Luther had laid the foundations for a movement disastrous to Papal and Imperial authority alike, roused his countrymen by fiery attacks upon the old establishment, and transformed the Empire into a battleground. Almost at once men sprang to arms, and long-smoldering discontent flamed into civil war.

The circumstances were symbolic of the forces thus newly aligned in opposition to each other and to constituted authority. The conflict began with a romantic episode. Two knights, the humanist Ulrich von Hutten and the adventurer Franz von Sickingen, united by their hatred of the princely class, gathered forces and fell upon the Archbishop of

The War
of the
Knights

1522-3

Treves. For a time it seemed that they might have a measure of success. But their rash enterprise challenged at once the temporal and spiritual arms. Lay and ecclesiastical authorities rallied against them and they were beaten off. Hutten was driven into exile, and Sickingen found defeat and death in his own castle at the hands of his princely enemies.

The
Peasants'
War

1524-5

This was but the beginning of disturbances. While the war of the princes and the knights was being determined, in other quarters and in different hands another rebellion afflicted Germany. This was the so-called Peasants' War. Two years after the death of Sickingen, at the moment that Francis I invaded Italy for the second time, a flame of revolt ran through southern and western Germany, menacing the same elements on which the knights had warred. Like many such movements which preceded it, the "Bundschuh," as it was called, was a compound of social, political, and religious elements, inspired no less by the "false prophets" following Luther's wake than by the real and bitter grievances of the peasantry. Its leaders based their cause on a long list of claims which like their so-called "Twelve Articles," combined a constitution for Germany, church reform, and a reorganization of society on the basis of greater equality. It was inevitable that such a plan, so many centuries in advance of its days, should fail, especially in such hands and in such times. Against it rulers of all ranks and faiths, the middle classes, every interest of property and government combined; and Luther, to whom the rebels looked for aid, denounced the peasants as he had denounced the knights. Their poorly equipped and worse led forces were defeated and destroyed; their leaders killed; their survivors and sympathizers cruelly punished, and the unfortunate peasantry sank into bondage worse than that from which they had sought vainly to escape.

Such were the external circumstances of the movements which filled the annals of the Empire while its master strove with the French king for Italy, and Luther's doctrines made way through the Teutonic lands. And though the two rebellions were suppressed, though knights and peasants alike met an untimely fate, their ill-advised, disastrous defiance

of authority was of greater significance than the Imperial triumphs beyond the Alps. They threw into high relief the problem which confronted every European state at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which was nowhere more apparent than in Germany—the problem of the transition from a feudal to a national form of government.

In the Empire this developed into an antagonism between the five elements which existed in some form in every state. The Emperor, intent on the establishment of a centralized monarchy under the Hapsburg dynasty, the Electors, “bent upon an aristocratic federation” in which they should be the dominant element; the princes, small and great, determined to maintain the territorial independence which was their feudal heritage; the towns and peasants dreaming of a share in the government which pressed upon them so heavily and so unequally:—these were the forces which contended for equality or supremacy. The issue had been foreseen and in some measure dealt with by Maximilian. Now, complicated by the advent of the Lutherans, it confronted Charles; and, amid the infinite perplexities of his foreign relations, it remained one of the greatest problems of his long reign and those of his successors.

The
problem
of the
Empire

For its solution Germany was to wait for many centuries. But these rebellions made it a pressing concern of Imperial politics. In the Peasants' Revolt lay the germs of that vast and underlying discontent, engendered by oppression and inequality, which, growing through the centuries, was to become a dominant motive of much later history. In the rebellion of the knights was revealed that anarchic force whose suppression was the first condition of national kingship. This force, proving itself stronger than the Imperial power, was to bring the Empire to impotence, and, joined to the religious issue, was to accomplish the ruin of Germany. Had Charles or his advisers been able to crush opposition, or had the princes been willing to unite in reasonable compromise, those evils might have been averted and a united Germany might have emerged. The chance was lost, and the current of events closed over these futile revolts, leaving only an eddy to

mark the hidden rock on which later authority was to find shipwreck.

The Turks
1525

1526

1527

The
Peace of
Cambrai
1527

1528

1529

Meanwhile, the Empire was called to face another and, it seemed to men of the time, a far more real danger than the rising of a handful of peasants and men-at-arms. This was the Turk, to whom, in his extremity, the king of France had turned and for the first time made the Ottoman power a part of European polity. Compelled to sign the Treaty of Madrid by which he yielded all things in dispute from Burgundy through Italy to Navarre, Francis had turned to the Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, for aid. Under his lead the Turks had roused to fresh conquest, and poured their armies into Hungary, where at the moment of the Treaty of Madrid they crushed Hungarian chivalry at Mohacs, took Buda Pesth, and prepared to advance against Vienna. Nor was this the only danger confronting the lately victorious Emperor. Fearful of his increasing power after the battle of Pavia, Venice, Milan, and the Pope formed a league against him. The English king joined France, and Francis I, renouncing the terms extorted at Madrid, despatched his troops again across the Alps. Thus re-aligned, the European powers entered upon another seven years of conflict, at the same moment that Germany felt the full force of Lutheran revolt.

Once more Charles faced a world of enemies, and once more the continent was rent with all but universal war. Rome was punished for changing sides by Bourbon's army, half Catholic, half Lutheran Imperialists, which sacked the Holy City and turned thence to drive the French from the peninsula. Still undismayed by this reverse, Francis again invaded Lombardy, while his allies, the Turks, pressed forward to besiege Vienna, but with the same result. Four years after the treaty which had released him from captivity, he was driven to sign the Peace of Cambrai. By it he gave up all his claims on Italy, pretensions to the suzerainty of Artois and Flanders; and though he kept Burgundy, he surrendered Tournai, and paid Charles an indemnity of two million crowns. At the same time, the Imperial forces tri-

umphed in the East. The attack upon Vienna failed; the Sultan's forces drew back to Buda Pesth, and Charles again emerged triumphant over his enemies.

Thus ended, for a time, the conflicts which had absorbed the military and diplomatic energies of Europe for a decade and a half. Save in one direction, the results scarcely seemed to justify the efforts put forth. It is apparent that if European civilization was to be preserved, the Turkish power must be checked in its advance, and that achievement went far toward vindicating the policy and activities of the Empire as the defender of the continent, in the same measure that it condemned the action of Francis I in summoning the Sultan to his aid. It is not easy to determine in how far the long and complex struggle in Italy was due to mere princely ambition, or in how far it represented real underlying antagonisms of peoples and principles, like the contest between the Empire and the Turks. It may have served to check the extension of Charles V's power throughout the continent, and so prevented universal sovereignty. But that these wars, with their huge expenditure of blood and treasure, contributed to the world's progress in proportion to the losses they inflicted, is scarcely probable. With all their current interest and the consequence which must inevitably attach to any such expression of human energy, however ill directed, it is evident that the true development of humanity lay along far different lines.

Results
of the
wars

By the Treaty of Barcelona Charles came to terms again with the Papacy, returned Florence to the Medici, and Milan to the Sforza, and received in exchange the Papal sanction to his title to Naples and to the Imperial crown. In so far he achieved his purposes. But had it been possible for him to devote to the reorganization of Germany the resources expended in achieving these barren successes in Italy, it can scarcely be doubted that Europe would have gained immeasurably by the exchange.

From the pursuit of his Italian ambitions the Emperor turned to the two great problems which pressed not merely upon him but upon the whole of the European world with

1529

peculiar force, the progress of the Reformation in Germany, and the coincident development of affairs in England, each of which, at the moment of the signature of peace, came to a climax which troubled Pope and Emperor alike. They were, indeed, as events were to prove, but two sides of the same question, though they presented themselves in very different forms.

The Ger-
man Ref-
ormation
1526

First in time, if not in importance, was the situation in Germany, where religious affairs, as usual, had followed the course of the Emperor's fortunes abroad. Scarcely had the Treaty of Madrid been signed when a Diet of Spires promised to execute the Edict of Worms as far as possible—knowing it to be impossible; and at the moment of the Treaty of Cambrai another Diet of Spires, backed by the Emperor, took up the task. With this the crisis came. A group of princes of the Empire, headed by the rulers of Hesse, Brandenburg, and Saxony, protested against the edict and withdrew from the Diet. Thus did the name and sect of Protestants come into formal being, and thus was the Emperor summoned from foreign victory to face a crisis at home.

1529

The
divorce
of Henry
VIII and
the reform
movement

At the same moment England claimed his care. Its ruler, the proud, licentious, cruel Henry VIII, had long chafed under Charles' dominance, and long desired to divorce his queen, Katherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt. Under ordinary circumstances the matrimonial affairs of royalty, whatever their relation to domestic politics and common morality, would have been a matter of scarcely more than mere political interest. But the conditions at the moment were far from usual. Thus far the English king's ambitions had been thwarted by Charles' adroit diplomacy. He had made no permanent impression upon continental politics; and the Pope, subject to Imperial influence, had taken his presents and postponed his divorce. Henry had now reached the end of his limited patience and exhausted the ordinary channels of legal procedure, and, infatuated with a lady of the court, Anne Boleyn, he determined on a drastic move.

1529

In the month of the peace of Cambrai a trial for divorce began before the English chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, and

the Papal legate, Campeggio. The suit broke down, as it was meant to do; the queen appealed to Rome; and Henry, thoroughly enraged, appealed to the European universities against the Pope. At the same time, to fortify his position, he called a Parliament, whose earliest acts revealed antagonism to the church establishment, and so strengthened his hands in the impending conflict with Papal authority. Not merely was a breach with Charles thus made inevitable. At the same moment that the seceding German princes formally inaugurated the Protestant movement on the continent, Henry, who had earlier earned the title of Defender of the Faith from the Papacy for his attack upon Luther, gave to the revolt from Rome a powerful if unintentional impetus.

That revolt, in the meantime, had invaded other lands. 1527-9
France, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands had felt its power; while Sweden had become formally Protestant. Thus, facing Protestant-
ism
new dangers from the Turks, embarrassed by the defection of his own subjects as well as by the action of the English king, Charles was compelled again to compromise. Bavaria's
jealousy of the Hapsburg power, the formation of a Protestant League at Schmalkald, together with French and 1530
Danish readiness to aid his recalcitrant subjects, completed his discomfiture. The Diet of Augsburg had listened to the Protestant Confession presented by Luther's follower, Melancthon, but again condemned its heresy. Two years later, so rapidly did events move, the Peace of Nuremberg 1532
extended the religious truce, the Imperial authorities agreed to consider the claims of the new communion, and the Protestants were allowed to exercise their religion undisturbed until some solution of the question should be reached.

Thus, by one of the curious coincidences of history, the ambitions of a Turkish sultan and a French king, the matrimonial affairs of an English ruler and the jealousy of a German house combined with the spiritual aspirations of the so-called Protestants to perpetuate the reformed doctrines and ensure the weakening of the church establishment. This, after a thousand years of absolute supremacy, now found itself shorn of half its members and all of its unquestioned

monopoly of European conscience. Thenceforth the Pope remained, indeed, the head of the most considerable body of Christians. But he was no longer the arbiter of Christendom; and the church which owed him allegiance, though still a powerful influence in European life, no longer included within its ranks the whole company of those intellectual and spiritual leaders who were to make Europe the dominant power of a modern world.

Secular-
ization

Almost immediately two circumstances which marked the political development of this momentous period made this more evident. As a result of the spread of the Lutheran doctrines and the peculiar situation in which a considerable section of the princely classes found themselves, many holders of the so-called ecclesiastical fiefs, church officials in name, but in fact lay princes, sought to take advantage of the breach with the Papacy to espouse the new communion and transform their churchly possessions into temporal sovereignties. Among these the first was the most conspicuous. Albert of Hohenzollern, grand master of the Teutonic Knights, and ruler of East Prussia, which had been conquered centuries earlier by that crusading order from the pagan Slavs, transferred his spiritual allegiance to the Reformed church, became a feudatory of the king of Poland, and thus led the way not only in the secularization of such fiefs but to the ultimate aggrandizement of the house of Brandenburg.

1525

Scandina-
via—the
independ-
ence of
Sweden

At the same time, and partly under the influence of the same impulse, the long-vexed Scandinavian question came to a head. The close of the fourteenth century had seen Norway, Denmark, and Sweden joined into one kingdom by the Union of Colmar, under the rule of Margaret, the "Semiramis of the North." That arrangement, which had continued under the house of Oldenburg, had grown increasingly distasteful to the Swedes; and at the moment of Luther's appearance at Worms, the overthrow of their rebellious leaders by Christian II, followed by persecution, produced a crisis in the peninsula. Under the leadership of a popular hero, Gustavus Vasa, the men of the district of Dalecarlia

1397

1521

1523

rebelled. The revolt spread rapidly, the Danes were driven out; and Sweden became an independent kingdom under the rule of a native house which was to raise her, within a century, to first rank in the European polity. Norway and Denmark remained united under the house of Oldenburg, now, like Sweden, turned Protestant; and, in such fashion, the northern states established a *modus vivendi* which endured for near three hundred years.

Such were the principal events of the first decade and a half of Lutheran activity and Franco-Hapsburg rivalry within the immediate circle of continental affairs. In those circumstances which we reckon as purely political—war and diplomacy, the rise and fall of dynasties, and alterations in the form of the functions of government—the decade which followed the time when German Protestants extorted toleration from a hard-pressed Emperor, was productive of few elements of permanent consequence not related to the events of the preceding years. During that period the wars between France and the Hapsburg power went on with varying fortune but with small effect upon the relative power of the combatants. What importance they ever had was overshadowed by the renewed activities of the Turks. Following their victory at Mohacs they overran the greater part of Hungary, and, at the same time, extended their Mediterranean possessions at the expense of Venice, who found her empire virtually destroyed. Again the Hapsburg power was called upon to protect Europe from the Asiatic menace. The Emperor himself led a futile expedition against Africa to check their growing strength, and lessen the increasing danger to commerce from their feudatories, the Algerian pirates, who infested the eastern Mediterranean. The English king, meanwhile, allied himself first with one, then with the other side of the Franco-Hapsburg conflict, with small appreciable effect either upon that struggle or his own position. For only the defeat of the Scotch and the death of their king at Solway Moss in the last year of this decade remained as a tangible result of all Henry's endeavors to play a great part in the world's affairs, outside the British Isles.

European
politics
1532-42

1526-

1539

1535

1542

England
and the
Papacy
1529-

But in those concerns which were in whole or part related to religious affairs the period was of the utmost significance, and Henry VIII a noteworthy figure. The seven years' Parliament which aided his contest with the Vatican had completed the work which he unwittingly began. The quarrel with the Papacy had rapidly widened to a general attack upon the church. Convocation was forbidden to legislate without the king's consent; the Pope's authority in England was repudiated by the clergy themselves; and Henry assumed the title of Supreme Head of the English church under the Act of Supremacy. With this began an attack upon ecclesiastical property by which first the lesser, then the greater, monasteries were dissolved and their possessions forfeited to the crown. An English translation of the Scriptures was set up in the churches, and though the so-called Six Articles decreed that the Roman doctrines and practices were still to be followed under severe penalties, that very fact revealed the rapid decline of the older faith.

1534

1536-39

The
English
Reforma-
tion

With this England began to align itself with the reforming movement on the continent. It was in vain that the conservative elements took alarm. The opposition of successive ministers and even popular rebellion failed to check the king's determination: while the growth of reformed doctrines combined with the greed of crown and courtiers, eager for church spoils, to undermine the old establishment. Three chancellors, Wolsey, More, and Cromwell, fell in turn before the royal displeasure, and the question of the succession, complicated by the royal marriages and divorces, added another element to the tumultuous reign. Meanwhile the Reformation spirit grew, aided by the actions of a king who, in the words of one favorable to the new doctrines, "accomplished blessed ends by means which better men might well have thought accursed."

1529-40

The Ana-
baptists
1529

Such was the great reinforcement brought to the cause of the reformers in Germany. There, meanwhile, the new communion had suffered a curious experience. Among the dangers to which such a movement is inevitably exposed, the excesses of its more radical element are perhaps the most

serious. And, with the spread of the Reformed doctrines, there arose a sect which, in some form, was to play a considerable part in the development of the Protestant body. This was the so-called Anabaptist denomination, whose earliest representatives, the "false prophets of Zwickau," had been denounced by Luther, and whose leader, Münzer, had played a great part in the peasant insurrection. A year after the peace of Nuremberg the city of Münster came under the influence of this element, and a period of licentious anarchy ensued, which was finally suppressed by the neighboring Protestant princes. Shorn of its doctrines of free-love and retaining only so much of the ideas of community of goods as fitted the circumstances in which it found itself, this body, with its cardinal principle of adult baptism, became the forerunner of the German Mennonites and the English Baptists, and perhaps the most powerful of the democratic influences then making way in the world of religion and politics. 1533-5

While it thus joined the revolt against constituted authority with its extravagant views and practices, in another quarter and in widely different hands that movement was stimulated to a far greater degree and by means which left a still deeper impress upon European thought and action. In the same year that the English Parliament began its attack upon the property of the church by suppressing the lesser monasteries, that the Portuguese established themselves in Macao and the Spaniards in Lima, that Charles V and Francis I entered upon their fourth war, and Cartier reached Canada on his second and most important voyage,—which is to say in 1536,—a French clerk, John Calvin, published at Basel a volume entitled *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, the Institution of the Christian Religion, more commonly known as Calvin's *Institutes*. With this new manual of the theory and practice of Christianity, as it appealed to him, he laid the foundations of a new communion. The author was no less notable than his book. The son of a French notary, he had reversed Luther's career, for, destined to the church, he gave up that profession for the law. First at Paris, 1523-
John Calvin
1509-64

1529

then at Orleans, and finally at Bourges, he pursued his studies, and meanwhile he was drawn, like so many men of his time, into the theological dispute then raging on the continent. A kinsman engaged in translating the Scriptures into French sent him to a famous Greek scholar at Bourges, and from reformer and humanist he received at once a bias against Rome and an impulse to letters. The persecution of the Protestants instituted by Francis in conjunction with the Emperor drove Calvin from France to avoid death at the stake—which was the fate of so many hundreds of Protestants—and he sought refuge at Basel, where he found a publisher and an audience for his book.

1534-5

Calvinism

Its appearance marked an epoch in European history. Designed to furnish a complete and logical defense of Protestantism, Calvin's doctrine was distinguished by its dogma of the predestination of certain elect souls to salvation, and of others to be damned. It appealed to many who had been untouched by Luther's vaguer formulas. Sterner, more logical, better organized than the loose-woven Lutheran belief, it embodied a doctrine and a discipline which lent themselves more readily to a widespread sentiment of revolt, political as well as theological. It set against the Roman episcopal form of church government the no less ancient, though long-neglected, practice of government by elders or presbyters. In opposition to the Roman principle of priestly mediation, it joined with Lutheranism in teaching a direct relationship between man and God. To the splendor of Catholic liturgy it opposed extreme simplicity; in place of Latin mass it offered a service in the tongue of every-day affairs. Its congregational system, its appeal to logic rather than revelation, its unbending insistence on personal morality, connected it with an increasing element in European thought and practice; and, as uncompromising as the older faith, it soon became the most vigorous fighting force of the reformed communions. Besides this, still it had a powerful political element in its doctrine of the righteousness of resistance to unbridled tyranny. "Let us not think," the

pregnant passage ran, "there is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer. . . . I do so not forbid them . . . to withstand outraging licentiousness of kings; and I affirm that if they wink at kings wilfully raging over and treading down the poor commonalty, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith because they deceitfully betray the people's liberty."

Such was the challenge to political authority, such the summons to revolt against oppression issued by him who was called in derision by his enemies "the Protestant Pope." It was accompanied by another element which made its appeal peculiarly attractive to an increasing class. This was the glorification of what may be called the homelier virtues, sobriety, diligence, thrift, honesty, above all, virtuous industry. It exhorted to an orderly and successful life in this world scarcely less than it held out rewards in the world to come, and its appeal to middle classes and commercial elements was therefore powerfully aided by the elevation of their particular virtues as a means of grace. As Calvin's ideal of government was "a mixed aristocracy and democracy," his ideal of society was that of well-ordered, industrious, sober, God-fearing middle class, working, under Providence, for material prosperity.

That ideal he strove to put into effect. He was induced to settle at Geneva, there to aid in the establishment of a popular government; and thither, after a sojourn in Strasburg, he returned. Under his influence the Swiss city soon became not merely a model municipality, governed by the church authority on lines of the strictest morality, but a religious center not incomparable to Rome itself. In its activities the labors of the earlier reformers, Zwingli and Farel, and Calvin's contemporary, Beza, came to a climax and thence spread throughout Europe.

Trained in its university, hundreds of preachers carried its doctrines abroad. Thence John Knox was presently to bear its faith and discipline to Scotland, there to found another branch of Protestantism, the so-called Presbyterian, destined to great influence in British affairs. Among the

Geneva
1536-

1538

1541-

1564

Spread of
Calvinism
1540-

1560

French trading classes and nobility, restive under royal and Papal authority, the Calvinistic influence laid the foundations of a powerful faction, the so-called Huguenots. The northern portion of the Netherlands became a stronghold of this faith which was soon to make Holland a battleground of liberty. Along the Rhine, even in northern Italy, it gained adherents, till it became a far more dangerous rival to Rome and to unlimited royal authority than even the Lutheran heresy.

Education,
printing,
and the
Bible

Like that movement, it found a powerful ally in the printing-press. In every country which the Reformation touched, the Bible was translated into its native tongue, and this, apart from theological considerations, gave a tremendous stimulus to national language and literature as to greater freedom of thought and speech. "If God spare my life," said Tyndale, the English translator of the Bible, to a critic of the old school, "I will cause a boy that driveth a plow to know more of the Scriptures than thou dost"; and that promise, before he met his death as a martyr, he greatly fulfilled. In such hands the Gospel became not the prerogative of the few but the privilege of the many. With the appearance in England of Coverdale's translation, *The Great Bible*, to supplement others like Luther's German version and Faber's *French New Testament*, Europe was at last possessed of her greatest weapon against ecclesiastical monopoly.

1539-40

1523

To this democratizing of theology was added another force, the schools. As they had been the earliest centers of revolt, the universities were among the first to propagate the movement. Education, which had ceased to be ecclesiastical in those countries which accepted the reform, now became Protestant. They trained a new clergy, and through them a new laity. And their members became the most active of pamphleteers, as almost from day to day new tracts appeared to fan the flame. Luther's words were multiplied by thousands; and of Calvin's *Institutes*, it has been calculated, a new edition appeared every ten weeks for more than a hundred years. Under such influences, a quarter of

a century after Luther had nailed his theses to the Wittenberg church door, what had then seemed a hopeless cause threatened the very existence of Papal authority in half the continent.

Yet with all the successes of the Protestant communions in the decade and a half which followed Luther's advent on the European stage, it could not be supposed that the older establishment was either insensible to its danger nor without strong champions. The very vigor of the Protestants was in some sort a measure of the strength of the Catholic cause. Still less could it be imagined that the Papacy would rely wholly on edicts and persecution for its maintenance, much less on its own temporal power or that of the sovereigns who held its doctrines. From the first a multitude of champions had rallied to its aid. England's great chancellor, More, had fallen a martyr to his convictions against Henry VIII's divorce and the royal renunciation of Papal authority. Every Protestant pamphlet found an answer from Catholic hands. Every university in Catholic countries had thrown its reviving energies into the fray. The clergy of every Catholic nation had taken heed of the danger which threatened their order and had begun to purify the establishment. In Italy had begun a reform within the church which spread rapidly throughout the continent. New orders had sprung up, which, like the so-called Capuchins, brought to the conflict the spirit of preceding centuries of devotion and self-sacrifice. In every quarter of the European world Roman Catholicism revealed a renaissance of those nobler qualities which had characterized its earlier supremacy. And, among the effects of the great Protestant Revolt, not the least was this movement toward the reform of the old establishment, which, as time went on, came to be known as the Counter-Reformation.

In the moment of its greatest need the church found new resources and a great ally. The story is no less remarkable than that of the growth of the reformed communions. At the same time that Calvin left Paris, a lame Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, so wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in

The rise
of the
Counter-
Reforma-
tion

1520-

1540

Ignatius
Loyola

1491-1556

- 1528- the wars of Charles and Francis as to wreck his military career, found his way to the Sorbonne, to seek in the service of the church a consolation for his worldly ambitions. There
- 1535 as a student he spent seven years, gathered about him a small company of friends and followers of like mind, and at almost the same moment that Calvin held his first communion service at Orleans, at Montmartre Loyola and his companions dedicated their lives to the church. Their new society was modeled upon the older fellowships of the so-called friars, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, but with new and compelling elements of strength. Besides its vows of poverty and chastity were principles of strict discipline and unquestioning obedience. Peaceful in method, subject to the most rigid rules of self-effacement and self-sacrifice, shrinking at nothing to effect its ends, the new organization, under its general, sprang to the defense of the threatened establishment. The Pope sanctioned the order, at first conditionally, then unreservedly, and the Society of Jesus took its place in European life.

The Jesuits

Like the Protestant reformers, it grasped almost at once the importance and opportunity of education in the cause of faith, and its members soon became the best schoolmasters in Europe. It recognized, as well, the power of the secular arm and of established authority and so detailed the acutest intellects at its command as confessors to princes and statesmen. It realized the urgent need of gaining popular support, and so trained its preachers in the art of eloquent appeal. And seeing the great field beyond Europe for converts, it entered at once on missionary labors not exceeded by those first followers of St. Francis or St. Dominic. Thus while its marvelous organization kept it in touch with the affairs in every quarter of Europe, its most highly placed agent might at a moment's notice find himself transferred to the most distant part of Asia or America; and its all-pervading influence was presently to become a factor no less in political than in ecclesiastical affairs.

Francis Xavier 1506-52

In this great order, besides Loyola himself, one figure stood conspicuous as the chief representative of its far-reaching

missionary enterprise,—the proud, handsome, gifted Navarrese, Francis Xavier. He had become the secretary of the order at Rome as soon as it was formally organized; thence he was summoned to undertake the mission which John III had determined to send out to India; and he arrived at Goa in the same year that saw the Spanish and Portuguese empires reach their widest bounds. With his coming the great religious movement which stirred Europe was transmitted to her possessions oversea. 1542

It was peculiarly appropriate that the society destined to play so great a part in European history should be founded by a Spaniard and enter the colonial field under the auspices of Portugal. In the latter's dominions, especially, there seemed to be need of such a force. Absorbed in war, commerce, and politics, the Portuguese had long refused to jeopardize their position in the East by interfering with the native faiths. Churchmen, indeed, had followed where the traders led, as they accompanied the conquerors in America. Churches were raised, the orders had built houses in the greater ports; viceroys and governors had lent their influence and purse; converts were made. Yet in comparison with the general progress, or even with the activities of Franciscan and Dominican in America, the total was not great. Ten years after the accession of the devout John III there were only two bishoprics outside of Portugal, and they were no farther away than Madeira and Morocco. The Counter-Reformation in Portugal and Spain

But as the religious rivalry between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, as these movements came to be called, brought the issue of faith to a crisis, they had their effect on the Iberian powers. While northern peoples tended to adopt the new communions, both Spain and Portugal took the opposite course. The Inquisition was revived and strengthened; the Jews were driven to conversion or exile; the Jesuits were welcomed with open arms. In Goa the Hindu temples, thus far undisturbed, were marked out for destruction. A new era 1542-

of proselyting and persecution was begun; and to her long crusade against Mohammedanism the Portuguese now added an attack on all non-Christian faiths, which reinforced the hatred of her trade supremacy. In the New World, meanwhile, the problem was different. There Spain had, from the first, endeavored to crush native priesthoods and convert her subjects. And when the Jesuits were added to the orders which followed or accompanied the conquerors, the church found its way into new quarters of the western hemisphere with zealous and self-sacrificing strength. The Argentine pampas, like the Andean heights, the tangled wilderness of the Amazon and Central America, like the wide-stretching empire of New Spain, felt a fresh impulse of religious zeal, as the first result of the Reformation on extra-European peoples. Like its effect in politics, the earliest religious reaction of the new world upon Europe was the extension of Catholicism as part of the great movement toward ecclesiastical reform.

The transi-
tion to
modern
times

1517-42

Such were the events of the momentous quarter of a century which elapsed between the advent of Luther in Europe and of Xavier in the East, between the exploits of Cortez and Magellan and the summons to the last church council which could be called in any sense universal, the Council of Trent. They form the turning-point from mediæval to modern history in even greater measure than the capture of Constantinople by the Turks or the discovery of America. For in this period the newer elements of European life were established beyond the power of the older doctrines or practices to suppress them; and, for good or ill, these elements thenceforth became the guiding motives of the progressive factors in society. America and the Reformation, coming thus simultaneously into the current of affairs, as part of everyday experience, not merely produced new conditions of life and a series of institutions which affected every phase of existence. They transformed men's minds. Henceforth it was impossible to think in terms of even the preceding century. Above the mere facts of battles lost and won, dynasties changed and territories transferred from one hand to an-

other, this great revolution, in the final analysis, remains the chief result of a period which more than any for a thousand years altered the balance of the world's affairs and the whole future of mankind, and so marks the Age of Charles V as a great epoch of history.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1521-1542

The de-
limitation
of the
world

1521

1524

COMPARED with the activities of Europe's captains and kings in the momentous quarter of a century which followed the accession of Charles to the Spanish throne, and especially compared with the Protestant revolt, the progress of Europeans beyond the sea which resulted from the exploits of Albuquerque and Cortez seemed insignificant. Yet though colonial affairs were overshadowed by events in Europe, after a period of relative inaction they entered on an era of importance to themselves and to the world in general. The death of Emmanuel the Fortunate, which occurred at the moment of the Diet of Worms and the final attack on Mexico, marked the beginning of a great change in Portuguese as in European affairs. Though John III, who succeeded to the throne, enjoyed the greatness he inherited, he added little to it, and the first decade of his long reign witnessed but one considerable event. This was the delimitation of the world, which the voyage of the *Victoria* made imperative. Scarcely was she in port when Spain declared that the bull of Alexander VI held good only with respect to the Atlantic, and that the treaty of Tordesillas was now inadequate. Spanish and Portuguese geographers accordingly met at the frontier towns of Badajos-Yelves, and while German peasants fought along the Rhine, and French forces invaded Lombardy, the Iberian diplomat-scientists argued for six weeks with small results. In default of means to determine exact longitude it was impossible to arrive at a theoretical solution of the conflicting claims. And when, to confirm her contentions, Spain sent Loaysa on a voyage like and scarcely less exhausting than that of Magellan, he found, when he arrived on the other side of the world, that he

could neither return the way he came nor reach home by any other route without the permission of the Portuguese. No circumstance could have demonstrated more conclusively the strength of Portugal's position in the East. Charles V bowed to the inevitable, gave up his claim on the Moluccas for an indemnity, and by the Treaty of Saragossa, a line was drawn on the Equator 17° east of that group, and Spain was thus excluded from the Philippines. That exclusion she ignored, and the claim to that archipelago remained the chief political result of Magellan's exploit.

1529

Spanish
expansion

Under these circumstances, for the second time in a generation and the last time in history, the world was divided into Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence. More important than that adjudication, or even the possession of the Philippines, was the voyage of Sebastian Cabot which resulted from the controversy. For, following the track of Magellan and Loaysa to South America, he reached a river which he called, from the silver ornaments worn by the natives, the Rio de la Plata, or River of Silver. Thence he explored the Uruguay and Parana rivers to the rapids of the latter which barred his further progress, and so opened to European enterprise a vast and fertile land better adapted to white occupation than any then known to his countrymen. Almost at once it found settlers. A Basque nobleman, Pedro de Mendoza, with his fellow adventurers, hastened to lay foundations for what was to be ultimately a prosperous colony, and, what was of even greater interest to the bolder spirits of Spain's colonists, to learn of a rich empire beyond the mountains. In such fashion was established European power in the Argentine.

—the
Argentine

1526-

1527

1534-
1535

Meanwhile from Mexico and the West Indies had begun a fresh advance. Its first achievement was the extension of Cortez' conquest. Scarcely had Montezuma's empire been subjugated when Alvarado, de Olid, Montejo, and their great leader himself proceeded to subdue Central America; while Guzman, advancing northward, founded the province of New Galicia. With this, the whole region between North and South America took its place in the rapidly widening realm

Central
and North
America
1523-

1525

of Charles V. At the same time Ponce de Leon made a last and, as it proved, a fatal attempt on Florida. Still farther north a series of expeditions brought the eastern shores of North America to European attention. So great was the advance in geographical knowledge that, at the moment that the breach with Rome was made irrevocable in Germany, Ribeiro embodied in a famous map the whole Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Cape Horn. The Spaniards were not alone in this great work, for Francis I, emulous of his rival's success, sent his Italian captain, Giovanni Verrazano, to seek the fabled sea-way to Cathay by the northwest. And though Spanish discovery brought no settlers to a region "too much like Spain" to attract the fortune hunters of the new world, though Verrazano found no passage to the Pacific by way of the St. Lawrence, the Americas now took their place in European politics and thought at the same time that Protestantism, in whose fortunes they were to play so great a part, established itself upon the continent.

1529

1524

The organ-
ization of
Mexico

1525-

1535

This interest extended far beyond mere exploration and gold-seeking. While the new world was being laid open to European eyes, the conquered mainland was occupied and organized. In this work Cortez revealed statesmanlike qualities scarcely inferior to his abilities as a general, and, in spite of the curtailment of his authority by a home government, which was suspicious of his increasing power, he proceeded to make Mexico into a Spanish province. The land was parceled out in military fiefs, and the *encomenderos* required to provide arms and followers, proportioned to their holdings, subject to call after the feudal fashion. Cannon were cast from the products of the native mines; the crater of Popocatepetl supplied sulphur for gunpowder; ships were built, and ports established. The new city of Mexico rose near the ruins of the old, and, chartered as a municipality, became the capital, of which the people of the neighboring tribes were induced to become inhabitants. European plants and animals were introduced; planting and cattle-raising, mining and commerce encouraged, and, as Spanish power spread, it carried with it the seeds of European life.

With this came the authority of the home government. Hardly had the conquest been concluded when a viceroy was appointed for the new province, with a council, or *audiencia*, to assist and supervise his work, and provincial governors were named. The church accompanied the civil power. Bishoprics were established and missionaries pushed out among the natives. Beside the square solid government buildings in the new municipalities arose the churches; and across the plain or deep in the heart of forest wilderness was soon heard the bell of the mission church, symbol of that force which was to do far more than any official agency in spreading European civilization through the New World.

Beside the activities of Europe itself in this eventful decade and a half, these beginnings of the occupation and organization of America seem insignificant enough. Yet apart from the fact that they represented an element in the world's affairs which was to be of increasing importance, they were not without a powerful influence upon events in the old world. From Mexico, in particular, there had poured a stream of precious metals into Spain of incalculable importance not merely to the economic but to the political development of the continent. Enriched by that spoil, the Spanish mind was turned from the sober pursuit of every-day affairs, in which alone lay real prosperity, to dreams of further conquest and adventure, and Spain, like her master, Charles V, aspired to a still wider influence in the world's affairs.

Not the least of the results of the conquest of Mexico was the strengthening of the Hapsburg power, and the inevitable reaction of Europe, under the leadership of France, against the threat of universal sovereignty. Insurgent Hungarians, dissatisfied Italian princes, Swiss peasantry, Tudor king, and Ottoman Sultan had been summoned to contend against Hapsburg domination. And great as were the resources of the Emperor, the weight of America, thus thrown into the European scale, was no inconsiderable factor in enabling him to make head against his enemies. At the same time the church, deprived of a great body of adherents at home, found, in the millions of non-European peoples now

The effect
of America
on Europe

brought under her influence, some compensation for the losses of the Reformation. Thus, strangely enough, the first result of the occupation of the New World was to strengthen the conservative elements in European polity. And, almost immediately, another event, of like character to Cortez' great exploit, lent new significance to the importance of the Americas and new strength to the Hapsburg power.

European
politics

1532

The year 1532, though not a great landmark in history like that twelvemonth which saw the fall of Constantinople or that which witnessed the discovery of America, is one of those peculiar periods when the coincidence of striking events in various lines of human activity reveals with unusual emphasis the complex forces from whose interaction emerges a new order of society. In July of that year the Emperor, Charles V, harassed by the disturbances in his newly-won Italian provinces, and still more fearful of the Turkish power, now rallying from its repulse from Vienna three years before, summoned the Imperial Diet to meet at Nuremberg, and there agreed to extend still further toleration to the Lutheran sect which had so vexed his peace and that of Germany for a dozen years. In August the heroic defense of the fortress of Güns by the Hungarians checked the new Turkish advance, and Suleiman the Magnificent, balked of his ambitious designs against the Empire, turned his attack against Venice. In October, Francis I, who had joined with Saxony, Hesse, and Bavaria to oppose the recognition of Ferdinand of Hapsburg as heir to the Imperial dignity, allied himself with England by the treaty of Boulogne. Simultaneously the English Parliament, under royal lead, proceeded in that course which, by abolishing annates and appeals to Rome, led to a final breach with the Papacy.

Calvin and
Pizarro

There was, then, in this eventful year, quite enough in these affairs of state to absorb all the talents and the time of European rulers. But far removed from their ambitious eyes, two other events of far too slight importance to be regarded by these great ones of the earth made this same period no less memorable. Some time during these months an obscure French clerk, one John Calvin, then resident in

or near Paris, after long searchings of the heart, turned from the Roman to the Reformed communion, and thereby "lighted a candle seen throughout the world." And while the cavalades of the Imperial dignitaries made their way along the highroads that led to Nuremberg to meet their Emperor and, as it chanced, decree religious peace, in the western world a humble captain of that same Emperor, with a handful of followers, breasted the tremendous slopes of the Andes to challenge the power of a state whose fabled wealth had roused Spanish cupidity for a dozen years, and whose conquest formed an adventure scarcely rived by the exploit of Cortez.

The project thus rashly undertaken by the Spanish adventurers was not new. Even while Cortez was organizing Mexico, the interest of the colonial world was shifted to South America, and that continent became the scene of an extraordinary advance of European power. At the same moment that the Argentine was explored, the foundation of Coro marked the first effective occupation of Venezuelan lands by the Spaniards; and Portugal, disturbed by visits of the English and the French to the Brazilian coasts, had begun to take steps to secure her neglected dependency. Still more important were events in the west. The year following the capture of Mexico, Andagoya brought back from a voyage along its shores news of the Andean empire. Inspired by this and by Cortez' exploit, a Darien colonist, Francisco Pizarro, sometime Balboa's follower and since his leader's death a cattle-raiser in Panama, with two neighbors, Diego de Almagro, and a priest, Fernando de Luque, projected new conquest.

Unlike Cortez, Pizarro found no force ready to his hand, and his slender resources, with those of his associates, were strained to the utmost to provide means even to explore the coasts. Only the leader's indomitable perseverance made it possible. Twice he attempted in vain to find this so-called empire of the Incas; and finally assured of its existence, he embarked for Spain, where, after extraordinary efforts, he secured a commission for its conquest from the Emperor.

The conquest of Peru

1527-8

1522-3

1528-9

1530-1

As a result of eight years' unremitting effort he now embarked with three ships, less than two hundred men, and thirty horses, for an exploit as hazardous as that which Cortez had hardly accomplished with three times that force. A month's sail brought the rash adventurer from Panama to the port of Tumbes, and there, for the first time, fortune smiled on him. The situation in which he found himself bore a striking resemblance to that which Cortez had faced; nor was the parallel between the Aztecs and the people whom Pizarro found less remarkable. Among the mountain tribes, known as the Quichuas, which occupied the vast Andean region at this time, one, named from its rulers, the Incas, had become supreme. Whether, like the Aztecs, they had learned from the vast and imposing civilization of the Hatun Runas or Piruas, which existed prior to their coming, or whether their culture was self-developed, they were, at the time when they first came into touch with the Spaniards, the most advanced peoples of the western world. They no longer built the Cyclopean edifices of their forerunners. Their capital at Cuzco was less imposing but no less remarkable than its predecessor on Lake Titicaca; and their power, which in the preceding five centuries had slowly brought the Andean region under its control, was no less widespread and doubtless much better organized than that of the prehistoric people whose lands they had inherited.

The Incas

Like the Aztecs, the Incas were far from being mere savages. Their government was well ordered. The roads which bound their far-flung empire together were marvels of engineering skill. Their achievements in agricultural and domestic arts, stone-building, the working of precious metals, and astronomy were equal or superior to those of their northern neighbors. And, like these, however inferior in culture to the invaders, they yielded little to them in material civilization beyond the use of iron, gunpowder, and domestic animals, with such inventions and processes as those of printing and navigation.

Under normal circumstances, Pizarro's expedition against such a power with such a force as his would have been

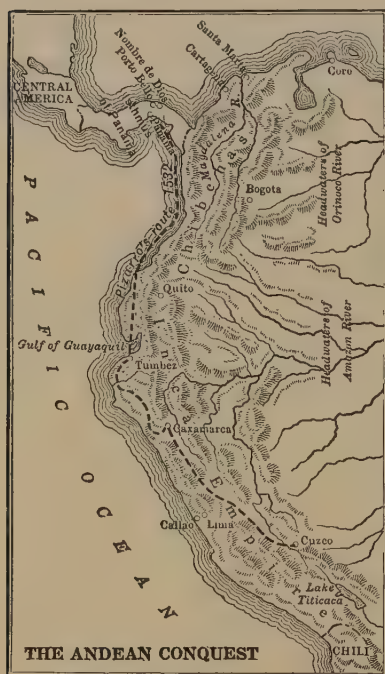
worse than madness. But at the moment Peruvian affairs were much disturbed. Their great Inca, Huayna Capac, had but lately died; his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, contended for the throne, which the latter had just secured and made his brother prisoner. The people were in consequence divided; the fortunes of the government unsettled and its power weakened; and the invaders were not slow to take advantage of the situation which they found. Apprised of the divisions, the Spanish leader seized his opportunity, negotiated with the warring native factions, and, hastening inland, invited Atahualpa to meet him. The prince incautiously agreed, and Pizarro, following Cortez' example, made him prisoner, demanding a huge ransom for his safety. 1532

The result surpassed even the Spanish dreams of avarice. But the royal treasures, the spoils of the temples, and the plunder of the people, though their value ran into many millions, were declared insufficient by the insatiable conquerors. Fearing that they would declare for his rival, Atahualpa ordered his brother's execution, and Pizarro, joined by Almagro, with reinforcements, put the unhappy Inca prince to death, hurried to Cuzco, secured the city and its wealth, and proclaimed another of the Inca family, Manco Capac, as ruler of Peru. This done, the conqueror sent his brother to Spain with the royal fifth of the plunder. As his reward Pizarro was created a marquis and governor of Peru; while his companion, Almagro, who had arrived too late to share the Inca spoil, was given the southern province of Chili, which he set out to conquer. At the same time, Pizarro removed the seat of government from Cuzco to Lima, where he began to construct a new capital. But this was not the end. The natives rebelled. Almagro claimed a greater share of land than was allowed him for his great services; and civil war broke out among the conquerors. Almagro was killed, but his followers, choosing his son to lead them, conspired against Pizarro, assassinated him, and were only brought to terms after the arrival of a crown agent and another civil war. 1533 1538 1541-42

Such were the circumstances of the great adventure which

The organization of Peru

added another empire to the Spanish crown, poured another huge flood of precious metals into Spain, and thence into Europe, and opened new fields for European enterprise. Had Peru's conqueror been, like Cortez, a man of statesmanship as well as military qualities, the history of the Andean state might have followed the lines laid down in Mexico. But Pizarro's exploit revealed the darkest aspects of the Spanish character. Fiercer, more stern, far less enlightened than



Cortez, his nature was reflected in Peruvian history, and while he lived, and long thereafter, its development scarcely exceeded the transfer of power from Inca to Spanish hands. Feudal baronies replaced the estates of native nobles or royal domains, the *repartimiento* was introduced, and the peasants, like the land on which they lived, came into possession of the conquerors. Some Spanish leaders, like de la Vega, hastened to wed the native heiresses. Some, like Carbajal, preferred the mines; some the rich fields; some, like de Soto, took their share of the Inca

spoil and set forth in quest of new adventures; some followed Gonzalo Pizarro or Valdivia to fresh fields. To the new capital of Lima and, more sparsely, to the interior came soldiers of fortune, merchants, officials, clergy, to enjoy the crumbs of conquest or share the revenues of the principality. This, far more slowly than New Spain, took on like form of colonial life. Apart from its great wealth, it was more nearly kin to that intervening region of Central America, through

whose tangled tropical forests Spanish power was meanwhile finding its slow and difficult way.

For the conquest of Peru by no means exhausted Spanish achievement in this momentous period. Two years before Lima was founded the crown had authorized the establishment of a port of entry on the lower Caribbean, famous in later history as Cartagena; and a year later Mendoza's men began that La Plata port whose delightful climate moved them to name it Buenos Ayres. Meanwhile Pizarro's exploit had brought results in regions remote from the chief center of disturbance. Far to the north, the upper Andean capital, Quito, found itself masterless on Atahualpa's death, and, facing a rebellion of the subject Canari tribes, summoned Sebastian de Benalcazar's garrison from San Miguel to protect them. To this quarter other adventurers hurried. From his conquests in Central America, Alvarado was tempted to share the spoil, but Almagro forestalled him, and reinforced by Benalcazar, founded the town of Guayaquil, on the finest harbor of the Pacific coast, and a new province, Ecuador, came into being.

The
Andean
conquest
—Ecuador

1533-35

From these regions proceeded fresh advance. Like Cortez, Pizarro had at once despatched lieutenants to secure outlying provinces and explore the newly-won empire. His brother, Gonzalo, gathering followers to find a new Peru, crossed the Andes, seeking a fabled "land of cinnamon," and, failing this, after fearful hardships, made his way back from one of the most daring explorations in all history. His second in command, Orellana, deserting him, found his way down a mighty river, which, from a tale he told of a female warrior tribe he found there, we still call the Amazon. Upon Almagro's death an Estremaduran follower of Cortez, Pedro de Valdivia, loaned by the Mexican conqueror to Pizarro, became the first Spanish master of Chili. In such wise, the western border of the southern continent came under Spanish power and linked itself with the great conquests farther north.

Chili

1540-41

1540

One region remained, the rich, mysterious lands which lay between Venezuela and Ecuador, the northernmost Andes

Colombia

1536-7

where the headwaters of the Magdalena, the Orinoco, and the northern branch of the Amazon had their rise. Thither from every side adventurers now pressed to find the fabled El Dorado, "the Golden Man," the golden city of Manoa, and the real treasures of the Chibcha race. From Santa Marta, founded on the headlands east of the Magdalena; from Coro, granted to the great German bankers of Charles V, the house of Welser, and presently included in the governorship of Pizarro's fierce lieutenant, Carbajal; from Cartagena; from the more distant settlement of Cumana, near the Orinoco's mouth; from Quito and Panama, successive expeditions strove to penetrate into the interior of what was to be later known as Colombia. In this race for wealth German captains of Charles V, like Alfinger and George of Spires, Federmann and Philip von Hutten, rivaled Spanish adventurers like Benalcazar and de Quesada. The last, starting from Santa Marta, after fearful hardships, was the first to reach the Chibchas. Less civilized and less rich, as well as less warlike than the Aztecs or Incas, they fell an easy prey, and on the site of one of their villages was founded the Spanish post of Bogotá. Compelled to divide his plunder with Benalcazar and Federmann, Quesada left the task of subduing the northernmost region of Antioquia to other hands. From that last of the Andean conquests, its conquerors, Robledo and Heredia, it is said, gained more wealth than either Pizarro or Cortez, and its subjugation put into the possession of the Spaniards some of the richest gold mines in the world.

1538

Results
of the
Andean
conquest

Thus was completed the Andean conquest, and the transfer of the chief sources of precious metals then known to the world, from native to European hands. The motives of the conquerors, like their methods, partook of the lowest elements of human nature, greed and cruelty; and it can only be urged in their favor that they spoiled the spoiler, took by force the wealth and power which the tribes they conquered had earlier obtained by the same means. The immediate result of their conquest was disastrous to the ruling classes they displaced; the ultimate results contributed enormously

to the development of the race. Not merely was a territory comparable in size to Europe opened to the enterprise of her people, and their resources multiplied by this extension of their field of activity. For the first time the old world found a source of precious metals adequate for its economic needs. The influx of this great stream of capital not only reinforced the wealth and luxury of Spain, and the ambitions of her king, the Emperor; it found its way into commerce and industry, and the mines of America, while they fed the ambitions of the Hapsburg house, at the same time made possible Europe's further economic advance.

But even this tremendous extension of her resources and her possibilities did not exhaust Spain's contribution to European progress in this momentous decade. While Peru took its place among Spanish dependencies, the exploits of the Andean conquerors raised the adventurous spirit to its height; and men turned with high hopes to the great northern continent, where tales of golden cities and glimpses of Indian pueblos, vouchsafed to earlier explorers, convinced them of the existence there of empires no less wealthy than those of Peru or Mexico. In the decade of the conquest of the Andes, therefore, a series of extraordinary marches laid bare the secrets of the southern part of North America. Though they failed to find the gold they sought, these expeditions revealed as great courage and enterprise as the exploits of Mexican or Aztec conquerors, and were of scarcely less ultimate importance to the spread of European power through the western world.

The
explorers

Of these the first was Pamfilio de Narvaez, Cortez's old antagonist. Before Pizarro began his conquest of Peru, Narvaez had commenced to explore the mainlands westward from Florida, while one of his companions, Cabeza de Vaca, even made his way across the Gulf plains to Mexico. Meanwhile, Cortez's agents discovered Lower California and planted a colony, and during the period of Andean conquest vessels were sent along the western coast as far as Cape Mendocino, a thousand miles to the north. Cortez's successor, Mendoza, pursued the task of extending Spain's power

Narvaez

1528

- 1540 with no less energy. Hernando de Alarçon, despatched to the Gulf of California, found a great river, whose turbid waters inspired him to christen it the Colorado; and Francisco de Coronado, appointed governor of New Galicia, made his way from that province, across desert and mountain, to where that same stream has hollowed the marvelous phenomenon known as the Grand Canyon. Thence, turning eastward to the Rio Grande, he was lured onward by rumors of a native city, Quivira, rich in gold, in search of which he found his way across the western plains to a point north of the Arkansas river, and from there, empty-handed, he returned to Mexico, after the longest march yet undertaken by the new world adventurers.
- Coronado
- 1540-
- 1542
- De Soto At the same time, a follower and son-in-law of Pedrarias d'Avila, Hernando de Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro to Peru, landed in Florida to seek an Eldorado in the northern continent. Following Narvaez's track, he found and crossed the Mississippi, and made his way far to the westward. But, like Coronado, he found no cities and no gold, and disappointed in his search, he was compelled to retrace his steps to the great river he discovered. There he sickened and died, and his followers, burying him in its waters, made their painful way to Mexico.
- 1539-
- 1543
- The coast line Spanish advance was not confined to the mainland. At the same time that the whole south and west of North America was being traversed and claimed for Spain by these remarkable marches, Valdivia sailed along the western shores of South America to the fortieth parallel, Camargo carried the Spanish flag to Cape Horn, and the coast of California was explored. With these exploits Spain's claims to territory in the New World reached their widest bounds. She had secured not merely the huge plunder of the western peoples and acquired the sources of a supply of precious metals in amounts hitherto unknown to European experience, but an extent of land greater than the whole area of Europe itself.
- 1538-
- 1540
- The "New Laws" It was appropriate, therefore, that at this point in her colonial career she took occasion to reorganize her power. In the same year that Almagro began the conquest of Chili

and Pizarro founded Lima, Antonio de Mendoza had been named the first Viceroy of New Spain. Before his coming the general system of native exploitation and control had been extended to the mainland conquests, but its fundamental feature, the *repartimiento* system, was now profoundly changed. It had been granted at first in perpetuity, but the efforts of Las Casas and his school had succeeded in limiting its operation to the life of the grantee. Later extended to two lives, it was now decreed that, on the *encomendero's* death, his grants reverted to the crown. This was the most striking feature of those measures which now inaugurated that great code of Indian legislation known to later generations as the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, usually, if not quite correctly, called by them the New Laws of Charles V. Enlarged and modified from time to time, these now became the supreme law of the colonies, and remained for centuries the greatest of the world's colonial codes, directing the destinies of millions of human beings. 1539-42

Under the new arrangement, though Seville retained the monopoly of colonial trade and the *Casa de la Contratacion* went on, the management of affairs remained in the hands of the Council of the Indies, which became the supreme authority in legislative and judicial affairs of the colonies. Its president and its members, "men of noble birth, pure lineage, and true faith," formed an imposing and a powerful board of control. It gathered information and advised the king in civil and ecclesiastical affairs; held *residencias* or inquests on each viceroy's acts at the expiration of his term, through its commissioners; heard appeals; controlled finance; and, through the subordinate *Casa de la Contratacion*, regulated commerce. The Council of the Indies

Under its direction the resident administration of the new world was organized. From the first Spain's policy had been to check and balance authority in the colonies, and the whole system of government, therefore, reflected this fundamental principle. The *audiencia*, though it was the viceroy's council and for the most part under his authority, sat as an

appellate court on his decisions. From it proceeded, triennially, one of its judges to inspect administration in the provinces, the acts of the district or provincial governors; of the Indian agents; of municipal affairs under the direction of their *alcaldes* and boards of aldermen or councillors. They took account of the crown fifths of mining profits; native poll or tribute tax; the *alcabala*, or tax on goods sold; receipts from sale of offices; indulgences; monopolies of tobacco, gunpowder, quicksilver, salt; and supervised the administration of justice. From their reports and knowledge of affairs, viceroy and *audiencia* reported to the Council which framed the laws and regulations for the colonial empire.

Its work

Such was the organization spread through Spanish America. Its task was no less novel than difficult. Hampered by the difficulty of legislating at a distance, and without intimate knowledge of the people and the circumstances among which their edicts were to operate, such a body as the Council of the Indies lacked adequate control of the officials who put its measure into force. Its principal defect lay in its efforts to remedy the lack of a close supervision by too minute a regulation of affairs. Yet despite the false political economy which harmed the native and the government alike far more than the oppression and extortion for which the Spaniards have been so bitterly attacked, it carried on its work with conscientiousness, ability, and no small success. Too rigid for a later age, to whose changes it began to adjust itself too late, and by no means always well administered by its agents, the Spanish colonial system in the fifteenth century, measured by the standards of its time, was both strong and enlightened. And, ruling as it did half the known world, it was a factor of wide importance in the affairs of mankind.

Its difficulties

Under more favorable circumstances it might have ensured for centuries the dominance of the state that gave it birth. But the political situation in which the nation found itself, no less than the false notions of political economy, and the demoralizing influences of such sudden and overwhelming success, were powerful agents of disintegration almost from the first. Even the vast treasures secured from the plunder

of the new provinces, the taxes and prospective tribute of wide-stretching territory and millions of native vassals, with their forced labor in fields and mines were neutralized by the tremendous cost of the Emperor's foreign policy. The almost incessant clash of arms during the preceding century, the exodus of adventurers to the New World, added to the long and exhausting wars of Charles V, not merely drained the land of able-bodied men; it made the pursuit of arms, long bred in the Spanish race, almost the only ambition of a whole people. Moreover, in a nation which was at best not mercantile in its instincts, the flood of sudden wealth choked the springs of industry. The slender flow of manufactured goods, even the cultivation of the soil, was checked, and as the nation, inflamed by conquest and discovery, sought the ways to sudden wealth, like Portugal it left the straight path of homely prosperity and the sound basis of its economic life decayed. The full effect of this, indeed, was not felt when, at this crowning point of her achievements oversea she formalized the administration of her new empire; but already, to the world outside, Spain seemed a land where the *hidalgo*, soldier, friar, and official stood for the sum of national life and spirit. And this in no small measure became the mold of her national character.

Such were the beginnings of European occupation in the western hemisphere, which above all other regions has remained thus far its most important seat outside of Europe itself. But the exploitation of America was not confined to Spain. Roused by their rival's energies, the Spanish occupation of the Argentine, the threats of English and of French adventurers, the Portuguese, who for a generation had neglected Brazil for their eastern possessions, turned their attention to that imperial province. In the year Pizarro conquered Peru, the Portuguese noble, Affonso de Sousa, was despatched to America. His first exploit was the discovery of the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, the next was the establishment of settled government. For its model the island colonies were drawn upon. Beginning at the north the land was parceled out into hereditary fiefs, the so-called cap-

The Portu-
guese in
America
1517-42

1531-2

taincies, each for the most part with a sea-frontage of some fifty leagues and extending indefinitely into the interior, along lines parallel with the equator. These huge grants were conferred on noble *donatorios*, with civil and criminal jurisdiction and complete authority over the land and its inhabitants. This characteristic Portuguese system endured until the crown found itself compelled, as in the island colonies, to appoint royal officials to enforce the rights of the colonists and the home government. Under such conditions, de Sousa, as the first grantee, founded a post at São Vicente on the northern coast. Settlement began with undesirables of every class, convicts, women of the baser sort, bankrupts, Jews; but there followed presently a slender stream of more eligible colonists, and, favored by a salutary neglect, the small and isolated coast settlements, Olinda, Recife or Pernambuco, and Bahia, which soon sprang up, showed signs of real vitality. The natives were reduced to servitude, wherever possible; the fiercer tribes driven into the more remote interior. Slaves from the Guinea coast were introduced; planting begun; and with it and forest products, a little gold and an increasing trade, were laid the foundations of a sound colonial prosperity.

1532

1536-9

In the
East
1517-42

1536

Yet whatever the future promised her American possession, the more immediate concern of Portugal was with the East. There the quarter of a century which followed Albuquerque's death had seen the wide extension of her empire. Holding their stronghold of Diu with difficulty, the successors of the empire-builder had done what they could to extend their power in the farther East, by treaties with the rulers of Colombo and the Maldives. They held Malacca against their enemies only with the aid of their allies in Pacem and Achin, while their connection with China remained precarious and subject to many interruptions.

Had they possessed Albuquerque's character and abilities they might have made Portugal's position all but impregnable. But their incessant raids, their greed and bad faith, made enemies on every hand. And while native attempts at insurrection were cruelly suppressed; while the richest of the

Molucca spice-trading centers, Tidore, became a tributary state, and the Spanish treaty secured the Portuguese position in that archipelago, dishonesty and rapine went on all but unchecked, and Portugal's position grew gradually less secure. 1529

Meanwhile the field of conflict widened. The Portuguese attack upon Diu enlisted the king of Cambay among their enemies; and from Egypt the Turkish governor of Cairo despatched forces against them. In turn the younger da Gama raided the Turkish power in the Red Sea and carried his victorious arms from Socotra to Suez, effecting a diversion which materially aided the Imperial and Italian conflict with the Ottoman power, then at its height. The king of Abyssinia was induced to aid in the attack upon Egypt; and finally John III despatched an embassy to Suleiman the Magnificent, which, though it failed, revealed the altering tendencies of world politics as clearly as the earlier efforts of Francis I to enlist Turkish support against the Emperor. But with all of Portugal's warlike enterprise and the extension of her boundaries, efforts for peace became as futile as efforts for reform, and perpetual strife and corrupt administration became the normal condition of Portuguese occupation of the East. Portugal's enemies

This was not the worst. While her captains reached the farthest East, her power nearer home had sunk until, especially in northern Africa, the tide of Moslem rule had overspread much Portugal had owned and lapped the base of her remaining fortresses. The valor of her fighting men as yet showed small decline, her great monopoly was scarcely impaired, but greed, corruption, and jealousy were more dangerous enemies than any human foe. Few viceroys escaped arrest. Most deserved their fate, and even the best of them found it impossible to repress the infinite perversion of public office to private gain among their subordinates. The lack of real colonists weakened her hold upon the East no less. After a quarter of a century of occupation Goa held less than five hundred Europeans, and these were chiefly in government employ. With all the brilliance of her cap- Her disabilities

tains' exploits, army and navy continually lacked recruits; and the soldiers, their discipline relaxed, their comfort ignored, their pay withheld, fell, like their officers, into contempt. Even pilotage and the once dreaded artillery declined. Only the incredible profits of her trade maintained apparent prosperity amid boundless waste, while the one sure foundation of permanent welfare, public virtue, showed signs of insufficiency before the strain of a too great success. Such was the position of Portugal when in the same year that Spanish colonial administration was reorganized, the Portuguese extended their operations to the distant, long dreamed-of island kingdom of Cipango or Japan. With that event at the same moment the two rival empires reached their widest bounds.

1542

Progress
of other
European
peoples
—England

Beside their advance, the progress of other European powers in the world outside was all but insignificant. Nor was this to be wondered at. German adventurers had taken some small part in the exploiting of South America, but their sovereign's demand for men at home to fight the French, the Moors, the Turks, and throughout Italy, left few to be spent in more distant lands. The ostentatious monarch of what was to be the leading maritime nation of the world was besought in vain to aid in finding a northern passage to "the regions of all the Tartarians, the Chinas, and Cathaio Orientall," by way of "the back side of the new-found land." For Henry VIII was unwilling to divert even the "godly meane, the little cost, perill or labour" for such an enterprise from the vain ambitions of an Imperial crown, the church affairs, and the domestic entanglements which filled his life.

France

Even amid his campaigns against Charles V the French king found more opportunity than England for such enterprise; and at the moment Pizarro conquered Peru, he sent Jacques Cartier of Saint-Malo to the St. Lawrence, to find his way up that great river to the rapids called, satirically perhaps, Lachine. The explorer found no passage to China by that route. But five years later he went out again, founded a short-lived settlement at Charlesburg, while his associate,

1534-

1536

1540

the Lord of Roberval, the "governor of New France, Canada, and Hochelaga," as these lands were called, built a stockade above the Isle of Orleans. Yet like the private trading voyages of the English to Newfoundland, Brazil, and Central America, these French exploits produced no permanent results. Without the crown support, on which Spanish and Portuguese success was founded, it was scarcely conceivable that such undertakings at such time could prosper; and these scattered efforts, save that they kept alive an interest in the new world among the peoples whose main strength was then absorbed in religious and political rivalries at home, left Spain and Portugal supreme in the colonial field.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EUROPE. 1521-1543

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SCIENCE AND CAPITALISM

Scientific
advance

IN any consideration of the forces which combined during the long reign of Charles V to produce the beginnings of a modern world, it is impossible to ignore the development of that department of intellectual activity to which we give the general name of science. For that development is important not alone in its mere contribution to knowledge and power, in its increase of man's comfort and his capacity to achieve material tasks, to cure or ameliorate his sufferings, to bring the forces of nature to his aid to conquer nature or his fellow-man, to enable him to comprehend something of the mystery of the created universe. Like scholarship, and still more like art, it has a deeper significance, than even the discovery of new method and new facts. This lies in the emancipation of the mind from the trammels of dogma, the increased capacity to conceive great ideas, to discover and to learn. For from such a force proceeds not only material achievement but the possibility of real progress in mental and spiritual fields.

Science
and the
Reformers

Such a result must be reckoned no less important to the history of Europeans than the changes in religious belief and ecclesiastical practice by which it was accompanied, and of far greater significance than the larger part of the political activities by which it was, for the most part, hindered. With all their influence in breaking the power of the older tradition of dogmatic authority, and their insistence upon the rights of the individual, the new communions soon proved themselves scarcely more tolerant than the old, when measured by modern standards. Asserting their own claims to liberty of opinion, they were quick to refuse that privilege

to those who disagreed with them. It was still possible for Luther to deny the supremacy of Roman dogma and to denounce the doctrines of his Protestant rivals with equal vigor. It was still possible for Calvin to demonstrate his right to renounce the old faith and practices, and have Servetus 1553 burned for refusing to assent to a particular arrangement of the words "the infinite son of the father" as against "the son of the infinite father."

Nor was the new theology more willing to accept the freedom of speculation necessary to the advance of all knowledge, and of science in particular. The tradition of the older conceptions was still strong. To Lutheran and Calvinist, as to Roman Catholic, the earth was still the center of the universe, and man the chief if not the only concern of God. Though in the last year of this remarkable period the Copernican hypothesis of a solar system was taking form, not for another three-quarters of a century was it to be accepted by even the most advanced leaders of European thought. None the less, the Reformation marks a tremendous alteration in the history of the world. From it flowed not merely new communions but the beginning of an emancipation from a single school of dogma, that denial of the claim to a monopoly of revealed truth, which opened the way to greater freedom of speculation, and, in due course of time, to liberty of thought and speech. And, whether one regards this as a blessing or a curse, it none the less remains the great outstanding characteristic of the modern world.

Finally, in that it summed up in itself something of each of the forces then at work remolding Europe, religious, social, political, and intellectual, the Reformation was not merely the type but the epitome of the times in which it fell. It not merely influenced politics, it was, in no small degree itself political. It not merely offered an outlet to the dissatisfaction with the social system of the time, it partook of that social discontent and brought that growing spirit another step on its way; and it was at once the product of the intellectual movement which had preceded it and the inspiration of much that followed. Yet in this it revealed a striking

The Ref-
ormation
and the
scientific
renaissance

difference from the scientific renaissance. For though its leaders advanced toward the determination of truth from a direction wholly opposite to that from which the scientists proceeded, they aimed at the same goal. The one side based itself upon revelation, the other on investigation. And if there is one circumstance which distinguishes the period in which the Protestant communions took their rise, apart from that revolution in the ecclesiastical world, it is that there began at this time the first great serious effort which was destined to success, to discover the secrets of the structure of the universe and man.

The im-
portance
of science
to progress

The adventures of the mind, even less than the triumphs of the artists, perhaps even less than the contentions of the theologians, make little appeal to us in comparison with the deeds of men of action. In any chronicle of the history of mankind they have been given small consideration beside the annals of war and diplomacy. Yet whatever we may think of the relative importance of European progress during modern times in the fields of politics, or even in those of morals, philosophy, art, and letters, as compared with the achievement of the ancients, one thing is certain. We know more, we have more, and we can do more than our ancestors, and that this is an absolute advance in civilization it is difficult to deny. Men may not be better, happier, stronger, or more profound than they were in the age of Pericles, but they are, unquestionably, more comfortable, more powerful, and more capable, and in so far more civilized.

This result is due, in general, not to the efforts of those men chiefly concerned in establishing their ascendancy over their fellows but to those whose principal aim has been the conquest of the secrets and the resources of nature—in short to the advance of scientific knowledge. However the progress in scholarship, in letters, art, or theology may have contributed to the emancipation of the intellect which made scientific labors possible, it is to science, rather than to these other phenomena of the mind, that the development of what we call the modern world is due, and that of all fields, it is in science we excel the ancient world.

Europe had made great progress in the art of government in the generations just passed. She had revolutionized letters and art, with the whole theory and practice of ecclesiastical affairs. She had discovered the sea-ways east and west, and made far-reaching conquests. Yet the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth were no less notable for the foundation of those branches of knowledge from which has developed a great part of our modern strength, than for the alterations in these other fields of human activity. In particular, it is to this period that we owe the beginnings of knowledge and practice in two fields of the profoundest importance not merely to our every-day life but to our thought and, in no small degree, to our beliefs. These were the fields of medicine, and of mathematics and astronomy.

The
beginnings
of modern
science

In considerable measure these advances were due, like most of the progress of the period in all intellectual affairs, to the rise of the new learning which was brought in by the Renaissance during the preceding century.

Among the treasures of antiquity which found their way to more general knowledge during those years, the productions of the men of letters had not been unique. It is true that the middle ages had known many of the achievements of the classical world. It is true that especially after the so-called thirteenth century renaissance great additions were made to that knowledge. From their long obscurity had been drawn such scientific attainments as the Greeks in particular had acquired, and this had been reinforced by the contributions of the Arabs, from whose writings, as they came into Europe, had been extracted not only their own learning but that which they had acquired from classical and Indian sources. But there is a vast difference between knowledge and accessibility; between the labors of a handful of widely separated scholars and the vivid, and often highly practical interest of increasing numbers, kept in touch with each other and with the general progress of their work by such rapid and generous reproductions as are made by the printing-press. And it is this characteristic which sharply

divides the modern from the mediæval period. From the middle of the fifteenth century this impulse was more and more in evidence; and it may fairly be said that, whatever the acquirements of isolated individuals before that time, classical knowledge was not in the possession of Europe in general until it was available in print and became a part of the commonly accessible stock of European information.

Mathe-
matics

This was especially true of mathematics, where the Greeks had achieved their greatest scientific success, and where the needs of the new navigation had been most insistent in their demands. The early middle ages had characteristically preserved the propositions of Euclid, but not his proofs. This error was corrected during the twelfth century. But to minds inflamed with that tremendous burst of intellectual curiosity which accompanied and followed the revelation of unknown lands and the uncovering of the past even this was far from enough. And if this period and the progress of printing were notable for nothing else, they would be memorable for the reintroduction into general European knowledge of the labors of that Greek whose work remains, after twenty centuries, the basis for the science of geometry.

To the revival of Euclid as a scientific auxiliary and a means of education were added other contributions. While geometry, apart from its prostitution to the uses of necromancy, had been largely confined to the practical purposes of surveyor and architect, and the calculations of arithmetic had found their chief expression in the abacus, there was small opportunity for mathematics to become a great factor in the extension of the intellectual faculties. In the preceding century the labors of Purbach and of his pupil Regiomontanus had done much to arouse fresh interest in the knowledge and understanding of geography, mathematics, and astronomy. To these were added in the first half of the sixteenth century the achievements of the Italian Fontana, better known by his nickname of Tartaglia, "the stammerer."

Tartaglia
1506-59

This original genius added to his contributions to ballistics the discovery of the so-called cubic equation, a method

of finding the least common denominator, and a variety of similar practical solutions of mathematical processes. Algebra, whose name like its methods came into Europe from the Arabs through the medium of the thirteenth-century mathematician, Leonardo of Pisa, and was greatly stimulated by the work of Lucas de Burgo at the end of the fifteenth century, had been reinforced by the latter's text-book which appeared in the days of Columbus' second voyage and Charles VIII's invasion of Italy. Its development had gone on side by side with art and letters, but it was not until Tartaglia's day that his genius set it on the paths which it has since followed. The same course had been followed by arithmetic. From the labors of the Arab Mohammed ben Musa al-Khwarismi, building on the rude decimal system derived from India, had been developed the decimal system which became the foundation of European arithmetical processes; and that system had, by Tartaglia's day, established itself in the place of the awkward Roman numerals and the abacus. Now, in the years which saw the revolt from Rome, these were reinforced by the labors of another and far greater intellect.

1494

This was the Pole, Nicolaus Kopernik, better known from the Latinized form of his name, as Copernicus. From his studies in Bologna and his lectureship in Rome, this modest scholar brought to his studies in Frauenburg ideas which, finally embodied in his book, *De Revolutionibus Orbium*, prepared the overthrow of astronomy and even theology as then conceived. For, from the many hypotheses regarding the universe held by the ancients, he evolved his theory of the solar system, in which the planets, including the earth, revolved about the sun. To this conception he added his theory of the revolution of the earth on its axis, and that of the stars, like the earth, in their orbits,—doctrines which were to astronomy what Columbus' discovery was to geography. For these, with explanations of the precession of the equinoxes, and the variations of the seasons, though unaccompanied by proof, and not for a century accepted by even scientists generally, laid the foundations for a knowledge and a belief which, in the field of faith no less than in that

Copernicus
1473-1543

of intellect, separated the modern from the mediæval world by an impassable gulf. His work, carried on while Europe was convulsed with the revolt from Rome, the progress of the Renaissance, the Spanish conquest of America, and the development of the national absolutisms, did not appear finally in print until 1543. By that time the church had bestirred itself to summon the great council which marks the break between the new and old ecclesiastical system of the continent, the Spanish empire had been organized, and the world was fairly set on its new course. In that course, though its time was long in coming, the labors of this obscure Polish scientist were to play a part not incomparable to that of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the great discoveries.

Medicine

The scientific advance in these years was not confined to mathematics and astronomy, for Europe had begun meanwhile another movement of no less interest and of even greater practical importance to the race than the determination of the laws of the universe. This was in medicine. In the twelvemonth which saw the defeat of Francis I at Pavia and that of the rebellious peasants on the Rhine, there appeared, almost simultaneously, at Venice, the Greek text of the works of Galen and Hippocrates, the latter from the press of Aldus. A dozen years later other and better editions appeared at Basel. With these the writings of the two great medical authorities of the classical world took their place again in scientific literature. They were soon translated, in whole or in part, into Latin and even into modern languages and so found a still wider audience. Though they had been known to the middle ages, they now became easily accessible, and took their place in the current of general scientific advance.

The result was immediate and profound. However far they fell short of modern conceptions and practices in healing, however wrong their theories and however deficient their knowledge, the writings of the great Greek physicians offered at least a comprehensible system of medicine upon which, as a foundation, it was possible to build a new edifice. The work of Galen, in particular, had been known to the later

middle ages through the Arabic of Avicenna, but now accessible in the original and in translation, it took on new influence. The long development of medicine which, during the preceding century in particular, had begun to show some signs of escaping from the trammels of ignorance and superstition which had prevented its progress was immensely stimulated; while its scientific character was powerfully reinforced by the decline of that almost mystical reverence for the human body which the church inculcated and thus long prevented any adequate study of its organs. Renaissance and Reformation spirit alike revolted against this prohibition, to the enormous advantage of the race.

Almost at once there arose a new school of medical thought and practice, partly based on the Greek teachings, partly owing its achievements to its antagonism to the "fathers of medicine." In the hands of these "medical humanists" the whole basis of medical and surgical knowledge was altered as men began to seek the sources of their information not in books but in the body itself. Its first development was naturally in anatomy. Dissection, which still suffered from the ecclesiastical prejudice, and which was long permissible only under church sanction, came into increasing vogue, as its limitations were removed or ignored; and with it modern medicine may be said to begin. This movement was not confined to any nation. In Italy Frascatoro, the physician of the Council of Trent and professor at Padua, began that study of contagion which laid the foundations for a great part of modern medical science, while the Papal physician, Eustachio, whose name the Eustachian tube perpetuates, shared with the Imperial physician, Vesalius, the honor of establishing the sciences of anatomy and histology. These, in turn, found a rival in the Pisan professor, Falloppio, who gave his name to the Fallopian tube, which rewarded his researches in anatomy.

This activity was not limited to Italy. The Englishman, Linaere, physician to Henry VII and Henry VIII, drew far more from his studies at Florence than the classical learning which made him—with Grocyn, Colet, Lily, and Latimer—

"The
medical
human-
ists"

English
and
French
medicine

one of the founders of the English or Oxford humanistic school, and introduced Britain to the Italian classical Renaissance. His translations from Galen and Hippocrates, like those of the Italian Leonicensio, did more than bring Greek medical acquirements to the knowledge of his day. They inspired him to found lectureships in medicine and the London College of Physicians, as one of the first steps in the extension of medical education beyond the bounds of Italy. In France the talents of Brissot brought some amelioration to the favorite practice of blood-letting by giving it some relation to the parts which it was intended to benefit; while Sylvius, despite his slavish adherence to Galen, described many of the blood-vessels and muscles and gave them the names they still bear. Still more the genius of the great surgeon, Paré, found ample scope for its expression in the incessant wars with which his country was cursed. For among the few blessings which they brought, his contributions to the art of amputation, and his advocacy of such varying practices as massage and asepsis are probably the greatest.

The
Nether-
lands,
Switzer-
land
and
Germany

In the hands of many of these exponents of the reviving art the learning of the ancients was continued along traditional lines, modified in practice by the introduction of dissection. This soon established the dissecting-room and even a rude clinic alongside the hospital as a feature of the new science. But in some quarters, especially in Switzerland and the Netherlands, the problem was approached from a different direction. The Spanish physician, Servetus, began those researches in the circulation of the blood between the heart and lungs which were to find fruition a century later; but, seeking refuge from the bigotry of his own country, he met death in Switzerland at the hands of the no less bigoted followers of Calvin for his theological opinions. Greater still the traveler-chemist-doctor, appropriately christened Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus von Hohenheim, but better known by the abbreviated form, Paracelsus, sometime professor at Basel, sometime physician to the merchant-prince, Fugger, in whose mines and laboratories he gained no small part of his knowledge, founded

Para-
celsus
1490-1541

a new school of medical theory and practice. Rejecting all tradition, burning Galen and Avicenna, deriding Hippocrates, this curious pioneer, half genius, half charlatan, sought knowledge in reason and investigation as against authority. He preached asepsis and the value of mineral baths, made and used opium and many mineral salts, discovered hydrogen and animal magnetism, and compelled physicians to accept chemical therapeutics. In medicine, in chemistry, in pharmacy he was equally a pioneer.

Paracelsus well typifies the change coming over the treatment of disease in more ways than one, for he brought to medicine the aid of chemistry, then just beginning to dissociate itself from alchemy. Still more, under such influences, there began that school of thought known as "iatro-chemistry," which referred all physiological change to chemical processes, and thus, while it facilitated progress in certain directions, hindered it in others. To this was added the beginnings of another science, botany, which, especially in the hands of the so-called Fathers of Botany in Germany, began that description of plants which at once laid the foundations of a new department of knowledge and added to the curative or therapeutic resources of medicine.

None the less, the great contribution of the age remained descriptive anatomy, and in that field one figure appears the supreme example of the new spirit. This was the Flemish-born, Italian-trained Vesalius, the teacher of Falloppio, the inspirer of Paré, physician to Charles V and Philip II. Basing his work upon dissection and description rather than on tradition, he gave an impetus to anatomy which the science has never lost, and by his genius and enthusiasm he not only advanced knowledge, he founded a method and a school of instruction which gives him rank in the medical world with Copernicus in that of mathematics and astronomy. Nor is it a coincidence without significance that his great work, *De Corporis Humani Fabrica*, which gave a death-blow to the old pedantic school and "dragged the Galen-idol down," appeared in the same year that Copernicus' labors found their final form in print.

Iatro-
chemistry

Vesalius
1514-64

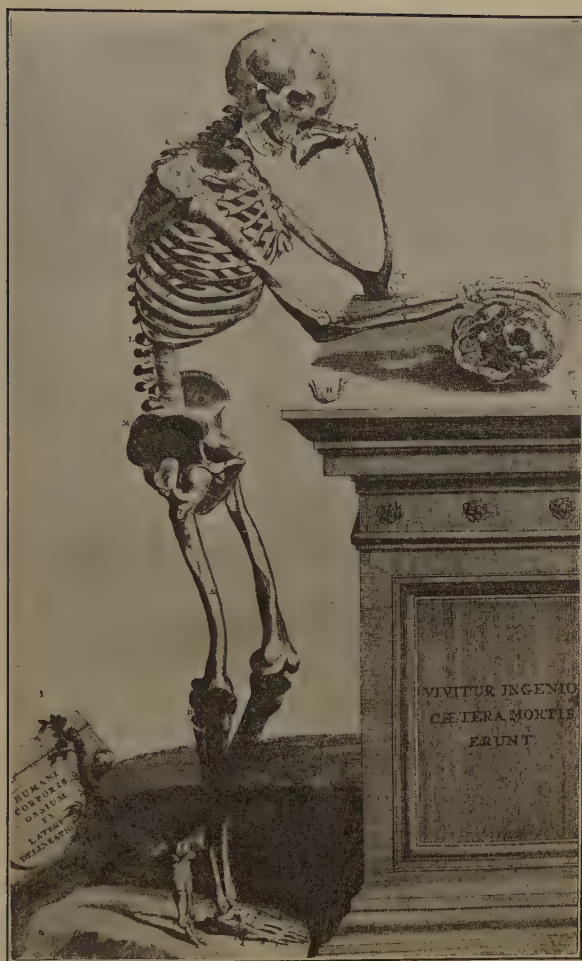
1543

Unconnected with the advances of medicine and mathematics, yet of scarcely less importance, was the development of interest in metals stimulated by the discoveries in Europe itself and especially in America. The development of mining on the continent had roused men to new interest in the resources of the earth. It is not surprising, therefore, that this period saw the appearance of the first—and for three centuries the most substantial—contribution to the science of mineralogy. This work, *De Re Metallica*, was produced by a German, Georg Landmann, generally called by his assumed name, Agricola, “the father of mineralogy.” It was reinforced from the medical side by the labors of Paracelsus; and from the direction of practical operation by the development of the amalgamation or quicksilver process of separating gold from ore. This was enormously stimulated by the discovery and working of the deposits of cinnabar, from which mercury was extracted, at Almaden in Spain and Idria in Austria. Thus the domains and the subjects of Charles V, apart from the conquests which distinguished his reign, became peculiarly notable for their contribution to the economic as to the intellectual progress of the European world.

1546

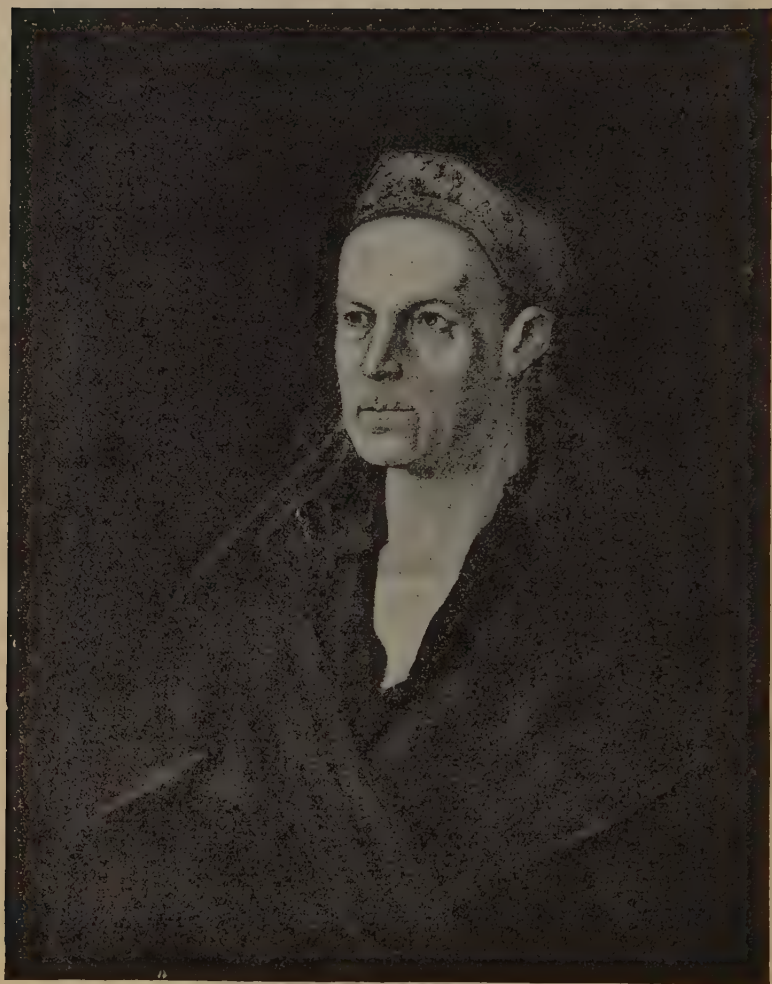
Hans Hol-
bein, the
younger
1497-1543

Finally this extraordinary burst of activity reacted directly upon other fields and individuals not usually associated with the more practical side of life. To his contributions in engineering and painting, Leonardo da Vinci added the first rational explanation of the fossils which the new mining discovered in its operations. To his triumphs with the brush and chisel Michelangelo, appointed chief architect of St. Peter's, added a skill in building operations which finally brought that great edifice into being. And to his extraordinary gifts as the delineator of sixteenth-century faces, which made the younger Holbein the greatest of portrait-producers of his time, this Dutch genius added a skill in designing and engraving which set the art of book-making another stage on its progress. If any one desires to know what manner of men and women made this period he needs only to study the work of this talented, itinerant sketcher of faces, whose detached, impersonal method of drawing things



THE SKELETON, FROM VESALIUS'S *Fabrica*.

(From Locy's *Biology and Its Makers*.) Illustrating the revolution effected by the combined advance of art and anatomy—together with the peculiar humor of 16th century drawing of this sort.



JACOB FUGGER, "THE RICH."

After the painting by Dürer.

as they were, is, in some sort, a symbol of his times. For his sketch books reveal that tendency to find in the creatures of this world an interest which many of his predecessors had been able to find only in the next. Sacred art was by no means wanting. But its ascendancy, like that of the painting of classical subjects which was the product of the Renaissance, now began to share honors with the delineation of the scenes and the characters which made the world what it was to the inquiring eyes of the mid-sixteenth century.

These phenomena, concurrent with the summons to the Council of Trent, the advent of the Portuguese in Japan, the reorganization of the Spanish colonial empire, and the final triumph of absolute kingships in the national states, mark fittingly the great turning-point in the fortunes of the new world which the men of action and of thought had summoned from the ruins of the old. Thenceforth, in intellect as in faith, in words and deeds, Europe turned more and more definitely to those activities and those concepts to which we give the name of modern. Thenceforth the shackles of tradition were loosened increasingly from year to year, and the men of thought, like the men of action, found opening before them wider fields for the exercise of their abilities and their energies. For if they had not begun to explain, they had,—to use Bacon's witty analogy,—followed the example of Adam and Eve in Paradise, they had "observed the creatures and named them,—the first steps in the summary parts of knowledge."

The transition to modern thought

Their development implied far more than these. Two other characteristics differentiate this movement from what had gone before. The one was the spread of these new interests to all sections of society, and the rise of a body of intellectual men which thenceforth began to play an increasingly greater part in human affairs. The great figures were still great, but they were no longer divided from the mass of mankind by any such gulf as had existed earlier. They were, in fact, but the more conspicuous individuals evolved from a growing class of intellectuals, types rather than personalities.

Specialization

Beside them worked increasing numbers of all but anonymous individuals, whose collective contribution to knowledge not merely equaled the product of the greater geniuses, but went far toward making their achievements possible.

The second characteristic of a changing world grew from this situation of the intellectual class. It was the development of more and more highly specialized activities. It was no longer possible, as it had been two centuries earlier, for one man to become, like Roger Bacon, virtually an encyclopedia of human, or at least scientific, knowledge. The process of differentiation had begun. Occasional geniuses, like Leonardo da Vinci, as in all ages of the world, did many things well, and several things greatly. Some men, like More, were no less eminent in letters and scholarship than in public affairs; some, like Servetus, were conspicuous in medicine and theology; some, like Rabelais, combined medical knowledge with eminent literary gifts. But, for the most part, the content of knowledge was now becoming too great, the demands of the various activities now opening before men were growing too arduous to allow of such universality as had once been possible.

"The
open way
for the
talents"

From these two circumstances grew a third, which was of no less moment. The chief defect of mediæval society had been the relative restriction of careers outside the church open to men of talent, of non-noble birth. This, which was the natural result of the social and ecclesiastical system of the middle ages, had begun to break down with the intellectual and political expansion of the fifteenth century. With the acceleration of those movements in the first half of the sixteenth century, it tended to disappear even more rapidly. It was to be long before the aristocratic tradition was weakened in the field of public affairs, or ecclesiastical influence, whether Catholic or Protestant, ceased its attempts to control the progress of the human mind in those fields which trenched on the domain of dogma. But as from year to year new paths were opened to men's energies in every direction, more and more an open way to the talents presented itself to

every class, save the lowest. As it became possible for a Cortez to rise to the dignity of a marquisate even in Spain, it was no less possible for a Luther or an Erasmus or a Calvin to become a ruler of men's thoughts. And, with the advance of science, arts, and crafts, thousands of men found ready to their hands an infinity of tasks and a world of opportunity wholly apart from religion or politics, even apart from that commercial activity which, at the same time, rose to undreamed-of heights of influence, amid the rivalries of statesmen and warriors.

Thus, as the mid-sixteenth century approached, with the beginning of those great readjustments, political and ecclesiastical, which arose from the events of the preceding fifty years, it found a society prepared to take an active share in many concerns unknown to men of preceding generations or barred to a great part of their number. And though it was still true that only a minority shared this privilege, it was now possible for men to achieve distinction in so many fields that the progress of the middle classes, at least in northern Europe, was but a matter of time in every direction which led to the determination of their destinies. And this, as events were soon to prove, became the next great element in the evolutions of affairs.

II

Among the events which will always make the age of Charles V memorable in history, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation are by far the most conspicuous, and in many respects by far the most important. Beside them even the transition from feudal to national forms of government has seemed to most historians comparatively insignificant, and the development of Europe beyond the sea, with the economic revolution which took place at the same time, scarcely worth more than passing mention. Yet, in the long resolution of events, it is by no means certain that the theological controversies with which so much of the history of the time is chiefly concerned may not come to be regarded

as of scarcely more than antiquarian interest, and even the long coil of war and diplomacy which centered in the Italian peninsula give way in importance to other factors in the life of this great transition period.

Social and
economic
change

Of these, one, in particular, is peculiarly deserving of attention. This is the phase of human existence to which men have agreed to give the name of social and economic,—the routine of every-day life, and those activities which, though they lack the dramatic character of war and intrigue, dynastic ambition and personal adventure, have not only contributed to the existence of mankind, but have formed the foundation of progressive civilization to a greater degree than most of the acts of rulers and statesmen.

In such a field the mid-sixteenth century revealed a Europe so altered from its condition even half a century earlier as to give it the aspect of almost a new world. Not merely in the spiritual and intellectual advance which it had achieved in the preceding hundred years, but in the concerns of daily life which affected every class of society, the continent had experienced a revolution in its status. This had profoundly influenced individual fortunes and in no small degree inspired or modified those movements which, like the Reformation itself, have been looked upon as concerns of the spirit.

The arts
and crafts

First among the changes produced by the shifting balance of thought and practices had been, naturally enough, the improvement in the arts and crafts. It is not the infinite toil of infinite millions which contributes most to the material progress of society, save in that it aids in the accumulation of capital, nor is it even the genius of great leaders of thought which gives the steady impulse to the advance of a progressive material civilization. Somewhere between them lies a group of men gifted with technical skill, whose constant improvement of methods and machines gradually builds up a body of knowledge and a manual dexterity which provides continually improving materials for the uses of mankind. To these are added other forces, the demands of arts and crafts upon each other, the changing fashions of society,

the pressure for greater comfort and luxury, and the consequent insistence of the traders for goods to satisfy these various demands.

As Europe developed in material civilization and in culture during the centuries following the Crusades, these elements came more and more into evidence. Though the middle ages had been unable to produce those masterpieces of Roman masonry which defied the changes of time, though its artisans had forgotten the secret of that tool manufacture which made the Roman pre-eminent in every field of workmanship from dentistry to woodworking, the simpler crafts had gone on through the centuries, improving as they went. And with the greatly increased demands arising from greater knowledge, especially during the fifteenth century, the artisans, no less than the artists, had been stimulated to new models and new methods.

Successive generations of builders had carried on the traditions of their trade and developed them with their successive triumphs in those churches, public buildings, and palaces which make northern Italy still the Mecca of architects, as in those guild-halls, castles, and mansions which housed the nobles and merchant-princes of the north. The art of the goldsmith did not exhaust the creative genius of the metal-workers, for every new craft, as it came into being, made its demands upon that most universal of handicrafts for its tools. With every advance in navigation the demand for shipwrights grew, and their ability augmented. With changing fashion and greater luxury in dress the weavers increased in numbers and in skill. The development of pottery, which was conspicuous in the first half of the sixteenth century; the beginning of watch-making, which dates from the same period; the manufacture of lace, which then began, revealed at once new features in European industry, and the improvement of a society which demanded such products. It is one of the most significant signs of an altering age that the invention of the spinning-wheel is attributed to the same years which saw Protestantism take on its form and name; and that the invention of the wheelbarrow is credited

Artisans

to the painter of the great fresco of the Last Supper, the artist-engineer-scientist, Leonardo da Vinci.

Tools

With such advance the age of the tool-makers began. In the main the hand tools with which all crafts are familiar, the hammer, the saw, the chisel, and the smoothing instruments, were by this time in common use in something of their present forms. Certain rude efforts to use more powerful forces than the human arm had been begun, by wind and especially water-wheels, particularly by the men engaged in grinding grain, and these were slowly taken up by other trades. Crude tilt hammers were devised to work into shape those anchors and artillery appliances beyond the strength of man's unaided strength to shape. The lathe was improved and enlarged to bore out cannon, among other uses; and the improvements associated with the name of the Frenchman, Besson, who issued a manual of lathe building and lathe work in 1569, revealed new processes and new principles. Among these the chief was a device for turning ovals and forms partaking of the principle of the screw—moldings whose axis was at an oblique angle to the main axis of the work—useful not only to the adornment of furniture but to a wide variety of other purposes.

Decline of mediæval crafts

It was inevitable that the progress of the arts and crafts should displace as well as introduce. The Gothic builders tended to disappear with the rise of Renaissance and neo-classic forms. The armorers' skill was lost or transferred to other fields with the extension of the use of gunpowder. The copyists, upon whose handiwork Europe had relied for centuries for the perpetuation of its knowledge found their occupation gone with the development of printing. Yet with all such displacement of the older arts, Europe progressed enormously in her industry during the sixteenth century. A score of professions, a hundred trades sprang up to take the place of those whose usefulness was gone. Canvas-making, whether for the use of the painters or for that of the sail-makers, type-founding and paper-making, press-building and book-binding arose as the manufacture of parchment and the art of the copyist declined. Engraving, with its materials



THE COURTYARD OF A CANNON-FOUNDRY.

After the drawing by Leonardo da Vinci. The device for lifting the cannon is especially noteworthy.



THE "GOLDEN QUADRANT" OF TYCHO BRAHE.

From the frontispiece of his *Astronomiæ Instauratæ Mechanica*, 1598. This great quadrant was used to determine the angle of elevation of stars. The observer is seen at the right, one assistant took the time of the observation, a third recorded the data. Above the astronomer is seen, over his head the celestial globe he invented, on either side of it the portraits of his patrons. In the background are shown above his other instruments and below his students at work. Note the books turned with edges out as in Prince Henry frontispiece. This was customary on account of the clasps injuring the binding of adjacent volumes.

and tools, map-making, and the construction of instruments for astronomical observation and time measurement, the manufacture of firearms and gunpowder, with an infinity of lesser activities, more than supplied the place of the outworn crafts.

Virtually all of this vast, complex, and for the most part anonymous contribution to the welfare and progress of European peoples was due to those classes with no voice in the affairs of state, and, in consequence, no place in history. Yet it was to them, in the last resolution, that the advance of Europe, even in politics, was chiefly due. Not only would the discoveries have been impossible, whatever the daring of navigators, without the artisans who made their voyages possible. The triumphs of the conquerors who followed the explorers would have been inconceivable without the arms and armor with which the craftsmen provided them, and, in no small degree, even the progress of national kingship was stimulated by this same element.

The
"working-
classes"

For it was not alone through patronage of the artists and architects by the upper classes that there came to be some recognition of the dignity and importance of industry by rulers and statesmen. Many generations were to elapse before there was any appreciable decline in the old feeling of distinction between aristocracy and commonalty, based on the feudal difference between the noble service of arms and the ignoble service of work. But with the rise to high position in affairs of the mind and spirit of so many men then reckoned of base birth, with the extraordinary progress of the arts and industries, that open way for the talents which the church almost alone had offered men in the middle ages, began to have new avenues of approach. It was apparent that even public affairs, however jealously guarded as the preserve of noble birth, could not be closed forever to classes capable of such distinction in other fields.

Among these one had already forced its way to the front in Italy, and now began to play a like part in other lands—the merchants to whom the marvelous developments of the preceding hundred years had showed new paths to wealth

The
merchants

and power. For, amid the dramatic events in politics and religion, the concurrent alterations in trade and finance had slowly and almost imperceptibly begun to shift the balance of the continent in social and political no less than economic fields.

Shifting of
economic
balance

1517-

1542

This was particularly evident in the northern states, especially in Germany and the Netherlands. In the century which had just elapsed, the trade currents had shifted until the older commercial capitals no longer played the major part in the affairs which they had once controlled. This circumstance was not wholly due to Portuguese discoveries or Spanish conquest. The progress of Turkish power through Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula, and, still more, its successes against the long line of Venetian and Genoese island and mainland posts through the Levant, had crippled the great commerce which had flowed through Italy. And when, at the moment that Charles V ascended the Spanish throne and Luther began his labors in Germany, the Turks overran Egypt and secured control of Alexandria, the last gateway into the East was barred to Italian enterprise. Thenceforth, though Genoa retained some fragments of her old privileges in the Levantine ports, and Venice collected the fragments of her old commerce, the Portuguese sea-way about Africa remained without a rival in the eastern trade and the Italian cities, finally excluded from its profits, sank into relative commercial insignificance.

Spain and
Germany

But this was not the only, nor perhaps the greatest change effected in these years. Not merely had the trade routes shifted; there were strong indications that the balance of financial, and even political power was to follow the same course. Had Spain and Portugal, with all the wealth they brought from oversea, maintained their home economy unimpaired, they might have become the masters of European finance and politics. But even at the height of Portugal's monopoly of the eastern trade, it was the merchants of the northern nations who reaped the profits of exchanging those products for the necessities of life which their fellow-countrymen produced and of which Portugal found herself in want.

At the crowning-point of Spanish success in America, it was the bankers of central Germany who financed the policies of Charles V, and, owing to the short-sightedness of the land-holders and the development of a huge corporation of wool-growers in Spain, which deprived that nation of its arable land and a more varied industry, it was the artisans and farmers of northern Europe who supplied the mining industry of Spanish America with food and tools. Thus, thanks to the devotion of the Iberian peoples to a single industry, it was to other hands there fell the most enduring rewards for their activity. Lisbon and Seville, indeed, became the *entrepôts* of goods and bullion from non-European lands, and in so far replaced Venice and Genoa. But what the Italian cities had once been, Frankfort and Augsburg and Nuremberg, Antwerp and Amsterdam became—centers not only of commerce but of capital, and leaders in every field of trading and financial enterprise. The case of Nuremberg is typical. It grew up about a castle built in the eleventh century, and by imperial favor, no less than its situation and the energy of its citizens, grew rapidly in wealth and population. It lay on the highway between Italy and north Europe. Its art and architecture became the model for Germany; and it was the home of the great Meistersinger, Hans Sachs, as of the artist Dürer. It was remarkable for its inventions, for to it is attributed the discovery of brass, and the art of wire-drawing, the first air guns and gunlocks, terrestrial and celestial globes, and the earliest watches, "Nuremberg eggs." But its position was weakened by the Portuguese discoveries, and the diversion of its trade and enterprise to other cities was typical of the great change then impending in Europe.

This leadership fell first from Italian into German hands, Germany and it was not due wholly to the wealth drawn from Spain and Portugal. From early times the North Sea fisheries, the trade with Russia and with Scandinavia, with England and the farther north, had brought its profits and enriched the cities of the Hanseatic League, Bremen and Lübeck and Hamburg, in particular. As the fifteenth century proceeded,

that trading confederation had declined before the rivalry of states whose people, like the English, took commerce into their own hands. But German enterprise found compensation in other fields. The silver mines in the Tyrol, in Salzburg and Bohemia, the copper of Hungary, the iron forges of Thuringia, the varied mineral wealth of the Harz and the Erzgebirge, enriched the declining supply of precious metals of the continent, and enabled the enterprising merchants of central Germany to increase their holdings and so finance still greater adventures. To this was added the development of manufactures, especially those of weaving and metal-work. In such fashion, at the same time that new centers of like activity in Italy, among which Florence was the chief, turned to trade with north African ports, and to the arts and crafts which brought them wealth and power, Augsburg, Frankfort, Nuremberg, and their neighbors in central Germany rose to European stature in finance and industry.

The age of
capital

As their wealth increased the merchant class embarked on various ventures, financed voyages to Asia and America, opened new mines in the old world and the new, loaned money to sovereigns, provided capital for every enterprise which promised profit, and so were gradually transformed into bankers and financiers. With the rise of great accumulations of capital, and, above all, of a body of men skilled in commercial operations, there emerged an element whose wealth and ability contributed more to the communities in which they lived than all the conquests of the Iberian powers. The day of the soldier had reached its prime; as the age of capital came on, the day of the merchant-banker began to dawn; and to its coming the vast increase of bullion from the Spanish colonies contributed. For that capital was inevitably drawn throughout the continent by the inexorable laws of mercantile exchange to which the false economy of Spain and Portugal contributed.

It did still more; for, joined to the rapid development of a higher scale of living, especially in the cities, and the demands of a more complex society as the sixteenth century advanced, it raised prices. And this, in turn, reacted in

an infinite variety of ways. The ambitions of princes like Francis and Charles, with their extravagance, laid heavier burdens on their taxable subjects, the landlord classes. These, in turn, oppressed their tenants, inclosed the common lands, demanded money as well or in the place of service or of kind; and thus helped to precipitate a revolution in the social order. Among the complaints of the revolting German peasants, this grievance was continually in evidence; in the innumerable disturbances of the succeeding century which gradually revolutionized society, the substitution of a money economy for service or exchange in kind played a great part. And, closely bound up with this far-reaching change, another element, which was its peculiar product, began to take a still greater share in the affairs of Europe.

This was the development of finance. The phenomenon Finance was not new, for by the beginning of the fifteenth century Italy had already laid the foundations of her fortune in trade. Apart from the commerce which her position brought, the Crusades had vastly stimulated her development. Her merchant vessels were used as transports; she sold supplies, financed adventurers, and from the increased connection between East and West drew fresh profits, till she had become not merely the mistress of Mediterranean trade, but a great reservoir of capital. Her merchants became financiers, and, like the Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence, loaned money to princes as widely separated as the kings of England and Sicily. As the years went on, they became rulers in fact, even in name. Such, to take one instance of many, was the history of the Medici.

Building on this, by the natural development of credit Banking and capital, there arose a system of banking in the chief cities of the peninsula. First came the mere bank of deposit, thence emerged the function of loaning money. And, as the prejudice against interest or usury gave way before the insistent demands of business and politics, that branch of economic activity passed from the hands of Jews, who had monopolized its profits as long as the church had frowned upon the practice. Money was recognized as a commodity,

like wood or steel, and it became legitimate to make a profit on its use.

Thence, following the practice of the Florentines who made that city the financial center of Europe for so many years, Venice and Genoa established banks, backed by their merchants, which became virtually the masters of the state; and these became the prototypes for all Europe. With the advance of capital to the north this same development followed in due course, now vastly reinforced by Spain's bullion. The store of precious metals grew by leaps and bounds, the scale of operations correspondingly increased, and, as the sixteenth century advanced, the northern merchants, like their predecessors of the south, became, if not territorial rulers, at least considerable factors in public affairs.

The
Fuggers

Nothing can better illustrate this process than the rise of the great German family of Fugger, which, by the middle of the sixteenth century, personified the triumph of capital in the northern states. Its founder, a weaver near Augsburg, left at his death in 1409 a fortune considerable for those days of some three thousand gulden. His son, in turn, increased that sum, moved to Augsburg, and there became the head of the guild of weavers. Of his three sons one continued the family business with eminent success, one made another fortune in the mines of the Tyrol, loaned the Archduke of Austria no less than 150,000 florins, and built a splendid castle, the Fuggerau. All three married ladies of noble family and were themselves ennobled by the Emperor, Maximilian, to whom they loaned no less than a quarter of a million florins. By the beginning of the sixteenth century two representatives remained in the business, which, following the great discoveries, had spread to the remotest corners of the European world. They financed Charles V's campaign against the Lutherans and his crusade against Algiers; they became bankers to the Pope; they even undertook the "farming," or contract for the sale of indulgences in Germany.

They were raised to the dignity of counts; and when the younger died in 1560 his estate was reckoned at six million

gold crowns, besides vast properties in Europe, Asia, and America. It was of them that Charles V spoke when, on being shown the royal treasure of France, he observed that he had among his subjects a weaver of Augsburg whose wealth surpassed that of the French monarch. Nor were they mere getters of money. Their philanthropy and their patronage of art were equally remarkable; and like the Medici, they contributed no less to the progress of politics and society than to the economic development of the European world.

The Fuggers were but the greatest of a great class then spreading northward through the continent. They still were merchant-bankers; not until the years preceding the Armada was the first public bank, within our meaning of the word, founded at Venice. But the great change was on its way. Twenty years later Amsterdam took up the principle, and though for a century more the private merchant-banker or goldsmith remained the chief financial power of Europe, the principle was established. As he contributed to the ambitions of the absolute princes, his monopoly was early attacked by lower classes who attributed to him that rise in prices and that tendency of wealth to concentrate in a few hands, which was only in part due to the shrewdness of these men who took advantage of a general movement of which they were themselves a product. The age of barter and exchange was giving way to that of money as rapidly as Europe obtained sufficient specie to effect the change. And as the old system tended to disappear, the whole fabric of society, unconscious and largely ignorant of the causes which lay behind the phenomena affecting its existence, found every fiber of that existence modified by the economic revolution thus produced.

Public
banks

With the development of capitalism was closely bound up a profound change in the system of industry. The guilds which had overspread the greater part of western Europe by the thirteenth century had gradually declined after that period of ascendancy. The organizations of masters tended to become more or less hereditary and more exclusive. The

Industry

journeymen, whose ambitions to become masters were thus limited, organized their own associations more closely, and as the fifteenth century went on came more and more into conflict with the masters. It was, indeed, long before either form of organization gave way entirely before new systems, but, while the older guilds reached their climax in the thirteenth, so the journeymen attained their highest development in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, although each maintained its existence in some form, each declined in numbers and influence till they no longer played any considerable part in European industry.

Capitalism
and
industry

Their functions were gradually absorbed by the new form of productive and distributing organization which had risen to prominence in the preceding hundred years, and by the middle of the sixteenth century was coming to dominate manufacturing,—the so-called domestic or putting-out system. The arrangement which divided and specialized the processes of making and selling goods was in line with the tendencies in the intellectual fields. Whatever its defects, it became apparent that a plan which provided a middleman, skilled in buying raw material, finding markets, employing labor, and furnishing capital, while leaving the actual production to those equally skilled in their crafts, was superior to the old-fashioned guild-master who was at once an artisan and a man of business. The guild system, however well adapted to an age when the source of supply, and, in particular, the market was relatively limited, came to be more and more out of place with the widening area and greater scope of operations. The growth of capital, like the increasing demand for goods, necessitated such a transformation. Save in certain trades like glass-making and iron-working, which were restricted by problems of supply of raw materials and a more intensive process of manufacture, this development, moreover, contributed to the solution of that greater density of population, which, with the growth of cities whose area was constricted by their walls, was becoming a matter of some concern.

For under the new organization the promoter or employer was able to put out the process of manufacture over a considerable area, and was not, like the old guild master, confined to production under one roof. Moreover, he was soon able, by his supply of capital, to buy and sell to better advantage by taking advantage of the market to accumulate a larger stock. Finally, the new system became a powerful influence toward that individualism which marked the progress from the relatively greater communal principles that characterized the middle ages. It differentiated more sharply capital from labor, it tended to destroy the personal bond between employer and employee, master and apprentice, and to substitute for it the impersonal relationship which has become the mark of modern industrialism. These results were not yet accomplished; and not until the rise of the factory system were they fully in evidence. But by the middle of the sixteenth century they had begun to show themselves in something of the form which later generations were to develop. And, by laying stress upon process rather than finished product, they began to create classes of specialists in various branches of labor, which, again, was to become one of the dominating features of modern industry.

It was inevitable that as capitalism made its way into European life, it should profoundly influence every department of society. Though few or none of the greater European states followed the example of Florence and sanctioned the accession of a merchant-prince to the headship of public affairs, there was not one in which the emergence of a capitalistic element did not affect both public and private policy. The most immediate effect of the financial revolution was naturally felt in those quarters whose older organization was most directly concerned with the developments in the field of industry—the guilds. They were essentially provincial in their character, bound, for the most part, to the localities in which they were situated, and connected with the outside world by traveling merchants who made their way from town to town, and fair to fair. It was apparent

Capitalism
and the
guilds

from the first that a system like that of capitalistic enterprises, bound to no one locality and to no single line of industry, had an advantage over the guilds, with their limited output and still more limited facilities for marketing their products. Thus it was not long before these old organizations were forced to alter their status or retire from competition. In the main they adopted one of two alternatives. They became capitalistic, and were transformed into a species of corporation, composed in many instances of those same men who had turned from the old order to the new—or they remained merely local industries, subordinated to the greater currents of commerce. Little by little they tended to disappear, and, save as curious survivals of the past, another century found in active existence few of those extraordinary organisms which had dominated the industrial life of the middle ages.

Capitalism
and labor

Still more remarkable was the influence of capital upon the agricultural laborer, for its pervasive power combined with other elements to begin a revolution in the social as well as the economic status of those districts into which it made its way. In the main Europe was still organized, during the fifteenth century, on feudal lines, but to this there were striking exceptions. The Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt in England toward the close of the fourteenth century had dealt a serious blow to serfdom, and in many parts of the continent an altering standard of life or more enlightened interest had begun to weaken the hold of lords upon their tenants. To this the development of cities contributed, for the guilds, scarcely less than the church, had offered a means of escape from serfdom to the more enterprising or more fortunate peasant who found refuge within their liberties. With the progress of commerce, and especially of manufacturing, the cities grew, and with them the opportunities for free labor developed. The demand for workers produced a supply drawn from many sources, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the town-dwelling laboring population had increased considerably. At the same time the gradual substitution of payment in money rather than kind

and the
towns

or service tended to loosen the bond between landlord and tenant, as the decline of the feudal principle, with the development of the power of the king, tended to the same end. Thus, while the age of capital had as its first result the greater oppression of the peasant classes through the increased demands of their superiors for greater revenue, it gradually relieved more and more individuals from the feudal yoke.

If the rise of the house of Fugger typifies the altering status of the individual, the almost concurrent development of the city of Antwerp illustrates the changing conditions of commerce, and, in some degree, of the life of Europe during these momentous years. However favorably situated for the foundation of fortunes central Germany had been during the fifteenth century, it had one great disadvantage as the sixteenth century came on. The decline of the Italian ports and the rise of Spain and Portugal seriously injured those old lines of commerce which had flowed across the Alps and down the Rhine. If those fortunes were to live, still more if they were to increase, access to the sea was a necessity. In consequence, German capital sought a new outlet for its investments. Led apparently by the Augsburg merchant-bankers, the Germans followed the Venetians to Antwerp. There in the last quarter of the fifteenth century the Fuggers and Welsers and their fellows prepared to share the commerce of the world. The city authorities welcomed them, bought out the toll-rights of the landowners along the Scheldt, threw open their trading privileges to men of all nations, and made Antwerp at once a free port and a perpetual fair. More than this, it became, as a natural result of its commerce and policy, not only the chief center of the trade between Lisbon and the northern ports, but the great money market for the northern continent. For its more liberal policy soon gave it pre-eminence over those neighbors which, like Bruges, had earlier divided the prosperity of the Netherlands. Thence the principles of trade which made its fortune tended to be transmitted to other communities, to the Dutch Netherlands, where Amsterdam rose gradually

to almost equal eminence, to England, and to the greater cities of France.

Capitalism,
classes,
and na-
tionality

Now that capital had proved itself fluid, it produced two series of phenomena of great importance to Europe at home and beyond the sea. One was the development of classes of laborers and employers, no longer bound by the old ties of guild and local authority. This reacted in politics, for it became increasingly apparent to rulers that it was necessary to take into account the interests of every element of society if the state was to flourish. And, as the Italian city-states had long since begun that process of encouraging different industries within the same area and interdependent one upon the other, as some cities had even gone so far as to control the food supply in the interests of the community, so now the national kingships made the beginnings of organizing their dominions to the same end. By this extension of city economy to national economy they emphasized that spirit of common interest which operated powerfully to bring and hold the nations together, and so added another source of strength to the nationalizing tendency. As in religion, they substituted a unity in diversity for the communal unity in conformity of the middle ages.

Capitalism
and the
extra-
European
world

The influence of capital was not confined to the continent, nor to that class which now began to challenge the long domination of the landed interest. It sought investments not only in Europe itself, but in the most distant lands to which her adventurous sons had carried her influence. It had long since begun to finance voyages to the East and West. In America the investments of the Fuggers and Welsers were considerable, and to the latter house was even granted a certain sovereignty in the region about Coro. Mines and plantations, no less than voyages, enlisted the interest of the capitalists, as they began to demonstrate the possibility of profit, and another generation was to see that interest increase to the point where capital rather than adventure took the main part in the development of lands beyond the sea. In the meantime, that region had begun to react in many other ways upon old world society.

It was now fifty years since Columbus had found the transatlantic passage and the lands that lay beyond, and a quarter of a century since Luther had defied the Pope. The generation which had seen a new world revealed to it was gone: the generation which had seen the old ecclesiasticism thus challenged was passing. Asia, Africa, America, the Atlantic and the Pacific were no longer marvelous; like the doctrines of Protestantism they were now a part of European knowledge and experience. Europe had outgrown the Mediterranean and the coasting stage of her career and entered on the oceanic age; as she had begun to abandon the age of unity for that of diversity of faith. As yet only the nations bordering on the Atlantic had sought the New World, and only two of them had achieved material results. As yet only parts of the northern peoples had been affected by Protestantism, and its doctrines had not made way outside the continent. But the balance of European thought and power had already begun to shift as Europe's horizon widened with the changing political, economic, and intellectual influences then busily at work, till every nation felt something of the colonial impulse, as every nation had been touched by the reforming movements in and out of the church. Portugal and Spain had done more than conquer and grow rich, they had altered the face of the world and the balance of its affairs. The reformers had done more than establish communions in opposition to the old establishment; they had powerfully reinforced the movement which led to the emancipation of the intellect from authority; and they had stimulated to an extraordinary degree that form of individualism which was so characteristic of the new age of commerce and capital.

Europe
and the
extra-
European
world

What, then, was the status and influence of the wider field on which Europe, under these new impulses at home, was about to play a greater part than had thus far been vouchsafed her in the world's affairs? The expansion of Portugal and Spain had not been, indeed, the transfer of their own social structure to their new domains, but rather the exploitation of those territories by a ruling caste. For this

Spain and
Portugal

there were two reasons: the first was royal influence, the second, national conditions. From the beginning both states had looked askance at unrestricted emigration as at unrestricted trade; for each the royal permission was requisite, and it was not easy to obtain. At the same time, few of the causes which produce an exodus—excess of population, decline of home resources, religious or political persecution—had much affected Spain or Portugal. Their population was not dense, no economic crisis drove them out, and persecuted classes were forbidden to emigrate. There was, in consequence, no unimpeded current from all orders of society flowing out, and the earliest communities formed by the Europeans in other lands were widely different from those they knew at home.

Character
of their
expansion

Their motives, in fact, lay rather in the realms of adventure and religion, royal and national and personal ambitions, and were chiefly a product of the upper class. It was an age of war; and soldiers, not merchants, had led the way to East and West. It was an age of faith; and, from Henry the Navigator to Pizarro, the crusading spirit was in evidence. It was an age of national kingship; and every conqueror struck for the profit of his sovereign as for his own. It was pre-eminently an age of royalty, nobility, clergy, and it was those elements which chiefly won and enjoyed the new inheritance. In trading, as in planting colonies, officials, soldiers, landlords, and even merchants were recruited from the upper classes. There was no peasantry, only slaves or serfs or tribute-yielding communities. But in one respect European civilization was set back centuries; for slavery, which had all but disappeared upon the continent, was revived in certain quarters there, and generally throughout the colonies, to an extent scarcely experienced since the fall of Rome.

Moreover, there was little of that slow conquest of the soil and expulsion of the inhabitants which marks the advance of a freehold society, multiplying as it goes from its own land or loins, till it has replaced the original population with its own homogeneous race of every rank of life. Emi-

nently fitted for conquest, the conquerors were ill adapted to build up such a society. They knew and cared for little beyond their own fortunes: they were a handful among the conquered. For purposes of protection, society, or trade, in consequence, they concentrated in the towns they found or founded. Having won empires by a daring stroke, they held them by a chain of garrisons. With them authority came wholly from above; the bureaucracy was supreme; and, save in a few places, they laid no foundations for enduring supremacy. Their language, faith, and institutions spread, but no full-blooded powerful Spanish or Portuguese race, like that of the English in later times, was established beyond the sea. Perhaps this would have been impossible. Their empires were largely tropical; the lands best fitted for a temperate agricultural society were long ignored in their pursuit of sudden wealth. And while experience has gone to prove that European power in such latitudes must finally depend upon such forces as they used, it has revealed, as well, the instability of such power as theirs, once the controlling hand is weakened or removed.

Great as were the resemblances between their empires, the contrasts have seemed, to most men, greater still, since Spain's power rested on territory, Portugal's on trade. The differences, it has been assumed, lay largely in the peoples and conditions that each met, since Asia's teeming millions afforded as little space for colonies as the more slightly peopled regions of America afforded trade. Yet in this earlier period there was need of a world of men for Spanish no less than Portuguese ambitions. With slight exceptions, the Spaniards took small account of sparsely settled lands; what Calicut and Diu were to their rivals, Mexico and Peru were to them, and their energies were spent far less on the cultivation of the soil than on the exploitation of its peoples and its wealth. The real difference lay deeper. Had Portugal been possessed of greater power she might have taken part in Indian politics, invaded the interior, and perhaps anticipated by two centuries the European occupation of the peninsula. Had Spain not been distracted by foreign wars,

Their
differences

had she been filled with men eager to find homes in the new world, she might have occupied those lands best fitted for European settlement and set up New Spain in the Americas. But the genius of Portugal lay toward the sea, Spain's was all landward; and both were filled with the spirit of chivalry rather than that of commerce or colonization. In widely different fields this rivalry worked out to widely different ends, by not dissimilar means, each in its own environment, and each determined largely by conditions at home no less than those it found abroad.

Their
effect on
the non-
European
world

What, then, was their effect on the non-European world? The answer is significant, not alone for this but for all periods. Even had Portugal become the ruling territorial power in the East, it is not probable she could have imposed her faith and civilization on its peoples to the extent Spain influenced the new world. That she so failed was due to no superior tenderness on her part; for it is probable that the losses she inflicted on the East were quite as great as those Spain visited on America, and, if Europeanizing be regarded as desirable, to far less purpose. But her comparative weakness, coupled with indifference to all but material ends, made small impression on the huge weight of Oriental forces against her, and to them she brought little or nothing. On the other hand, if Spaniards conquered and oppressed America, they made a great return. Teeming with life, the West was curiously lacking in domestic animals, its range of fruits and vegetables was narrow; and, from the first, Spanish administration and individuals labored to remedy these deficiencies. Horses and cattle, donkeys, swine, sheep, and poultry were introduced, with garden vegetables, lemons and oranges, vines, olives, silkworms and mulberries, flax and grains. As time went on the conquerors brought, besides, the products of Asia, sugar, coffee, indigo. The use of iron, gunpowder, the improvement of industrial and mechanical arts, the infinite devices of a more highly civilized society, all these increased the material bases of life in the New World. And more: the intellectual achievements of European society, however distorted by the medium through

which they were introduced, however slowly penetrating the masses, were destined to bring some recompense to the West for the spoliation and suffering which it endured. The effect on population was no less marked. For, like the Portuguese and over far wider areas, the Spanish intermarried with the natives, till, within a century, there had arisen what was virtually a new race between the relatively few of pure European blood and the masses of natives. These *mestizos*, so-called, thus added another element, and one of importance, to swell the results of Spanish conquest.

On the other hand, America, apart from gold, silver, and precious stones, cotton, tobacco, cocoa, and, later, drugs like quinine, contributed little to her conquerors. Her staple, Indian corn or maize, like her chief fruit, bananas, took no hold on European palates. Not for centuries was her cotton much used; and cocoa, with tobacco, and presently the potato, long remained her only considerable contributions to old world resources. Asia's additions, on the contrary, were almost incalculable. With its spices, drugs, cottons, silks, gold, ivory, rare woods, jewels and handiwork, pigments of all sorts, coffee and tea, new forms of animal life, horses, poultry, and new plants, it contributed to the material no less than the intellectual advance of European civilization.

The effect
of Asia
and
America
on Europe

In politics the effect was not dissimilar. America, with all its suffering under Spanish rule, found greater peace than when subject to constant wars between the native tribes; and, however slight the change in oppression under new masters, in general a more regular government set the people on the path to higher levels. On the other hand, Portugal was rather Orientalized than her possessions Europeanized, in morals, if not in forms of government. Thus each brought from the older or more stable civilization to the newer, the greater contributions. At the same time each became the means by which Europe drew to itself the resources of other continents. She became at once a repository and a clearing-house of products and ideas from the entire world, and this result, which was then impossible to men of other lands, gave

her an impetus and a supremacy which she has since maintained. Thus, as the mid-sixteenth century approached, her people found wide fields for further enterprise and unparalleled resources on which to draw, as, from their complex activity emerged the earliest phases of a modern world.

Finally the effect of the discoveries joined with that of humanism to revolutionize the recording of human actions scarcely less than it affected those actions themselves. The ecclesiastical monopoly of history which had been almost unchallenged from the days of Eusebius and Orosius was destroyed. Annals and chronicles tended to disappear before a historiography which took cognizance of cause and effect. Men of affairs began to replace churchmen as historians. The new world found its chroniclers, and to the list of historians were added names like Peter Martyr, Oviedo, las Casas, de Gomara, Herrera and Garcillasso de la Vega. The new history, first descriptive, then speculative, inspired by the novel subject of man in a "state of nature," filled with new ideas as well as new information, typified the age which produced it; for it not only reflected its actions but viewed the past in a new light.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. 1542-1563

WHEN, in that momentous pause which followed Luther's refusal to recant his doctrines before the Diet of Worms, Germany stood half astounded, half triumphant, at his temerity; while the Papal nuncio drew up an edict against the daring heretic; the Emperor's secretary, Valdez, wrote prophetically: "Here you have, as some imagine, the end of this tragedy, but I am persuaded it is not the end but the beginning of it. . . . This evil might have been cured . . . had not the Pope refused a general council. . . . But while he insists that Luther shall be condemned and burned, I see the whole Christian republic hurried to destruction unless God himself help us." Whatever the relative responsibility of Pope and Emperor for that repressive policy, the history of the two decades which ensued had been a full confirmation of Valdez' prophecy. In that brief period the revolt against Papal authority had overspread the greater part of Teutonic Europe, and threatened to invade those chief strongholds of the faith, the Romance nations. Western Christendom was now divided against itself, and it was evident that only drastic measures would enable the Papacy to retain even the power that remained to it. It was no less evident that its old weapons had been blunted, that condemnation and the stake were no longer efficacious; that excommunication, interdict, and anathema had lost their force. Single-handed, the Pope was no match for the heretics; and, however reluctantly, the church was summoned to his aid.

The result
of Luther's
challenge

1521

Twenty-one years, almost to a day, after Valdez penned his famous prophecy, therefore, Paul III, fearing the Emperor might anticipate him in calling a meeting of ecclesi-

Summons
to the
Council
of Trent
1542

astical authorities, issued a summons for a general council to meet at Trent in the Tyrol. It was an epoch-making period. Spain and Portugal had just attained their widest limits; the former was issuing her great colonial code, the latter was sponsoring the advent of the Jesuits into the extra-European world. On the continent, Charles V had lost Hungary and failed in his crusade against Algiers, and was now entering upon his fifth war against Francis I, while in his German dominions his Protestant subjects were organizing that so-called League of Schmalkald which was presently to play a great part in Reformation history. In England Henry VIII had just beheaded his fifth wife and was entering upon that conflict with Scotland which ended in the death of the Scotch king and the accession of his daughter Mary, Queen of Scots. More important still to the development of Europe than royal wars or marriage or divorce, in distant Poland, Copernicus was seeing through the press his work on the revolution of celestial bodies, destined to have an influence upon theology even more profound than the great assembly now about to meet.

Its
purpose

The Council of Trent, none the less, remains a landmark in the ecclesiastical development of Europe, not merely for what it accomplished but for the circumstances which accompanied and in no small degree determined its activities. When it finally came together at the solicitation of the Emperor, who felt the urgent need of church reform in his dominions, it was apparent that the time had arrived for determined action if the church was to be preserved. Whether, as Valdez and many others believed, its earlier meeting would have checked the disruptive forces then at work, or turned them to the uses of the establishment, those forces had now gained strength which even a church council could not well ignore. The last of such assemblies to which all western Europe was summoned, it was the closing chapter of an old régime, for the Council of Trent faced a revolt which compelled it to review the whole fabric of the Christian church. Its history, thus powerfully influenced by the political events which accompanied its long and chequered

career, illustrates with peculiar force the complex period in which it fell.

The summons to the council was issued in 1542, but its first real meeting was not held for three years thereafter; and to that there came only some forty ecclesiastics, chiefly Spaniards and Italians. In consequence the Protestants refused to recognize it as a real ecumenical council. Nor was this all. The Emperor's chief object in urging a council was the consideration of reforms within the church itself; but to its members the most important problem seemed the challenge of Lutheran and Calvinist; and in consequence they proceeded to debate not abuses and conciliation but dogma. Thus early was statesmanship subordinated to theology.

Its first
meeting

1545

In no small degree the first meeting was typical of the whole council. The political as well as the religious situation of German affairs compelled an adjournment to Bologna. The Protestants sent delegates. But another turn in the imperial fortunes again transferred the council to Trent; and, after numerous sessions at intervals during some eighteen years and the final secession of the Protestants, the assembly was dissolved. The net result was what might have been expected under the circumstances. The chief strength of the members was spent on issues of theology, and the Papal contention prevailed. Discussion on revelation was followed by fierce debate upon the great and decisive question of justification; and in this the tendency was to uphold without reserve the Roman doctrine, to put it broadly, of justification by works, progressive and dependent on the sacraments, as against the Protestant dogma of justification by faith.

Its history

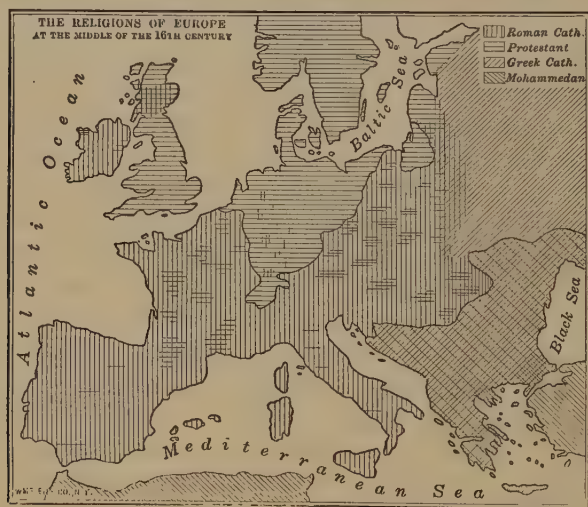
1547

1563

To this, in the course of the two decades which elapsed between the first summons and the dissolution of the council, were added other and no less important elements. The first was the full recognition of the Society of Jesus. The second was the revival and extension of the Holy Office or Inquisition, whose supreme tribunal was established at Rome, and whose agents or inquisitors were appointed to search out and extirpate heresy in every land, "above all toward Cal-

Its work

vinists." The third was the establishment of a catalogue of books, which the faithful were forbidden to read, the *Index Expurgatorius*, which carried the principles and practices of the Inquisition into the field of letters. Besides these still, the council reinforced the efforts of the Papacy, to strengthen the position of the church in other particulars. The doctrines of purgatory, of the sacraments, the invocation of the saints, and of indulgences were reaffirmed with new strength and precision. Doubtful interpretations were replaced with definite dogma; and uniformity of faith and practice established to a degree hitherto unknown. And though nothing was done to affect the position or the prerogatives of the Pope or the cardinals, which, in no small



c. 1550

degree, had been the occasion of the chief discontent with the establishment, strict measures were taken to strengthen the bishops' authority, to enforce a more rigid discipline upon the lesser clergy, and to check the abuse of so-called pluralities. At the same time, largely under Jesuit influence, the church embarked upon a far-reaching scheme of clerical education. It was decreed that in each diocese there should be established a seminary or college for the training of those

entering the service of the church; and for the general enforcement of this policy there was provided for the first time an adequate supply of men properly equipped for ecclesiastical office. This served many purposes. It removed the reproach of illiteracy, long leveled against the lower clergy in particular. It did much to sharpen the distinction between clergy and laity and improved the efficiency, the discipline, and the *esprit de corps* of the ecclesiastical body. And, supplemented by the rigid enforcement of celibacy, which further differentiated churchmen from laymen, it became at once the most practical result of the council and the step which most separated the church from the forces making for modernism. Stronger, if narrower, "the Catholic Church of the West was transformed into the Church of Rome," and the Counter-Reformation, as it came to be called, formally took its place in European affairs in opposition to the Protestant Revolt. And the authority of the Papacy, immensely strengthened by its success in turning the council to its own advantage, finally attained that almost absolute supremacy in the Roman church which it has never lost.

Thus the church, through the council, defied changes from without; and though accepting many of the newer agencies developed within its own ranks, she made compromise with the Protestants impossible. Thenceforth there were but two alternatives for the adherents of the new communions, to surrender or to fight. That choice to all intents had been made even before the council had finished its long deliberations, since, apart from their own stand, concrete events outside the shadowy realm of speculation over free-will and predestination, faith and works, and the intent of God toward man, had gone far to determine the future of fact and theory alike. For, in that interval, religion had become a main concern of politics.

That circumstance, which was an inevitable outgrowth of the developments of the time, marks the beginning of a great epoch of European history, the era of religious wars, which was to endure for a full century. Between Luther's defiance of the Papacy and the meeting of the Council of Trent,

Its result

The religious wars and the extension of civil authority

nearly a generation had elapsed. During that period the continent had been rent by international rivalry and theological dispute as never before in its history. But thus far those destructive forces had not been fully combined, partly because the greater rulers were still nominally Catholic, partly because of danger from the Turk, and, perhaps more largely, because the Vatican still claimed the sole right to determine ecclesiastical questions, and the balance as yet hung undetermined among conservative, reformer, and revolutionist. But while the council debated, two developments in the world of politics altered the whole situation. The one was the encroachment of rulers upon the field of church affairs, the other was the progress of those forces of political and social readjustment which found expression in the oncoming race of sovereigns.

The
progress
of civil
authority

For Protestantism in its narrower sense was not the only foe to the old order thus marshaling its forces to the fight. The controversies of the preceding decades had already brought another element into the fray. This was the transfer of men's allegiance from clerical to civil authority. Beside the Papal assertion of divine origin for its supremacy had appeared the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Against the priestly claim to be the keepers of men's consciences there had arisen a demand for personal independence in matters spiritual. In the minds of men who held such views as these the Pope was no longer the sole arbiter of Europe in religion, the church no longer the sole repository of true faith. As a natural result, kings, states, communities, and even individuals had begun to assume functions long held as church prerogatives. And, as feudal and imperial power tended to decline; as changing economic conditions bred a middle class, which sheltered itself against aristocratic domination beneath the growing power of absolute kingship; as knowledge increased and was diffused among the people at large; there came a readjustment of the relations and the authority of church and state alike. In consequence politics took form and color from the altering spirit of the times no less than from the actual situation of affairs; and the period which

began with the Council of Trent revealed a new temper no less than new events.

Its most conspicuous example was to be found in England. England
There the activity of Henry VIII had not merely broken her connection with the Papacy, undermined the economic basis of the old church by dissolution of the monasteries, and separated the nation from Roman control. It had bred a nobility of "new men," whose wealth was derived in large measure from the spoils of the church, and whose position was dependent on the favor of the crown. At the same time it had enabled the doctrines of the reformed communions, in particular those of the Calvinists, to spread more rapidly. When, two years after the Council met, Henry VIII died, Somerset became Protector and the boy-prince Edward VI became king, these elements triumphed. Somerset presently fell, but under his successors, now, like the young monarch, avowedly Protestant, the final breach was made. A new church was organized, with a new liturgy, modeled on that of Rome, but doctrinally Protestant, and England was thus ranged on the side of the Reformed communion at the same moment that the Council of Trent condemned the rebellious heretics. 1547

This was not the end of the struggle. Edward's short reign was followed by that of his sister, Mary the Catholic, 1553 the wife of Charles V's son, Philip of Spain; and her accession saw the beginning of the effort to roll back the tide. The Protestants were suppressed and persecuted; their liturgy condemned; its author, Archbishop Cranmer, with many others, burned at the stake; and an attempt made to restore not merely the faith but the confiscated property of the church to its old footing. Such forcible measures roused bitter opposition. The "blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church," the holders of ecclesiastical lands were alienated; and only Mary's death saved England from reaction or civil war.

The accession of her sister, Elizabeth, determined the conflict finally in favor of the Protestants. New acts of supremacy and uniformity gave the Church of England the 1558

sanction of the Parliament; and a new liturgy, like that of Edward, Roman in form but Protestant in doctrine, provided it with spiritual garb. The older organization revised to fit its altered character was preserved, and, thus endowed, the Church of England took its stand beside the Lutheran and Calvinist creations in opposition to the Roman establishment. At the same time the fiery zeal of John Knox carried the Calvinistic doctrines from Geneva to Scotland, there to found that branch of Protestantism known as Presbyterian. And, despite the opposition of the adherents of the old faith in both kingdoms, which was to be productive of long disturbances, all Britain was thus added to the ranks of the Reformed communions, though Ireland remained all but untouched by their influences.

France

1547

But England, though she presently became the focus of a new international situation, was not alone in the political and religious complexities which characterized these mid-decades of the sixteenth century. France, under Henry II, who succeeded Francis I in the same year that Edward VI became king of England, went far on the road to Calvinism as the rising power of the so-called Huguenots became a factor in her history. Like his father, Henry made war on Charles V, but with more success; like him he came to blows with England and Spain; and had he lived, France might have found a better solution of her religious problem. But his untimely death, which brought to the throne in quick succession the sixteen-year-old Francis II and the still younger Charles IX, threw affairs into the hands of their mother, the Queen Dowager, Catherine de Medici. Under her malign influence the nation drifted to civil war, and a disastrous rivalry between the Catholic house of Guise and the Protestant house of Bourbon, with all its bloody consequences.

1559

Meanwhile, what John Knox called "this monstrous regiment of women" who directed the fate of nations in this eventful period, was increased by Margaret of Parma, appointed regent of the Netherlands, and by Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the wife of Francis II of France, whose death a year after his accession had left the French crown

in possession of the boy Charles IX. To her titles she added 1560
a claim to the throne of England, which, joined to her
adherence to the Roman church, was destined to lead three
nations into war and bring to her the fate which makes her
one of the great tragic figures in history.

Thus, while the new communions challenged the dominance
of their older rival, by whom they were condemned, while
every northern state from France to Poland, divided against
itself upon religious lines, and the European map became
defined, in large degree, by theological boundaries, the
Franco-Hapsburg rivalry merged into a larger and a more
complex issue.

The first developments in this new conflict were found Germany
in Germany, whose affairs, meanwhile, had run a spectacular
course. To the early disturbances which had accompanied
the Lutheran revolt had succeeded the transfer of the con- 1532-42
troversy to the imperial diet; and there had ensued, after
the Peace of Nuremberg, ten years of virtual tolerance, in
face of the perpetual danger from the Turks. That period
the reformers had improved. The rulers of Brandenburg
and ducal Saxony had been converted to their cause. A
Protestant duke had been restored in Würtemberg. Bruns-
wick had been conquered and added to the ranks of the
new communion; and the Schmalkaldic League had increased
in numbers and activity. These were phenomena which the
Emperor could not witness with equanimity. And when the
Archbishop Elector of Cologne, like many of his brethren,
was reported to be considering a course like that of Albert
of Hohenzollern, which would change his faith, turn his
lands into a secular fief, and thus give the Protestants a
majority in the Electoral College itself, Charles deemed it
high time to intervene.

Scarcely had he concluded the Treaty of Crespy which The
brought to an end his fourth war with Francis I, and agreed Schmal-
with the French king to take joint action against the kaldic War
heretics, when he turned upon the German Protestants. He 1546-
won over their ablest leader, Duke Maurice of Saxony, sum-
moned Spanish and Italian troops to his aid, and fell upon

the forces of the Schmalkaldic League, which had been collected to support the Protestant interest. The contest was short and decisive. The armies of the League were overthrown, their commanders, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, were made prisoners, Maurice was rewarded with an electorate, and Charles became the master of Germany in fact as in name.

His triumph was short-lived; for scarcely was it achieved when his allies deserted him. At the same moment the death of Francis I brought Henry II to the French throne and Edward VI succeeded his father in England. From neither could the Emperor hope for aid. The Pope, fearful of the Imperial encroachment on his prerogative of dealing with religious questions, withdrew his support; and the Council of Trent, to which Charles looked for assistance in reforming the recognized abuses of the establishment, was absorbed in the denunciation of heretics. More important still, the Emperor's course in Germany itself alienated his adherents. For though he separated the Netherlands from the Empire, he settled its succession in the house of Hapsburg; and while he kept the Protestant princes in prison he attempted to force the Diet into a course which would have made him the military dictator of all Germany. Most important of all, Maurice felt his position threatened by the imperial policy, and this determined the event. The Saxon ruler secretly changed sides, allied himself with France, gathered forces, and suddenly marched against the Emperor, who was compelled to flee. The captive princes were freed; Charles was forced to withdraw his Spanish troops from Germany and grant tolerance by the Peace of Passau.

The ultimate result of this romantic feat of arms was as striking as the exploit itself. For after various attempts at compromise, of which the so-called *Interim* was chief, the Peace of Augsburg confirmed the doctrine of "territoriality." Princes and free cities were permitted to choose between Catholic and Lutheran—but not Calvinist—doctrines within their own borders. Such was the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* under which the Empire enjoyed two generations of uneasy religious peace.

1547

1552

The Peace
of Augs-
burg
1555

Thus from the situation so evoked in Britain, France, and Germany three main features emerged. The one was the perpetuation of the reformed communions; the second was the existence in every state of a party at odds with its government upon political and religious grounds; the third was the alignment of European states in two opposing camps. From these three elements proceeded the next stage of European politics.

It was characterized by new and bloody wars. France, attacked by England and Spain at once, became a land debatable among Guise, Bourbon, and Valois, contending for the throne; and between Calvinist and Catholic striving for religious supremacy. The old Anglo-Scottish quarrel was now embittered no less by the conflicting claims of rival queens than by the fierce antagonism of hostile confessions which involved not merely the British Isles, but all western Europe in their struggles, and in no long time carried their contentions to the most distant quarters of the earth. From such increasing turmoil of church and state the Emperor, Charles V, withdrew in the year following the Peace of Augsburg. Weary of power, he conferred his German lands upon his brother Ferdinand; Spain with her colonies, the Netherlands, Milan, and Sicily upon his son, Philip II; and retired to monastic life.

Renewal
of Euro-
pean War

1556

With the passing of that great figure from the stage a new era began, and if Charles sought peace, the event soon justified his choice. Scarcely was the new Emperor crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia when he was called upon to fight the Turks who held the greater part of his Hungarian inheritance. Scarcely was the new king of Spain upon his throne when, with the aid of his English wife, he entered on a disastrous war with France. From that conflict France emerged with the buttress-bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the last English foothold on the continent, Calais, as prizes of her victory, confirmed to her by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis. Hard upon this success, religious toleration was granted to the Huguenots, but to no avail, and France plunged into the first of those civil-religious wars which took the place of the long conflict with the Empire.

1559

There the house of Hapsburg busied itself in consolidating its authority, while the Turks completed the reduction of the sea-power of the Italian states in the naval battle of Djerbe, and so became the virtual masters of the eastern Mediterranean.

1560

Results of
the period

Thus ended those eventful twenty years in which religion and politics were joined in an unholy union. Protestantism was now firmly established among the northern peoples. Thenceforth for a century the domestic concerns of nearly every European state, as well as international affairs, were profoundly influenced by a diversity of opinion in matters spiritual, now identified with those concerns of war and diplomacy which hitherto had found their motives only in the ambitions of princes or, more rarely, in economic pressure. With this; with the extension of French sovereignty over Calais and the bishoprics, and the increase of the Spanish Hapsburg power in Italy; with the secularization of ecclesiastical estates in Germany; the expansion of Russia toward the Urals and the Black Sea; and the spread of Turkish power in the Levant, are summed up the chief permanent results of the vexed period of Charles V in the domain of continental politics.

Europe
beyond
the sea
1542-63

But the activities of European rulers by no means exhausted the interest or importance of European history in this eventful period. The summons to the Council of Trent marks an epoch in the religious and political development of Europe, and the ensuing twenty years, during which the council sat, determines the period in which the continent set forth on a fresh series of adventures in those realms. Meanwhile the issue of the New Laws and the events of the two decades following, mark an era of transition in the history of Europe beyond the sea. It is not without significance that the alteration of the motives and balance of European politics should coincide with the beginning of a new age in the colonial world. For with those changes in Europe itself and the reorganization of Europe beyond the sea there dawned an age in which both elements were joined in a world polity.

It was but natural that the rulers of Europe, absorbed in the critical events which accompanied the entry of the Reformation issues into the field of national and international affairs, should pay little heed to lands beyond the boundaries of the continent. Yet the developments in those lands during this period was of as great importance to them, and of more importance ultimately to their peoples, than many of the objects which engaged the attention of European statesmen and diplomats. Nothing, indeed, could have been more fortunate for the colonial powers in the situation which confronted them than such neglect; for each was actively engaged in strengthening its hold upon the western world, and each was in the stage when an attack might well have altered the future of its possessions and the whole current of colonial development. The age of exploration and conquest for Spain and Portugal was nearing its end; the age of readjustment and organization had begun; and, with the appearance of the New Laws, the Spanish dependencies, in particular, entered on a period of restlessness such as always characterizes a transition from license to restriction.

No circumstance better revealed the altered status of the colonies than the death of Hernando Cortez, which was coincident with those of Henry VIII and Francis I. Not many years earlier this would have been a determining event in the New World's affairs; now it was no part of Spanish colonial history, so far had the world moved since his great exploit. He had been long resident in Spain; contracted a great marriage; served Charles V in Africa; and, amid alternate honor and abuse, worn out his later years endeavoring to maintain the honors he had won. Meanwhile the province he had gained and set upon the path of European progress had for a dozen years pursued its course in widely different hands. Under Mexico's first Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, schools had been built; a printing-press, the first outside of Europe, was set up; the ports improved; a mint established; sheep introduced and weaving encouraged. Above all, the harsh rule of military governors had been replaced by milder men and measures. On this development

Mexico
1530-50

the New Laws had fallen like a curse. Not even Mendoza's power nor the eloquence of Las Casas, now bishop of Chiapas, availed against the determination of the *encomenderos*—among whom the religious orders were not the least violent—to maintain their hold upon that native labor to which they owed existence and prosperity. Within a year the New Laws were revoked; and, defeated in his dearest hope, the Apostle to the Indians left his diocese for Spain. There he penned an indictment of his countrymen which for three centuries and a half has condemned their colonial policy,—without, however, inducing any nation to treat its conquered on a basis of equality.

Mining

Such was the first stage of extra-European development along new lines. But even before Las Casas went a fresh turn of fortune gave new point to his attack and new riches to his countrymen. No sooner had the Spaniards exhausted the Aztec plunder than they began the search for the sources of native wealth. Mining succeeded conquest; the soldiers turned prospectors, though for a time with but indifferent success. But in the tenth year of Mendoza's viceroyalty, just as the Council of Trent began its labors and the Schmalkaldic war broke out in Germany, the luckiest of adventurers, Juan de Tolosa, found a vein of silver at Zacatecas in northern Mexico, whose yield was to surpass even the huge Aztec spoil. His success gave renewed impetus to prospecting, and an age of exploration ensued whose excitement reached the height which only a mining craze can attain. The adventurous element in New Spain, the islands, and the mother country joined in the rush. Thousands of prospects were begun, and though few or none met with such success as that of Zacatecas, many rich mines were opened, old ones reworked, till Mexico became, for the moment, the greatest source of silver for the European world.

1545-6

The *mita*

Besides this tremendous increase in its value to its possessors and to Europe generally, the coincident elevation of New Spain to archiepiscopal rank seemed all but insignificant. Yet, whatever the relative importance of the two events, a third, which resulted from the discovery of the

sources of precious metals, overshadowed the other two in the minds of Spain's new subjects. This was the extension of forced labor to the mines. With their development the villages were levied on for workers more and more; and the wealth of the province became the greatest enemy to the welfare of its inhabitants. The *mita*, as this service was known, soon became the worst of all oppressions. Beside it the *repartimiento*, whence it grew, seemed almost beneficent, for the unfortunate natives sent to the mines went out to well-nigh certain death. Against the greed and cruelty of the mine-owners even the government was powerless; and when Mendoza was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru he left the wealth and misery of Mexico increasing in equal pace.

Such were the beginnings of the new era of Spanish admin-
 istration in North America, whose resources thus further
 increased the wealth and power of Europe. The history of
 Peru was not dissimilar. With all their ills the Mexicans
 were in far better case than the inhabitants of the unhappy
 province to which Mendoza had been transferred, since to
 the evils which beset New Spain, Peru had joined the curse
 of civil war. Under its first Viceroy, Nuñez de Vela, the
 old conquerors had raised the earliest of colonial rebellions,
 as a protest against the New Laws. But de Vela's death
 was soon avenged by the licentiate priest, de Gasca, despatched
 to crush the rebels. Betrayed and overthrown, Gonzalo
 Pizarro and his fierce lieutenant, Carbajal, were executed
 and their heads hung in chains at Lima to discourage further
 revolt, as the province was cowed into uneasy peace.

But tragedy was not, in European view, the most important
 feature of the development of Peru. Like Mexico it was
 erected into an archiepiscopal diocese, from whose seat at Lima
 was organized the hierarchy of Spanish South America.
 Meanwhile, its agricultural prosperity, indeed, declined amid
 civil disturbances; and its enlightenment and industry suf-
 fered a corresponding loss. But this was more than counter-
 balanced by discoveries which, like those of New Spain, but
 in still greater measure, made Peru the chief source of

Peru

1544-

1547

precious metals in the world and the most valuable possession of Europe. To the rich mines of the Andean region, for whose possession the conquerors had been prepared to defy even the Spanish government, was added the discovery of silver deposits at Potosi, surpassing even the wealth of Zacatecas. The ensuing rush of prospectors sunk, it is said, ten thousand shafts, which poured into Spain a fresh flood of precious metal to enrich its coffers, and still further disturb the economic basis of Europe. And if, as in New Spain, native oppression became more severe, as the *mita* was rigidly enforced, while the Andean region felt the worst effects of European occupation, Peru became the most coveted of European colonies.

Meanwhile the Spanish boundaries were widely extended by conquest as well as by the mining discoveries. The expeditions which still sought the fabled El Dorado about the headwaters of the Orinoco and the Magdalena were, indeed, unfortunate. There Orellano, the discoverer of the Amazon, was lost; there the efforts of the Welsers to establish a post broke down; but others finally founded a settlement at Toucuyo, and, with the appointment of a governor, confirmed the Spanish hold upon the Venezuelan hinterland. In widely different fields the same process went on. Far to the south the followers of the sturdy Basque, Irala, settled the upper Paraguay; west of them the conquerors of Chili, where Valparaiso was founded to secure the principal harbor of the southern coast, proceeded to the establishment of a capital at Santiago. Thence the conquering governor, Valdivia, parceled out the rich central region into baronies for his followers; and from there they fought their way southward against the warlike Araucanians to the frontier outpost of Concepcion. Meanwhile the mineral-bearing highlands of Bolivia became the seat of garrison-settlements. Beside the older post of Las Charcas, south of Lake Titicaca, was founded La Paz, and further east, within ten years, the town of Santa Cruz became the center of Spanish power in the easternmost Andes.

Thus, on every side, in the busy mid-decade of the sixteenth

1545-6

Spanish
South
America

1535

1541

1548

century, far-reaching areas were secured by rapidly advancing Spanish adventurers whose substantial gains were adding year by year more to the resources of the European world than all the barren rivalries of their rulers at home. In this pursuit they were aided by the achievements of the races they supplanted. The remote interior which, without its mineral wealth might have been spared the presence of Europeans for generations, was bound to the coast settlements by the pack-trains of llamas, along the Inca roads which led to every part of that empire. These not merely bore products of the forest and the mines to the world outside. With them came in return the men and goods of distant Europe, whose influence thus suddenly and violently thrust on America made it a part of Europe in its widest sense.

The activities of the Portuguese were also meanwhile engaged in extending European boundaries. While Spain was spreading her authority on the west, the governor of Brazil, Thome de Sousa, was engaged in building a new capital on Bahia bay, defended by strong walls, a fort, and batteries. Recruited by a stream of colonists drawn to the settlement on account of its planting advantages, not the least of which was its nearness to Africa and its supply of negro slaves, Bahia soon rivaled São Paulo and Pernambuco in the sugar-growing industry. At the same time, under the great Jesuit missionary, Nobrega, his order made its way into the wilderness, and, in defiance of the colonists, brought the natives under its control.

The
Portuguese
—Brazil

1549

But neither Portuguese nor Jesuit energies were exhausted by their activities in Brazil. On the other side of the world the labors of Xavier meanwhile became the wonder of two continents, as, like his fellows, he bore the faith of Christ to distant lands and bound them to the fortunes of Europe. Goa, the pearl-fishers from Comorin to Pamban, Travancore, Ceylon, Malacca, Amboyna, and the Moluccas heard his voice; and five years after his arrival in Asia he set sail to carry the new faith to Japan, there to swell the total of what the faithful call his million converts. Perhaps no single force, and certainly no other individual, did more to bring the out-

—Xavier

1542-

1552

side world in touch with Europe than Xavier and his order in this eventful decade.

The
Philippines
and India
1542

While he wrought his miracles of conversion, the carnal weapons of his sponsors were no less active. From New Spain Lopez de Villalobos led a squadron to the Philippines, named from the Spanish heir; and though the Portuguese compelled him to submission, his exploit drove them, in turn, to share Ternate and Tidore with the Spanish power and yield their claims to the Luzon archipelago. That surrender was a symbol of their waning power. With Xavier's aid, Malacca was preserved from the Sultan of Achin; but only fortunate chance and the desperate courage of its defenders saved Diu from the Cambayan king. Meanwhile, a whole world of enemies, east African, Arabian, and Malabar rulers, native princes from Diu to the Moluccas, Arab traders everywhere, and finally the Turks, who from their conquest of Egypt were drawn into the far-reaching quarrel, strove to drive the Christians out. Not a year went by without native attack, scarcely a year without a fleet from Goa or Lisbon to avenge insult or loss, and innumerable incidents of heroism and treachery repeated themselves in infinite variation on the same theme along ten thousand miles of border war. Though trade went on, though annual fleets made their way between Lisbon and India, though her scattered enemies beat in vain against the hard shell of her empire, the nation felt the strain. Save for the foundation of a post at Macao for the Chinese trade, they were compelled to be content with what they had. And when, following Xavier, the Inquisition made its way to India and the ecclesiastical period of her colonial history began, it needed but the appearance of another power in the East, able to cope with Portugal on the sea, to rouse her persecuted subjects everywhere against her rule.

1557

The de-
cline of
Portugal

Corruption lent its aid further to weaken her. "I dare no longer govern India," wrote one of her viceroys, "since men are now so changed from honor and from truth." It was in vain that the viceroys were given a council to aid them and stricter laws were enacted against dishonesty;

salvation never comes by edicts and offices. Public and private virtue declined until, with John III's death, the chronicles declare, "ended the good fortune of Portugal in Europe and India." Such was the epitaph of her glory at home and abroad. Finally to crown her failure, her short-sighted king committed the fatal error of marrying his only son to Charles V's daughter. Thus he bound his country's destinies with the fortunes of its most dangerous enemy; and another generation was to see Portugal, as a result of this ill-fated marriage, an appanage of Spain. Such was the situation in the European world as the continent girded itself for the impending religio-political conflict in the decades during which the Council of Trent and the Protestants determined its future. 1557

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF PHILIP II AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS. 1563-1578

Maxi-
milian II
1564-76

It is one of the great ironies of history that on Charles V's retirement from affairs the Netherlands fell into Spanish rather than into Austrian hands. Eight years after his abdication, the reign of Ferdinand, the heir to the great Emperor's German possessions, came to an end, and Maximilian of Austria succeeded to the Imperial throne and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. A mild man, inclined toward peace and not unfriendly to the Protestants, his path was smoothed by the death of Christendom's greatest enemy, Suleiman the Magnificent, and the consequent cessation of war with the Turks. Despite the fact that his reign marks the beginning of Catholic reaction, the Peace of Augsburg gave Germany measurable relief from the long-vexed question of religious rivalry, and only one conflict, a war with Transylvania besides some minor difficulties concerning the religious settlement, disturbed the peace of the peace-loving Emperor.

1566

Philip II

1556-98

Had such a man, under such circumstances, become the ruler of the Netherlands, Europe might have been spared a bloody, if glorious, chapter of her history. But such was not the case. If the period of the Council of Trent is notable for the joining of religion and politics in European affairs, the two decades which followed are no less notable for the union of the colonial and economic elements with those of faith and national aspiration to bring about a more far-reaching conflict than Europe had yet experienced. And if the events of the preceding forty years had centered in the person of Charles V, those of the generation which followed his departure from the stage found their focus in his son, Philip II of Spain. No less by the situation in which he

found himself than by his character and ambitions, he became the pivot of affairs; and from his activities and those of his opponents there flowed a series of events which showed how deeply the religious issue had penetrated politics, and how profoundly the new colonial-commercial elements were to be reckoned with in war and diplomacy.

The Spanish king was the peculiar product of his nation and his age. Pious, abstemious, kind in private life, incredibly industrious and strong-willed, Philip II was devoted to despotism and the church, to Spanish ascendancy and the faith of Rome, in a degree unknown to his shrewder and more cosmopolitan father. Lacking the chivalrous quality of his race, in him its crusading spirit took the form of attempts to check the spread of heresy and if possible win back Europe to the true belief. He brought to that great task a fierce intensity of purpose, every resource of a strong if narrow intellect, and the whole power of his royal authority. To it he subordinated every worldly interest, common humanity, and the well-being of the lands he ruled. And from the time when, as the husband of the English queen, Mary the Catholic, he urged on the efforts to bring England again under the domination of Rome, to the time when, old and feeble, he still carried on the futile contest with her sister, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, in that great hopeless struggle to stem the current of Protestantism, he never faltered nor compromised.

His character and policy

It was inevitable that such a purpose and such a character, backed by the support of the most powerful nation in Europe, should breed a struggle marked, on Philip's side, by relentless cruelty, and on that of his opponents by the fury of despair. And this was the more important in that the Spanish king undertook his enterprise at the moment when England under Elizabeth espoused the cause of the Reformation, when his Dutch subjects in the Netherlands embraced Calvinism, and when France, after the death of Henry II, saw the Navarrese, Henry of Bourbon, become the hope of the Huguenots and a possible successor to the French throne.

Almost at once, therefore, events took form and direction

- The Netherlands
1559 from Philip's character. The bloody persecution of Moors and Protestants in Spain by the Inquisition which marked the outset of his reign was followed by similar activities in the Netherlands. The withdrawal of their ancient privileges, the introduction of a Spanish garrison, the issue of edicts against heresy, and the threat of the Inquisition, with which Philip signalized the beginning of his sovereignty over the rich cities of the lower Rhine and Scheldt, roused the resentment of its trading, Calvinistic elements. In spite of the efforts of leaders like Egmont and Orange, the populace rose in revolt against the Catholic rulers, sacked the churches and broke the images. The regent, Margaret of Parma, was succeeded by the Duke of Alva, at the head of a powerful force, to restore order. With his coming there began a reign of terror and exactions which roused the people to frenzy, and a dozen years after Philip's accession he faced a rebellion of his richest provinces.
- France
1558-9 While he thus "stirred up the hornets' nest of the Dutch Calvinists," France had entered on a period of religious strife such as Germany had already experienced. The problem was complicated by the issue of the succession. The death of Henry II in the same twelvemonth that Elizabeth assumed the English crown had brought to the throne the first of three weak brothers, Francis II, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots. His death within a year left the boy-king, Charles IX, under the influence of his Italian mother, Catherine de Medici, and the fourteen years of his ill-fated reign became one of the darkest chapters in French history. Three parties contended for supremacy. The first was that of the crown directed by the Queen Mother, intent on upholding the authority of the house of Valois and maintaining its succession. The second was the ambitious family of Guise, bent on securing, if not the crown, at least the direction of affairs. The third was the Huguenot faction, which mingled with its political aspirations an adherence to the Calvinistic doctrines, so bitterly opposed by the other parties to the conflict. Bourbon and Guise each boasted a secondary title to the crown. But the house of Montmorency, headed by the Grand Con-

stable—who, though himself a Catholic, had three Protestant nephews, among them the Grand Admiral Coligni, the leader of the Huguenots—while it cherished no designs upon the throne, played a part scarcely less important in this involved tragedy. And if there be added to these three elements that variable group known as the *Politiques*, with whom the Montmorencys were at times aligned, the confusion of French politics becomes all but hopeless. For this last faction, hating the Italians whom the Queen Mother introduced, and equally opposed to political Catholics and political Huguenots, remained the uncertain, perhaps the determining, factor in the French problem.

Hardly was the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis signed and 1559-60 France at peace with England and Spain, when the seizure of the government by the Guises in the first days of Francis II's brief reign began the struggle which for a full generation inflicted on France the horrors of a combined religious and civil war. Nine years of alternate failure and success of the contending factions saw three conflicts broken by uneasy peace. At the moment that Alva set up his Council of Blood in the Netherlands, the Treaty of Longjumeau witnessed that the efforts of the Guises to suppress Protestantism and the States General had proved as futile as the attempts of the Protestants to achieve full toleration, or those of the Queen Mother to achieve the supremacy of the crown over its rivals. 1568

In those same years the advent of the Calvinist, John Knox, Scotland 1559-61 and the young widow of Francis II, Mary Queen of Scots, into her kingdom transferred the controversy between the new and old communions to that northern land. The Presbyterians rose in revolt against the efforts to make them conform. The queen's position was weakened by her ill-advised matrimonial adventures no less than by the policy of her advisers; and at the moment of the Peace of Longjumeau 1568 and the beginning of Alva's repressive policy, she was compelled to seek refuge in England. There, meanwhile, Elizabeth had slowly consolidated her authority. The Church of England had been finally established, peace made with

France, and only the king of Spain, whose suit for her hand had been rejected, whose religious convictions were outraged by England's conversion to Protestantism, and whose West Indian monopoly was continually infringed by Elizabeth's adventurous subjects, remained unreconciled to the Elizabethan settlement.

The year
1568

Thus the year 1568 marked a great turning-point in the world's affairs and from its events there flowed momentous consequences. In that year the execution of the Dutch leaders, Counts Egmont and Horn, embittered the quarrel between Philip II and his Low Country subjects beyond the possibility of compromise, while an engagement between the forces of William of Orange and those of Alva marked the beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands. In that year the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots by the English government made possible the triumph of Presbyterianism in Scotland, while it widened the breach between Elizabeth and the Spanish king. In that year the Peace of Longjumeau, though it gave a breathing-space in the French civil wars, turned the thoughts of the Queen Mother to still darker designs whose culmination four years later made the quarrel irreconcilable. And in that year, far beyond the scenes of the oncoming struggle between the two communions, yet closely connected with it, the attacks of the French Huguenot, Dominique de Gourges, on Spanish settlements in Florida, and of the Englishman, John Hawkins, on Vera Cruz, at once extended the scope of the conflict and injected into it a new and, as it proved, a determining element.

The
European
conflict

Such was the situation which, at the close of the seventh decade of the sixteenth century, offered a fertile field for the peculiar talents and the far-reaching ambitions of the Spanish king, and in each of the disturbed nations his influence was speedily made manifest. From such events, as well, there sprang a fierce struggle which soon involved all western Europe and in no long time spread thence throughout the world. However its main features were obscured by masses of detail, it was at bottom a conflict between opposing schools of civilization rather than a mere religious struggle, or a



THE BROTHERS COLIGNI.

After a drawing by J. Visscher. Compare the costume with that of Frans van der Borch, p. 299.



FRANS VAN DER BORCHT.

After the painting by Van Dyck. This portrait is a good type of the 17th century school, and illustrates the change in costume. Compare with Coligni, p. 298.

contest for commercial supremacy, or a bid for pre-eminence within Europe itself.

On the one hand were arrayed the forces which represented the domination of royal, noble, and ecclesiastical authority, the institutions which had made the church, the crown, and the aristocracy supreme during the middle ages. Those forces rested on the devolution of power from above; made arms and diplomacy the chief concerns of government; and considered freedom of thought and speech, individual initiative, and popular opinion as secondary or negligible elements in public life. On the other side were forces best described as individual. Among these may be grouped such apparently dissimilar activities as commerce, invention, personal liberty of opinion in religion, popular share in government, and an intellectual habit more or less independent of precedent or authority. Each had the defects of the qualities which gave it strength—the tendency of the one to harden into formalism, of the other to degenerate into license; the worship of the past, and its disparagement. Which was to be the stronger was now to be determined; and on the decision hung the future of Europe, and, in some sort, that of the world.

Thus conditioned, there had already burst forth this holy France war, half religious, half political, full of the highest devotion and the meanest self-seeking. In no small degree the four years which followed the breathing-space of 1568 marked the turning-point in that conflict, and gave it at once impetus and direction. In France the successive defeats of the Huguenots after the breach of the Treaty of Longjumeau and the murder of their general, Condé, seemed likely to prove their ruin. But under Coligni's able leadership they rallied, won back their liberties by the Treaty of St. Germain, and secured the possession of four cities of refuge, chief among them the stronghold of La Rochelle, which for half a century was to be the citadel of their party and their faith. But with this result neither the Queen Dowager, nor the Guises, nor Philip II were content, and the peace only began a new era of conspiracy. Two years later this culminated in a

plan to crush the Protestants by wholesale murder, and on the fearful eve of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572, began a massacre which within two days cost thirty thousand lives. Coligni was numbered among the victims, but the young king, Henry of Navarre, feigning conversion, escaped to oppose the ambitions of the Guises and the antagonism of the Catholic League through another decade of war and intrigue which brought him finally to the throne.

The Neth-
erlands

Meanwhile the Netherlands had become the center of another great conflict. There the resistance of the Dutch nobles headed by William of Orange had been broken by Alva's veteran army, the princes of Nassau, with many of their adherents, had been driven into exile, and a reign of terror and oppression had ensued. But four months before St. Bartholomew there came a change. The leaders of the irreconcilable Dutch rebels, the so-called "Water Beggars," who had been engaged, with English connivance, in preying on Spanish commerce, suddenly found England's ports closed against them, as a result of Spain's protests, which circumstances compelled Elizabeth to heed for the moment. As a retort they seized the town of Brill, and presently occupied Flushing and the adjacent ports. With this, revolt spread like wildfire. Lewis of Nassau hurried from his refuge among the Huguenots of La Rochelle to take possession of Valenciennes and Mons. His brother, William of Orange, advanced from his camp at Dillenburg with an army to attack Alva, and the Revolt of the Netherlands was an accomplished fact.

1572

Eastern
Europe
1568-

Such were the events which ushered in another stage of development in western Europe. They were not without their parallels in the East, nor were they unconnected with those distant lands. In the first year of this eventful decade the duchy of Prussia threw off its allegiance to the kings of Poland and became hereditary in the house of Hohenzollern. A twelvemonth later the Treaty of Lublin united Poland and Lithuania, and, with the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty, five years later, Henry of Valois was elected king. Meanwhile Russia experienced a fierce and, as it was to prove,

1569

1574

a final attack from her ancient enemies, the Tartars. From their strongholds in the Crimea the wild horsemen of the steppes poured into Muscovy, devastated its lands and burned its capital, the holy city of Moscow. At almost the same moment the Turks, summoning to their aid the fleets of their feudatories, Alexandria and Algiers, rallied their forces for a great effort to control the Mediterranean. Against them Pius V formed a Holy League. Genoa, Venice, Naples, and the Papal States united their strength. Their fleet was intrusted to Philip's illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, and, at Lepanto, the Moslem sea-power was broken in 1571 one of the great decisive naval conflicts of history. Meanwhile, Moorish revolt in Spain was repressed; and with these reverses the Asiatic powers which had so long threatened Europe were deprived of their capacity to injure Christendom at the same time that Europeans themselves plunged again into all but universal war.

Beside this bloody chronicle the history of England, like that of Germany, in this eventful period, seems almost pastoral. Yet the position in which she found herself was growing difficult. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity which signalized Elizabeth's accession had confirmed the establishment of a Protestant church; and this, despite rebellions of the adherents of the old faith in England and Ireland and the disturbances in Scotland, had maintained itself against all opposition. But the Pope excommunicated the English queen. Philip II—whose offer of marriage had been rejected and whose efforts to support the Catholic reaction in the British Isles had been defeated—had intrigued against her power as he had interfered in the affairs of France. Finally when Mary Queen of Scots sought refuge from her rebellious Presbyterian subjects, and entered England as an unwilling and greatly undesired guest, she had at once become the focus of a series of plots, stimulated by the Jesuits and encouraged by the Spanish power. 1568

England
1559-

Among these manifold dangers it had been imperative that the English queen and her advisers should walk warily until the royal authority was firmly established and the new dis-

pensation secure. Yet it grew increasingly evident, despite her ruler's unwillingness to enter upon European rivalries, that England was bound to come to blows with Spain, and that her queen was likely to be forced into the position of a participant in continental affairs, which Henry V had in some sort occupied and to which Henry VIII had vainly aspired. It was scarcely less evident that this was largely because she represented, with the Netherlands, a new and powerful force in European polity, opposed at nearly every point to the principles and practices which found their chief expression in Spain.

Her character and policy

England had been the first of the national states to throw off feudal domination as she had been among the first to repudiate Papal supremacy. The civil wars of the preceding century had virtually destroyed the power of her baronage; while the decay of the economy of the mediæval period, then of its politics, and finally of its ecclesiastical system, had cleared the way for a social readjustment which had gone on rapidly after the accession of Henry VII. In place of the feudal baronage had risen a nobility, recruited from the gentry and even from the merchant classes as nowhere else in Europe, dependent on the crown and in turn depended on by the sovereigns. The English Parliament, almost alone of those representative bodies which had earlier held a place in European polity, retained its powers and safeguarded the popular interests. Containing, as it did, men of the counting-house as well as of the manor, questions of trade and economy played a part in its deliberation more conspicuous than in any other land save among the Dutch.

These activities were by no means confined to her own borders. An island nation, England had bred a race of seamen. Safe from the aggressions of continental powers, she had preserved the greater part of her popular liberties; while at the same time the commercial element which was chiefly responsible for these results had extended her influence far beyond the confines of the British Isles. And it was certain that such a people, enrolled against the Spanish power, would, like the Dutch rebels, carry their antagonism to the

ocean from which they had been excluded by the concerns of pure politics until, as now, they were released by the new factor of political antagonism, religion. Scarcely had the Water Beggars seized the town of Brill, therefore, when Elizabeth, driven on no less by the doings of her subjects than by the activities of Philip's agents against her power and her life, broke off relations with Spain, made an alliance with France, and allowed volunteers to embark for Holland. 1572 With this it was evident that a new chapter had opened in the affairs of the whole European world.

Thus while from the new architectural wonder of the world, the palace of the Escorial, which Philip now began as the outward sign of Spain's greatness and his own, the Spanish king strove to direct European faith and policy, there was laid the foundations of a rivalry which was soon to replace the older antagonisms of the continent, and, spreading far beyond its confines, involve the fortunes of the extra-European world. It is an illuminating commentary on the spirit which inspired Spain and her opponents that the Spanish king's palace had for its ground-plain the gridiron on which St. Lawrence met a martyr's death; while at the same time the leading architect of the period, Palladio, and those who followed him, like the Englishman Inigo Jones and the French Perrault, who then dominated the taste of a great part of the continent, turned for their models not to the middle ages but to Greece and Rome. It was a symbol of a fundamenal hostility of ideals, which was emphasized in other and more directly practical fields. Chief of these was the alteration in the emphasis on the pursuits of life. Spain still remained largely the land of king, hidalgo and peasant, soldier and friar. But in England and the Netherlands, above all other European states, the soldier of fortune had given way to the merchant adventurer; royal or noble monopoly to private, municipal, or corporate enterprise; ecclesiastical to secular interests; while political rivalry continually revealed some touch of the commercial spirit, and found its highest expression on the sea.

The new
European
rivalry

Especially was this true of England, which, unlike the

Netherlands, had always been an independent power. Nowhere was this adventurous element more in evidence than there; and, whatever high reasons of state or conscience were involved, it was not on merely religious or political grounds that England found herself opposed to Spain. While Philip and Elizabeth, Mary of Scotland, and Catherine de Medici practised their arts of governance and wove their intricate webs of diplomacy, events and individuals far outside the bounds of formal diplomacy, as then practised, were busy determining which way those ancient "mysteries of state" should go. Spain was mistress of a great part of the colonial world, and when the young king of Portugal, Sebastian, was killed on a crusade against the Arabs of northern Africa, and his successor, Henry, died, Philip II inherited his dominions and became the sole ruler of all European possessions beyond the confines of the continent. The strength of the new powers which now began to challenge Spanish supremacy lay upon the sea. It thus became inevitable that the conflict which commenced with the assertion of Spain's right to dominate the faith and policy of a great part of the continent should, in no long time, be fused with the struggle which had already begun for oceanic mastery and the trade of the lands beyond.

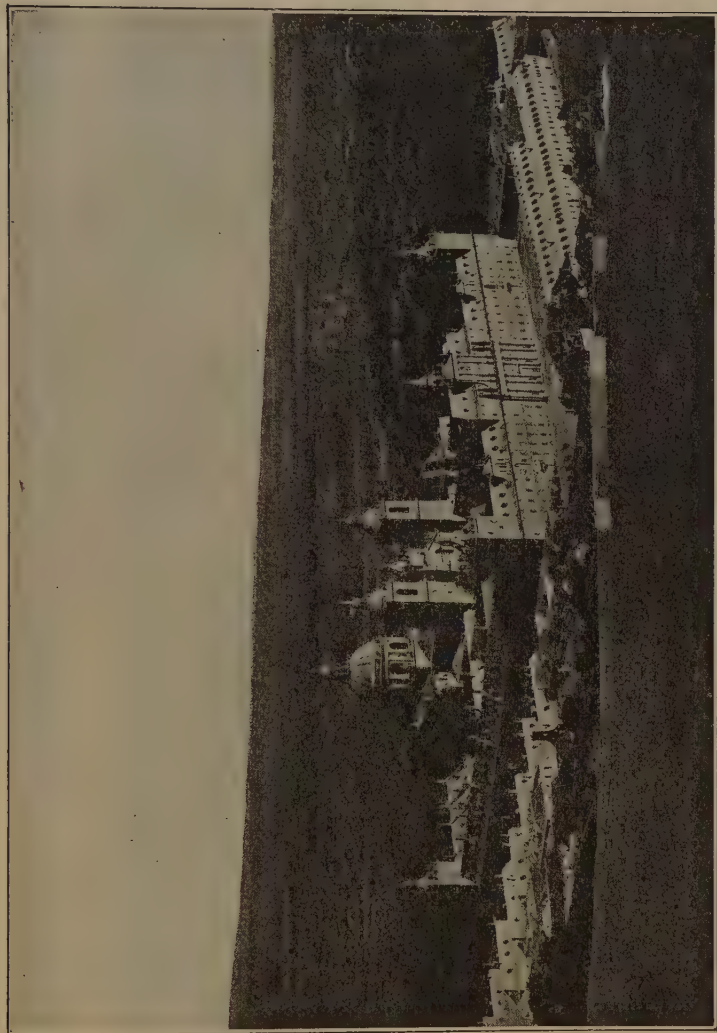
1578-81

Philip II
and his
opponents

Meanwhile France plunged again into the chaos of civil war after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and was in no small measure removed from any determining share in general European politics. Germany remained quiescent under the mild rule of Maximilian II, till his death brought the astrologer-emperor Rudolf to the throne. The principal interest of European affairs therefore shifted to the struggle between Philip and his rebellious subjects of the Netherlands and the oncoming antagonism between England and Spain.

Little by little the Dutch and Flemish rebels made head against the Spanish power in the years following the Water Beggars' exploit. Alva was succeeded by Requesens, and he by Don John, whose arrival in the Netherlands coincided with an event appalling and more important to Europe's development than the French tragedy. This was the so-called Spanish

1576



THE ESCORIAL.



THE SPANISH ARMADA.

One of a series of ten engravings of the House of Lords' tapestry (now destroyed) commemorating the English victory. The plates were made by John Pynne in the early 18th century. This one represents especially well the contrast between the two fleets and the types of vessel. In the left foreground Drake's ship is cutting out a Spanish man-of-war. The galley, and the English supply ships are noteworthy.

Fury, an outburst of ferocity by which the rich cities of Antwerp and Ghent, with Maestricht and lesser towns, were sacked by the Spanish soldiery, their inhabitants outraged, and their wealth and prosperity all but destroyed. From this blow the Flemish Netherlands scarcely recovered in a century. Good Catholics as they were, this was too much for their loyalty to Philip. Thousands of them sought refuge in the Dutch provinces; and almost at once the Flemish Netherlands joined in the Pacification of Ghent with their Dutch neighbors to drive the Spaniard from the land.

That circumstance, with the accession of the Prince of Orange to the leadership of affairs, decided the issue of the conflict. In quick succession the victor of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, and Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, 1578 were sent to reduce the rebellious provinces. Against the dogged resistance of the people of the Netherlands and the genius of William of Orange, surnamed the Silent, neither was able to accomplish this result in its entirety. But Parma, subduing the southern districts, partly by force, partly by promises of restoring their older privileges, turned his arms against the Dutch. These, now deprived of all hope of reasonable compromise, took a momentous step. A year after Parma's arrival, while Philip II was engaged in those negotiations which made him the master of Portugal and her colonies, they proclaimed their independence of Spain by the Union of Utrecht. They chose William of Orange hereditary Stadtholder, and so added another state to the European polity, as they had already begun a new chapter in the history of liberty and introduced another hero to that history. 1579

For in William of Orange the Dutch Netherlands had brought forth a champion worthy to set against all the power of the Spanish king. Son of the Count of Nassau, heir to the principality of Orange, his estates in Holland and Flanders had brought him into close association with Low Country affairs. Charles V had cemented that connection by appointing him commander-in-chief and Stadtholder of Holland, Utrecht, and Zeeland. From Henry II he had learned of Philip's design of crushing Protestantism in the William of Orange

Netherlands; and, though himself a Catholic, he had embraced Protestantism and put himself at the head of the movement to save his adopted country from the catastrophe which menaced its faith and liberties. His genius, backed by the obstinate courage of the Dutch, made him the savior of the Netherlands, and from the moment of his accession to command to the moment of his death at the hand of an assassin employed by the Spanish king, he remained the principal champion of that spirit of civil and ecclesiastical liberty on which the ambitions of the Spanish and reactionary forces came to wreck.

Eastern
Europe

In such fashion and in such hands was ushered in the great conflict of civilizations which distinguished the last quarter of the sixteenth century. It was not unconnected with the development of the continent elsewhere. While Holland and Spain thus made their quarrel irreconcilable, eastern Europe had taken another step in its progress. The death of Charles IX of France made Henry of Valois, sometime an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of the English queen, and more recently the elected king of Poland, heir to the French throne. He was not slow to take advantage of his opportunity to exchange the undesired throne of Poland-Lithuania for that of France, and his departure left the eastern kingdom to choose the heroic Stephen Bathory of Transylvania as its ruler. With his accession the advance of the Reformation toward the east came to an end. He encouraged the Jesuits, who had thrown themselves across the stream of Lutheran influence which had overrun Prussia and threatened the position of the old communion in Poland. At the same time he undertook a war which was to prove successful in checking the ambitions of Russia in the west, and, for the time, preserved the dual kingdom to its inhabitants and its ancient faith. Such were the circumstances which conditioned the borders of Europe in the decade which saw her rivalries spread to the farthest corners of the earth and made sea-power a determining factor in religious as in political affairs.

1575

Spain

As a result of these events, which, however different among

themselves, tended to the same end, twenty-two years after the abdication of Charles V, Spain stood forth as the champion of Catholicism and absolutism, confronted by the liberal, Protestant elements of all western Europe. The year 1578 in which Sebastian's death enabled Philip II to put in motion those intrigues which two years later gave Portugal into his hands, under different conditions might have marked the beginning of a development such as the world had never seen. But the Union of Utrecht, and the virtual alliance of England, France, and the Dutch rebels, set in her path, at the moment of her greatest opportunity, an enemy prepared to challenge not merely her material strength, but every principle on which her national life was based.

In the bitter conflict, which had, indeed, already begun, between the old order and the new, Europe was to determine at once her own future and that of the new Europe beyond the sea. As a natural result of many forces developed in the preceding generations, for the most part outside the field of politics, that conflict was to take a wider range, and, what was more important still, to partake of a different character from those struggles which had preceded it. For in it were engaged communities and classes as yet relatively new in European polity, by which there had been developed factors all but unknown to the calculations of men bred in the old statecraft.

Among these the activities of English merchant-adventurers were, for the moment, the most conspicuous. This, in the changing circumstance of affairs was an inevitable development of the preceding generations. Any struggle which involved, as this was bound to do, sea-power, Protestantism, and commercial interests, by virtue of the progress of those elements among the people which, more than any other, had made them a chief concern of national existence in the years just gone, was bound to set their nation in the forefront of conflict.

Before the English queen had mounted the throne, adventurers had dreamed of finding a way to the secluded East by land across Muscovy or Asia Minor, or by sea through

1578

Her
enemiesThe
merchant-
adven-
turers

The Com-
pany of
Merchant
Adven-
turers

the Arctic, thus evading the Portuguese monopoly. Already, without royal aid and in the face of infinite discouragements, this popular movement, inspired by private enterprise, had begun to develop for itself new means for its achievement. Building upon the older forms of trading corporations, like the so-called Merchants of the Staple, and the commercial guild or fraternity of St. Thomas à Becket, they had evolved a form of organization, foreign to the genius of Spain and Portugal, but eminently adapted to the English temper. This was the chartered company, formed by the association of individual merchants for a common purpose of trade, and sanctioned, protected, and granted privileges or monopoly by the crown. To this they added some knowledge of the outside world. Apart from what they had drawn from their own experience, from voyages to Lisbon and Seville, to Africa and America, from agents sent to Spain and Portugal, from their own countrymen in foreign service, they had related themselves, even before the accession of Elizabeth, to the great current of discoveries by curious, even romantic, means.

While Edward VI was still upon the throne, the old Sebastian Cabot, long since the co-discoverer of Newfoundland, sometime map-maker and pilot-major to the King of Spain, and explorer of the La Plata region, returned from his long wanderings to his old home in Bristol, whence, fifty years before, he had set sail for North America. He came at a propitious moment, and his coming was at once an inspiration and an opportunity. About him crystallized long entertained projects. He was immediately enlisted in an "intended voyage to Cathay," and was created "governor of the mystérie and companie of Merchants adventurers for the discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknown" in the long-dreamed-of East. Under such auspices no time was wasted in setting on foot an enterprise which was to open up new regions of the world. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor were despatched to find a northeast passage to Asia; and, though Willoughby was lost, Chancellor made his way to the White Sea, thence overland to

Moscow, where he was entertained by the Czar Ivan IV; and so began another chapter of European history.

Before he returned Edward VI had died, but Mary chartered a corporation known as the Muscovy Company. This became not merely the agent of a fresh burst of commercial activity, and the intermediary between England and the then semi-Asiatic power of Russia, but a model for later commercial organization. Under its auspices Anthony Jenkinson within two years made his way from the English factory near Archangel across Russia to Astrakhan and thence to Khiva and Bokhara. From that far journey he returned to fire his countrymen to compete with Hanseatic and Italian merchants in that field. Four years thereafter he secured from Ivan IV monopoly of the White Sea trade for his company, and with the despatch of an agent to Persia prepared to challenge the way to India. Under such auspices, at the accession of Elizabeth, England made ready to take her part in the exploiting of the East.

The
Muscovy
Company

1559-61

While her agents were thus engaged in bridging the gap which separated her from that region, the power with which she was now first brought into contact had taken up the task of pushing European boundaries toward the East. The year before Chancellor's first visit to the Czar, the Muscovites had subdued the Tartar principality of Kasan. Before Jenkinson's coming the province of Astrakhan had been annexed. And in the year of Elizabeth's accession the Russians began a fresh advance. Upon the great commercial house of Strogonoff the Czar conferred some ninety miles of land along the Kama River, in the Ural district, with mining, settlement, and trading rights. To conquer that wild region the Strogonoffs enlisted a body of Don Cossacks, so-called "Good Companions," under a certain Yermak Timofeévitch. What Cortez and Pizarro had been to the New World, this leader became to northern Asia. From the original grant, aided by Vasili Strogonoff and his followers, Yermak conquered as far as the Tobol within a dozen years. His untimely death scarcely checked the Muscovite advance. While

Russian
expansion

1552

1558

1570

1587

western Europe was convulsed with war, Russia pushed on, till, thirty years after her entry into Siberia, her power was well on the way to the Pacific. The city of Tobolsk had been founded to secure her frontier, and the trade route to Bokhara opened up. Thenceforth, as England and presently Holland, took steps to find their way to the close-guarded East, Russia marched with steady pace across the plains of northern Asia to meet them on the other side of the world.

England and Russia, whose fortunes were thus early joined in the great work of territorial and commercial expansion, found rivals in their efforts to extend their influence beyond their own borders and those of Europe. From a far different quarter and in far different hands there had been inaugurated a movement in whose conception lay the germs of what was to be the most important feature of the next stage of European progress beyond the sea; and, as it proved, the chief link in that lengthening chain of circumstance which was binding the religious and colonial impulses into a new form of polity.

Coligni
and French
coloniza-
tion

These centered in the activities of Gaspard de Coligni, Grand Admiral of France and head of the Huguenot party in that vexed nation. As in the case of the English adventurers, the French invasion of the colonial world was no new enterprise. Apart from the exploits of Verrazano and Cartier, the French had long made efforts to gain a foothold in America. Strive as she would, Portugal had never been able to prevent their presence in Brazil. Their rulers had long desired a foothold in that quarter of the world; their ships had long been visiting its ports; Rio de Janeiro had become almost a French outpost; and no small amount of the attention which Portugal had directed to her imperial colony had been due to the fear that it might pass to other hands. Now in the same twelvemonth of the Peace of Augsburg and Charles V's abdication, a tragic incident gave these activities a new importance. A certain Frenchman, Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, who had gained the French king's favor and the confidence of Coligni, secured from the one

1555-6

a concession for a settlement and from the other assistance in enlisting Protestant colonists for his enterprise. Thus equipped, he sailed to establish a post at Rio Janeiro. The experiment was short-lived. Villegagnon fell out with his companions; his followers were betrayed; and their post was destroyed by the offended Portuguese.

But its work was done. Despite its tragic failure the idea which it contained bore fruit: for in Coligni's mind there was developed the plan of finding homes beyond the sea for his persecuted co-religionists. The idea never left him. He tried and tried again to put it into force; and though he failed, he has the distinction of being the first European statesman to formulate a policy which, in other hands and later generations, was to become a leading factor in the Europeanizing of the world.

Failure in
Brazil

His second attempt was made under like auspices. For years the Huguenots or those who made their Protestant professions a cloak for piracy, had harried Spanish commerce relentlessly, especially in the Caribbean. They plundered and burned Havana; ravaged Porto Rico; terrorized the mainland about Cartagena; and harassed the West Indian trade in retaliation for Philip's interference in their affairs at home. Two years after Villegagnon's colony was destroyed they took another step. One Jean Ribault, of Dieppe, given command of a new enterprise, enlisted some young Huguenot nobility and some veteran soldiers, and made his way to Florida. There, passing the St. John's River, they went northward to Port Royal, where they set up a colony called Charlestown, in a region christened Carolina in honor of the French king. The dissatisfied colonists soon mutinied, killed their leader, and returned to France. Still Coligni, who had assisted the enterprise, was not disheartened, and when the Peace of Amboise gave a moment of quiet in the civil war, he despatched another party under René Laudonnière on the same errand. Founding a settlement on the St. John's, they embarked on expeditions against the Spaniards and the natives till the arrival of Ribault with reinforcements gave the new colony fresh life and character

Ribault

1562

1564

which under more favorable circumstances might have insured ultimate success.

1565 But the Spaniards were infuriated by their losses and invasion of their monopoly. Menendez d'Avila, created governor of Florida by Philip, prepared an expedition, hurried to the French settlement, drove off Ribault's squadron, surprised the fort, butchered its garrison with the French sailors who escaped from the wreck of the fleet, and rechristened the post San Mateo. Three years thereafter a Gascon soldier, Dominique de Gourges, sometime a captive Spanish galley-slave, equipped three ships at his own cost, reached Florida, stormed and destroyed the Spanish fort, hanged his prisoners, and so avenged his country and his faith. The French government, indeed, disavowed his act and relinquished all claims to Florida, which the Spaniards took immediate steps to colonize. Four years thereafter the Massacre of St. Bartholomew put an end to the great Coligni's life and plans, but despite the failure of his experiments, the attempt to settle Florida for the first time transferred to the new world the great religious conflict which was then about to convulse the continent. Insignificant as were the results of his activities in North and South America, they ushered in another phase of history.

Hawkins
and Eng-
lish trade
in America

With all the angry fear roused by the French Huguenot attempts to settle in Florida and Carolina, however, it was not from France that Spain had most to fear. She had more deadly enemies in the English and the Dutch; and even while she was engaged in driving out French colonists the English had begun their invasion of her monopoly in other quarters and by other means. If the story of England's eastward expansion is that of her commercial companies, the tale of her entry into the western world is that of her privateers. Her adventurous merchants, who had long since found profits in the African and American trade, had early discovered that "negroes were good merchandise in Hispaniola and that they might easily be had upon the Guinea coast." It was a simple discovery of wide consequence. Five years after Elizabeth came to the throne, while Coligni was plant-

ing his Huguenot settlements, one John Hawkins of Plymouth, 1563 following in his father's wake as a trader to Africa and America, made a rich voyage to Sierra Leone. In that region he got some slaves, "partly by the sword, partly by other means," including the plunder of the Portuguese; and took them to Hispaniola, getting in exchange enough to freight his own three ships and two others, which he had the temerity to send to Spain. There they were seized as contraband, but, even so, his profits were so great that lords about the court helped to finance a second venture, for which the admiralty loaned a ship. But the Spanish authorities were aroused; only the threat of arms opened the colonists' ports to him; and when, daring too greatly, he embarked upon a third and even more warlike voyage, his little fleet was crushed at Vera Cruz. Spain, enraged at 1567 this defiant violation of her monopoly and an attack upon her treasure-fleet which was driven by storm into Plymouth harbor, was deterred from war only by her entanglements and by England's adroit and none too scrupulous diplomacy.

Such were the circumstances in the extra-European world that accompanied the events which in Europe itself led up to and flamed from the Revolt of the Netherlands and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. They were not only of commercial and military importance. They involved not merely the principle of a *mare liberum* for which the Protestant powers stood, as against that of the *mare clausum* on which Spanish and Portuguese expansion had been based. They were, in part, founded on

The
sovereignty
of the sea

"The good old rule, the simple plan
That he shall take who has the power
And he shall keep who can."

Yet they differed from the earlier European conflicts in at least one important particular. They were far from being the result of the rivalries of princes, for the English queen, at least, was forced by popular sentiment and activity along the path which led to war, largely in her own despite. "Your mariners," declared the Spanish envoys to Queen Elizabeth, "rob my master's subjects on the seas; trade where they

The
Protestant
war with
Spain

are forbidden to go; plunder our people in the streets of your own towns; attack our vessels in your harbors; take our prisoners from them; your preachers insult my master from their pulpits;—and when we apply for justice we are met with threats.” In those words lay the root of the whole matter. The old faith and the new; the champions of monopoly and those who demanded a share in the trade of the world stood face to face. The Revolt of the Netherlands and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the unbending determination of Philip and the activities of the English privateers had made compromise impossible. The conflict begun in Europe had spread to the remotest corners of the earth. The Atlantic, and presently the Pacific, were troubled by the strange keels of the northern adventurers; and places whose very names were as yet all but unknown to Europe generally were to become the scene of conflicts no less important than Agincourt or Pavia. From the events of the oncoming years were soon to spring not only new European societies but a new balance of power and a new basis of civilization. For, with the exploits of Dutch rebels, English privateers and Huguenot colonists, the issues of politics, religion, and colonial expansion joined to produce a new and world-wide European polity.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONDITIONS OF CONFLICT. 1578-1588

THE period in which the Protestant maritime peoples embarked upon their great adventure against the Spanish-Portuguese empire in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was peculiarly propitious for such a task as that they set themselves; for, however desperate their attack seemed at first sight, they possessed two great advantages in such a conflict. The one was the situation of Philip's far-flung empire; the other was the condition of naval affairs and knowledge. The first was the more conscious stimulus. The wealth of the Hispano-Portuguese possessions was only too evident; and it offered prospects of plunder great enough to tempt a sterner virtue than that which filled the breasts of English, Dutch, and Huguenot privateers, even had their ambitions not been sharpened by those religious antagonisms which gave to their attack something of the form and spirit of a crusade.

The Portugal which Philip had now acquired was far from being the poor and divided state for which his ancestors had fought two centuries before. Her trading stations reached the farthest ports and islands of the East; her African possessions not merely secured the way to Asia, but drew to themselves the gold and ivory and forest products of the interior and an unlimited supply of slaves for her own use and that of the American colonies. From her Atlantic islands and Brazil came the greater part of the world's sugar, with dye-stuffs, precious stones, and gold. Her fisheries retained their ancient value; and her cities flourished. Lisbon's warehouses held the treasures of the East, spices and silks, gems, medicines, rare woods, the products of the precious metal-workers' art, the weavers' triumphs in fine fabrics, till their

Portugal
and her
colonies
1580-88

—her
strength

expanding bulk taxed the resources of the state to handle them. Its population had trebled in half a century, and its hundred thousand inhabitants ranked it among the leading cities of the continent, while with its harbor crowded with ships of every nation, this mistress of the eastern trade levied toll on every European state which used the goods of Africa, Asia, and America. Ten thousand slaves a year poured through her gates to till the fields of Portugal, and thousands more were sent across the sea. Apart from the inestimable gain in private hands, Lisbon's port dues alone paid the crown three million dollars annually, the profits of the royal monopolies as much more; besides tribute and presents from subject and allied powers. Under the wise administration of her greatest governor of Brazil and the salutary neglect of the home government, that imperial possession had been strengthened not only by the growth of northern settlements but by a post at Rio Janeiro to control the south. With Jesuit aid and the cessation of slave raids the natives had been conciliated; while the increasing stream of African negroes made the fortune of a colony whose population, at de Sousa's death, numbered no less than sixty thousand souls.

—her
weakness

Such was the wealth of the empire which fell without a blow into Philip II's hands; and it would have seemed that such resources, added to his own, would have enabled him to become the master of the world. Yet never were appearances more deceptive in any national economy than in that of Portugal. Despite the growth of cities and the influx of slaves her population had increased little if at all. With the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, the steady drain of men to fill the eastern ports and recruit the colonies, the recurrent epidemics increased by her close contact with Asia, and her losses by war and shipwreck, it is a question whether she was as populous as a century before. Nor was her loss confined to undesirables. Noble youths, pursuing fame and fortune, peasants driven out by competition with slave labor, middle classes fleeing from high prices produced by the influx of wealth in which they had small share, swelled the emigra-

tion till the nation found itself only exchanging free men for slaves.

This was bound up with problems of finance. The exodus of freemen reduced tax receipts, as the extraordinary demands of war and ostentatious foreign policy, joined to the extravagance inspired by Eastern wealth and methods, increased the state's expense. The public debt had grown till royal paper was worth but half its face value; and the national insolvency which ensued was not liquidated even by the enormous profits of the trade. Of its millions, the garrisons absorbed a third, administration and the fleets took all the rest, and more. Goa's port dues were worth a hundred thousand dollars a year; those of Ormuz half as much again; the rest in like proportion. Each voyage to the Moluccas was worth thirty thousand dollars; those to Japan or China four times that sum. Sofala alone produced each year, according to report, five million dollars' worth of trade; in days when money had a purchasing power some thirty-fold as great as now. But if crown profits were so great, those of colonial officials were greater still. Governors of larger ports, whose salaries ranged from fifteen hundred dollars to thrice that sum, accumulated fortunes in a three-year term. The government seemed powerless to prevent corruption and extravagance at home, much less abroad; the viceroys who strove to check it gained only the fatal hatred of the official class; and India, as the exiled poet, Camöens, wrote, became the mother of villains and the stepmother of honest men.

In the face of such wealth and weakness it was questionable whether the Portuguese empire was an asset or a liability to Spain; but there was no question but that the "Sixty Years' Captivity," as the Spanish period came to be called, was wholly disastrous to Portugal. The council of state was transferred to Madrid, the council of finance was divided to control the separate elements of the dual empire, but Portuguese hatred of Spanish rule more than neutralized every effort at reform. Dutch sailors were introduced, but pilotage degenerated so that in thirty years scarcely more than five ships a year survived the voyage to India. The formidable

Finance

1580-1640

artillery decayed, the army declined in numbers and discipline. And though the colonists of the islands and Brazil, left for the most part to their own devices, were able to protect themselves against native encroachment or the privateers that fell upon the rich and feeble prize, when northern seamen finally made their way to Asia they found an easy prey,—for Portuguese imperial power was already on the wane.

Spain
and her
colonies
1580-88

Spanish
expansion
—the Phil-
ippines

1564-5

But this was not the whole story of Philip's empire in these decades which saw the absorption of Portugal into Spain and its consequent decay. While she had proved herself incapable of assimilating and reorganizing her new heritage, Spain had given her own empire new form and strength; and in the generation which followed Philip's accession extended and reorganized her possessions. While Coligni set on foot his second colonizing enterprise, a Spanish adventurer, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, following the example of Villalobos, sailed from Mexico and established her power in the Philippines. From the capital, first at San Miguel in Cebu, then at Manila in Luzon, conquest began, though on a smaller scale and by milder means than in America. With the advent of the religious orders, especially the Augustinians, success was assured. Trade sprang up with Mexico; and, as the direct passage was given up for the great circle along the shores of Asia and America, a yearly galleon crept back and forth between Manila and Acapulco in New Spain, linking this most distant of Spain's possessions with those fleets which annually plied between Cadiz and Vera Cruz. The years in which the conquest of the Philippines was projected and carried out were marked by two other extensions of Spain's empire. The first was d'Avila's settlement of St. Augustine in Florida, the earliest permanent center of Spanish power in eastern North America; the second was the foundation of the town and province of Tucuman, in the vast fertile plains of the upper Parana, long since explored and settled by Spanish adventurers.

1585

With these began another chapter of European advance in the New World. The most populous district of the interior,

farther south, had already been seized by pioneers from —America
 Santiago de Estero. From Asunción, which had been settled
 nearly thirty years before, Juan de Garay founded the post
 of Santa Fé at the confluence of the Paraguay and Parana,
 while at the same moment Cordoba had been founded farther
 west. Thence he established a permanent post at Buenos
 Ayres near the La Plata mouth, on the site of an earlier c. 1580
 settlement; and so gave to the great grazing and plantation
 baronies of the interior an Atlantic port accessible to Spain.
 Nor was this all. While the eastern slopes of the Andes and
 the plains of the Argentine were thus transformed into
 European dependencies, whose grains and vines, cattle and
 horses offered unlimited possibilities of wealth, far to the
 north the men of New Spain spread in like manner through
 the southern spurs of the Rocky Mountains. There in later
 years the town of Santa Fé was established as the outpost
 and capital of that vast and little known region christened
 New Andalusia. Meanwhile, the cities at the center of
 Spanish Caribbean power, Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, Porto
 Bello, and Vera Cruz flourished in like measure with Lima
 and Mexico. Finally, the conquest of Venezuela, where
 Valencia and Caracas had been founded to hold the interior,
 was confirmed by the post of La Guayra, through whose port 1588
 poured a fresh stream of trade between Spain and the Vene-
 zuelan hinterland. Thus in the days when Philip aspired
 to direct the destinies of Europe, and Portuguese empire
 decayed, the wide-spreading movement by which his colonial
 pioneers and administrators secured the empire which Charles
 V's captains had won, opened new opportunities to European
 resources and influence.

Under the circumstances, it was imperative that this vast
 inchoate mass of lands and peoples which had developed so
 rapidly in the generation just past should be provided with
 a system of political and economic organization more suited
 to its changing form and needs than the simple viceroalties
 which had sufficed for the period of the conquests, and the
 haphazard voyages which had carried its first plunder to the
 mother country. The Spanish empire was accordingly split

The
 division of
 Spanish
 America
 1560-88

into two great parts, New Spain including Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, the islands, and the Philippines; and Peru, which comprised Spanish South America. Each of these grand divisions was again divided into lesser governments; New Spain into four *audiencias*, Mexico, Española—which included the islands and Venezuela—the northern district of New Galicia, and the southern province of Guatemala; Peru into five *audiencias*, Lima for Peru proper and Chili, Las Charcas for the central Andes, Quito for the north, New Granada for the northwest, and Panama for the isthmus. Each of these in turn were subdivided into governorships, of which New Spain counted seventeen or eighteen and Peru ten. Each of the great divisions was ruled by a viceroy, appointed for three years, assisted by his *audiencia*, or court and council, his *tribunal de los cuentos* for finance, his *junta de gobierno*, or administrative body, and his *junta de guerra* for military affairs. Such were the divisions of the western world destined to endure for nearly two centuries and to become, in large measure, the bases for the modern states which occupy that area.

The organization of trade

1562

No less important were the measures taken to safeguard and restrict the course of this richest of commerce from the “fountain and well-head” of the wealth of Spain, for its ship-loads of bullion early roused the cupidity of privateers in a day when no international law restrained their activities, and there was “no peace beyond the line.” Not merely did each port contain a *casa de contratacion* in miniature, but a complete system of transport was devised to handle and protect the valuable cargoes to and especially from America. Six years after Philip II came to the throne it took its final form. Once a year a great fleet set sail, usually in January, from Seville, Cadiz, and San Lucar, for the New World, convoyed by ships of war. One part, “the fleet,” so-called, was destined for Vera Cruz, the port for Mexico, and the Philippines; the other, or “galleons,” for Cartagena and Porto Bello, the *entrepôts* for South America. Sailing together, this fleet of half a hundred ships made its way by the Canaries and the West Indies to Dominica, where it

divided for the trading ports. To those ports, meanwhile, pack trains and ships had gathered up from the greater part of Spanish America, its goods, its gold and silver, and its precious stones, as the treasures of the Philippines had found their way by the annual ship to Acapulco and thence by pack train to Vera Cruz.

The galleons reached Cartagena usually in April and waited there till news came of the arrival of the Peruvian treasure fleet at Panama. On that they proceeded to Porto Bello, where was held a forty days' fair, at which goods were exchanged at prices fixed by agents from each side. The cargoes disembarked, the ships reloaded and departed from the fever-ridden spot, to join the fleet which meanwhile had pursued a like course at Vera Cruz. Uniting at Havana, the vessels made their way home by routes fixed secretly for them in advance and changed from year to year to avoid piratical attack. Thus was determined for a century and a half the greatest single trading operation of the world. It was but slowly extended to the other parts of Spanish America. For many years direct trade even with Buenos Ayres was prohibited, and when it was finally established, so rigid was the Spanish system, it was restricted, like that of the Philippines, to a single ship a year, the value of whose cargo was itself prescribed!

It was not enough, in Spanish eyes, to limit colonial trade to a few ports and to a single fleet. For the most part, all business was confined to a few trading houses of Seville, Lima, and Mexico, which were soon formed into close corporations, prototypes of those great companies which, in other hands and under different conditions, were soon to form the aggressive force of rival powers. However well it might have been adapted to the earlier stages of a rude commerce, or the perpetuation of a profitable monopoly to a few favored interests, this system worked a hardship to both sides, as Spanish imperial power grew with the advance of its subjects oversea. "Supplying a great kingdom like the provisioning of a blockaded fortress," however necessary it appeared to a government concerned almost entirely with

The
flota,
galleons
and fairs

the products of the mines, not merely lent no strength to the empire, it became an element of actual weakness. For it divided imperial interests from those of Spain; and concentrated wealth into convenient form for piracy.

Such was the position of the extra-European world at the moment when its master, Philip II, planned the extinction of Dutch Protestant faith and liberties; and, in conjunction with French and English Catholics, Guise, Valois, and Mary Stuart, dreamed of extirpating heresy and bringing England, no less than Holland, back to its ancient faith. Such was the situation which, on the other hand, inspired the seafaring elements of the threatened communions to their attempts on Spanish commerce east and west, and their designs to find a way to the great trade preserve of Asia.

It was not merely the decline of Portugal's sea-power and the relative inferiority of Spanish seamanship which gave them an advantage in the conflict which then began. Chief among the many influences which brought the northern powers to an equality with Spain and Portugal was the development of scientific knowledge. That had enormously advanced in those years which saw a great part of Europe engaged in violent discussions over the doctrines of salvation by faith or works; the necessity or efficacy of the sacraments; the insoluble mystery of whether the bread and wine of the sacrament was Christ's flesh and blood—transubstantiation, so-called; episcopal and congregational or presbyterian church government; free-will and predestination; and Papal authority as against the divine right of kings or individuals.

The extension of geographical knowledge

In particular, the preceding fifty years had freed men in no small degree from that dependence on experience, whereby the earlier navigators, like pilots on an ever-changing stream, had in large measure steered their course. The impetus to astronomy, cosmography, navigation, and the mathematics on which all these sciences depended, begun by the discoveries of the fifteenth century and reinforced by every advance of explorer and scholar, had found a powerful ally in the improved processes of printing and engraving which accompanied and stimulated the advance of knowledge. As the

material for study increased with widening areas of European activity, it was gradually made available in charts, geographies, and atlases. The time had passed when the precious secrets, long jealously guarded by Spanish and Portuguese authorities, were wholly confined to them. With the employment of foreigners in their service, with the issue of necessary manuals, no less than by the voyages which interlopers undertook, that knowledge filtered through to other hands, till, by the time that Philip had made the whole colonial world his own, there were many besides his subjects who knew more of the seaways east and west than was agreeable to his monopoly.

Meanwhile, that practical knowledge had been powerfully reinforced from a far different quarter. If the Iberian peoples had led the way in conquest and discovery, the Teutonic races had contributed scarcely less in other fields to man's capacity for comprehending and exploiting the world in which he lived. From the revised system of Ptolemy a fresh stream of mathematics, geography, and astronomy, which had flowed long since from Alexandria to Arabia and India, came through Arab channels back into European minds, greatly enlarged and purified. German scientists in the preceding century had revived mathematics and placed it at the service of their fellow-men; and here no single subject was of greater importance than the reinvigorated science of trigonometry, so indispensable to seafarer and cartographer.

Mathe-
matics
and car-
tography

This, in the hands of Purbach, Walther, and Regiomontanus, developed and soon found its way to print. Applied to map-making, with towns for central points, it revolutionized the art of cartography. To it Copernicus addressed his genius, and none of his contributions to human knowledge, not even his hypothesis of the solar system, was of more immediate service to mankind than this. For he applied the principles of this reviving science to curved surfaces; and to him is ascribed the first simple formula of spherical trigonometry.

With him began a new age of geography as well as of astronomy, and for the moment the former was of the

Mercator
1512-94

1543

1569

greater significance. For centuries, and more especially since the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, men had endeavored to picture the world graphically yet accurately. So long as the earth was believed to be flat and but little of it was known, this was not difficult. But it is not easy to depict all sides of a globe on a plane surface, and the ingenuity of map-makers was exhausted on the problem, with small success for fifty years. Now these attempts to improve the old cumbrous methods were crowned by the invention of Gerhard Kramer, better known as Mercator, sometime cartographer to Charles V, who published a world-map drawn on a cylindrical projection with lines of latitude parallel to the equator, and lines of longitude at right angles to these. This now familiar principle revolutionized cartography, displaced other systems, and from his time to our own has remained the model for navigation charts and maps in general. Copernicus' great work appeared as the Council of Trent gathered to its labors, Mercator's chart was coincident with the third Huguenot rising in France, and the union of the mother country, Poland, with Lithuania. Modest as their achievements seemed beside the earth-compelling conflict of Protestant and Catholic and the adjustment of European states, not even these yielded in results to the all but unheralded contributions of these obscure Polish and Flemish scientists.

They were but the principal figures in a great movement. Already manuals of navigation based on the new mathematics had appeared in print; the value of rhumb lines and the advantages of sailing on the great circle were recognized; and while western Europe was convulsed with the conflict between Spain and her enemies, one French scientist, Coignet, observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, and another, Norman, noted the dip of the magnetic needle. With such discoveries the way was prepared for a more accurate and scientific knowledge of the world and the ways to its most remote regions. These were added to the armory of Spain's enemies, since it was rather to those who had the lesser knowledge of the seaways east and west than to those who had

long been familiar with those ways, that this was of advantage.

Meanwhile, the co-workers of the scientists, the shipwrights, had not been idle. While the appliances of navigation had scarcely kept pace with the new knowledge, while astrolabe, cross-staff, and rude quadrants remained the principal devices for observing stars, and the defects of the chronometers left no means of measuring time at sea with any accuracy, ship-building had advanced. In Spain and Portugal, indeed, such changes as took place had been conditioned by the demands of commerce rather than of war. New types appeared, like the carrack and galleon, but, in the main, the tendencies were toward mere floating warehouses or fortresses. The famous caravels had been enlarged and strengthened; their upper works or "castles" had risen higher to hold more men and goods; port-holes for cannon had been introduced, and movable topsails; till the three-masters, with their high bows and stern, low waist, bowsprits, square-rigged main and mizzen sails, took on a new appearance, without much change in sailing or handling qualities.

While Spain and Portugal had been content merely to modify the older types of vessels, the northern ship-builders had evolved new models and new qualities; nor was the reason far to seek. The privateers for whom they built demanded great seaworthiness, ease of handling, fighting qualities and speed, since on these depended not merely their owners' living but their lives. Thus the French, and presently English and Dutch, began to launch a different kind of ship. Its keel was longer in proportion to its beam, its poop and forecastle lower in comparison with the waist, its greater draught and less freeboard making for increased stability and so for more accurate gunnery. To these were added more easily managed sails, longer cables, and improved capstans, for safety and quick handling. Of other forms, like those propelled with oars, which still found favor in the smoother waters of the Mediterranean, the men who had to meet the great Atlantic swells took little account, as from the Huguenot ports of France, from Rhine mouth and Zuyder Zee,

Ship-
building

and from the English harbors, they pushed out in yearly increasing numbers, better manned and armed, better found and handled if not better fought, to spoil the Spaniard and the Catholic.

The
antagonists

Thus, in the struggle for oceanic mastery were matched two types of ship, and no less two types of men: the Spaniard, who like the Roman forced himself to be a sailor and transferred as far as possible land tactics to the sea, and those traders and fishermen to whom for centuries water had been their other element. To this conflict science made one final contribution. Apart from the increase in the size and efficiency of cannon, the researches and experiments of men like Tartaglia regarding projectiles and quadrants for gunners' use now revolutionized the art of gunnery. And these, no less than the improvements introduced by their shipwrights, were seized upon by the antagonists. Thus in such curious wise there were combined religion, politics, and trade, science and ship-building, in the conflict with which the second stage of modern European history begins.

Achievements such as these, indeed, appealed but little to those outside the ranks of seafarers or scientists, and it is not probable that European rulers and statesmen in general recognized the altering circumstances of the world in which they lived—so blind have been those in the seats of the mighty to the most important influences beyond their narrow range of vision. Not until those forces proved their strength in action or thought, and so compelled attention from those whose minds moved in that unreal realm of the so-called high politics—and not always even then—were they reckoned a part of the world's affairs. Yet, as events were soon to prove, these humbler factors were the deciding element in a conflict upon which hung the fate of nations and beliefs.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARMADA. 1575-1588

THE changes in the tastes, habits, and opinions of the European peoples during the sixteenth century, which caused or accompanied their division into rival camps, had, by the beginning of the last quarter of that century, compelled even the most hesitant of powers to take sides in the struggle of civilizations, which filled that period, either from religious conviction or economic and political interest. From the first Spain's choice was certain. She was removed from the influences then permeating the greater part of Europe, no less by faith than by inclination, by the conservatism of a society whose fortune was already made and whose habits were already formed, and by the character of the sovereign who directed her affairs. In like measure the Netherlands, whose only hope of life lay in resistance to the Spanish power, found but one course open. France and the Empire were in a different case. Each faction in France felt the same necessity for preserving its position and its faith, and the nation, in consequence, was rent with civil war which prevented it from taking full share in the coming conflict. The Emperor, relieved from the fear of the Turk, only to find his authority defied by a revival of internal dissension between rival rulers and faiths in his dominions, was scarcely less removed from active participation in general European politics. But in so far as its situation permitted, each party in each state contributed as best it might to the far-spreading conflict then about to burst upon the European world.

Spain,
France,
and the
Empire

The situation of England was in many respects peculiar. The efforts of the Catholic party to overthrow Elizabeth and the Protestant establishment were, it is true, doomed to

England

failure. But Mary Queen of Scots was still alive and remained the focus of those elements which had not yet given up the hope of successful revolution. The government was therefore cautious to a fault, and still temporized. But it was far different with the majority of the people. The voyages of Hawkins, which had crowned the age of contraband exploits, inaugurated a period of all but open war. The revolts of the Huguenots and the Dutch enlisted English sympathy. The prospect of Spanish plunder inspired every sentiment of greed; and the progress of the Counter-Reformation, reinforced by the fears which the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revival of the Inquisition inspired, determined the event. No less for self-preservation than for reasons of conscience, the greater glory of God, and the enrichment of England, the active defense of Protestants was forced upon her, and the exploits of her privateers confirmed her policy. Thus while every popular and political instinct impelled them to fight Spain, in spirit not unlike the Spanish and Portuguese attack on Asia and America, in methods differing only with the times and the position of their enemies, the English pressed to the conflict.

Drake

1572

Its earliest exploit gave character to the war and a new hero to the English race. Three years after Hawkins' third voyage, his companion and kinsman, Francis Drake, sometime in trade with Guinea and the Spanish Main, ventured a fresh attack. With two small vessels and some eighty men he sailed from Plymouth for Nombre de Dios, that "golden granary of the West Indies wherein was hoarded up the golden harvest from Peru and Mexico." Joined at the Isle of Pines by another English bark with thirty men, his little force made Nombre de Dios, stormed the town and reached its strong-room, "the Treasure of the World," only to be balked by their leader's wound, which caused his disheartened men to retreat to their ships. Recovering from his injury, the daring adventurer proceeded to Cartagena. There he cut out a Spanish galleon from under the guns of the fortress, burned Porto Bello, crossed the Isthmus with only eighteen men, sacked Vera Cruz, plundered three caravans, and so,

after incredible adventures, brought home his little company, rich men. Such was the great exploit which ushered in the conflict between England and Spain and stirred English seamen to that far-reaching enterprise.

Four years later Drake sailed again with five ships, made land at La Plata, followed Magellan's track through the Straits, and with a single vessel of four hundred tons, the *Golden Hind*, found his way to Valparaiso, thence to Callao, 1577 plundering as he went. He took a rich galleon, the *Cacafuego*, with a cargo worth a million dollars; sailed northward to the Golden Gate, and from there some seventy days through the "main ocean" to the Philippines. Thence he proceeded to Ternate and the Celebes, Batjan, and Java. From the latter he made a course about the Cape of Good Hope, and, after an absence of three years, reached England with his cargo of gold and silver, spices and silks.

Not since Cortez and Magellan, scarcely since Columbus and da Gama, had any one accomplished such a feat; nor were its results much less considerable. The great adventurer had not only shown the way to the rich plunder of the Spanish Main. He had invaded the inviolate preserve of the Pacific, and it was not to be supposed that in the temper of the English this "master thief of the unknown world" would lack successors. Spain, naturally, was furious. Elizabeth, halting as usual between two great alternatives, hesitated whether to honor or imprison the daring adventurer, but finally made his cause her own and that of England. Denouncing to the Spanish ambassador his master's treatment of her subjects, his prohibition of commerce, and his encouragement of English and Irish rebels, she knighted Drake and thus threw down the gage to Spain.

The sea-king of Devon was but one of many adventurers. Even as he embarked on his long voyage, one of his comrades in the suppression of that Irish rebellion engineered by Spain, which had done much to inspire these counter-strokes, attempted the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly by another route. Three times did this commander of the Muscovy Company, Martin Frobisher, essay the northwest 1576-8

Frobisher
and
Gilbert

passage to India; and though the way he sought was as elusive as the gold in the pyrites which he brought back, he began that long series of Arctic voyages which brought glory and ultimately gain for England in the frozen north. Meanwhile, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose writings had inspired Frobisher's exploit, secured a charter for a new world colony; and though his plan failed as signally as that of the Arctic voyages, like them it pointed to future achievement.

These were but a few of England's efforts to expand her influence. At the same time that Gilbert, Drake, and Frobisher were engaged in the west, the power of the Hanse merchants in England was broken. The Eastland Company was chartered for the Baltic trade. The Muscovy Company extended its scope and character; and an embassy was despatched to the Sultan of Turkey seeking for trade concessions which gave rise to the Levant or Turkey Company. With these events England was fairly embarked on her twofold adventure, which presently set her in the forefront of maritime and commercial powers. Dutch and Hanse merchants had indeed preceded her in Russian trade, and France anticipated her plans of settlement in America. But though her Arctic ventures and colonizing schemes broke down; though the adventurers who emulated Drake were often crushed; she led the way to the invasion of the Spanish power, and first devised that form of corporation which was to bring her to ultimate success.

Spain and
Ireland

1579-83

But she could hardly hope to carry on such far-reaching designs unhampered by her enemies. While Philip's armies were at close grips with the Dutch rebels in the Netherlands, and his intrigues supported the French Catholics, he took steps against England which revealed still other aspects of his situation and his cause. From their piratical adventures oversea the English were summoned to meet dangers at home. Even as Drake returned from circumnavigation of the world, a body of so-called Papal volunteers, chiefly Spaniards, had landed to assist a new Irish rebellion. To its repression, as six years before, the privateers hastened to the assistance of the crown. The power of the rebellious

Earl of Desmond was destroyed; the ill-fated invaders were put to the sword; and the Spanish ambassador, demanding satisfaction for Drake's piracies, was refused admission to the queen's presence.

Meanwhile the same force used to weld the Irish into union against the English power—the Jesuits—despatched agents to England from their colleges on the continent for a darker design. The Spanish ambassador drew in the violent English Romanists; the Scotch Catholic nobles were enlisted; the head of the French Catholics, the Duke of Guise, promised his aid. Agents were engaged to kill Elizabeth; plans drawn for invasion from Scotland: and Mary, Queen of Scots, now long a prisoner, was destined for the English throne. This great design was accompanied by even wider plans. The death of Francis Duke of Anjou made Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, the next heir to the throne, and France flamed once again in civil war as his opponents strove to bar the way to his accession. At the same time the savior of the Netherlands, William the Silent, fell by the hand of an assassin, instigated by the Spanish king. Thus auspiciously began the great attack upon the Protestants. But the fine-woven scheme broke down. Henry evaded the snares of his enemies; the Netherlands were not dismayed by the loss of their heroic leader. The Scotch Presbyterians secured the person of the young king James; the English conspiracy was unearthed and the conspirators were put to death. The net was drawn about the brilliant and ambitious Queen of Scots; till, as England girded herself to meet the great Armada then preparing in Spain to crush her once for all and make Philip her master, the unhappy queen, last hope of English Catholics, was put to death.

With this the die was cast and each side pushed on to war. England and Scotland signed a peace safeguarding their respective Protestant interests. Elizabeth sent an army to the Netherlands: and, under the transparent guise of letters of marque from Condé or Orange by which they had long preyed on Spanish ships, her courtiers embarked on more open attacks. These were accompanied by further efforts to

—the
Jesuits

1583-4

1587

The war

1586

1584-5

colonize. Already Gilbert, with his stepbrother, Sir Walter Raleigh, had tried to plant a settlement in Newfoundland; and Raleigh had sent out a colony to the region north of Florida, now named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth. As the threat of invasion grew, Drake was called on to strike another blow. With Frobisher as his vice-admiral, he plundered Vigo on the coast of Spain, sailed to the Caribbean, burned Santiago, held Santo Domingo and Cartagena to ransom, picked up the remnants of Raleigh's Virginia colony, and so returned to make ready for still more daring exploits.

The
Armada

1587

Meanwhile Spain's preparation for the invasion of England had gone on. In all her ports, especially Cadiz and Lisbon, shipwrights were busy, sailors, soldiers, supplies, and vessels were collected. In the Netherlands her great general, Parma, drew to the Flemish coast a powerful army to co-operate with the forces of the fleet, which was to crush the English, then the Dutch, restore the waning prestige of Spain, and make Philip the uncontested ruler of the British Isles and the Low Countries. Against this huge preparation Drake was launched again "to impeach the joining of the fleet out of their several ports, keep victuals from them, follow them in case they should come forward towards England or Ireland, cut off as many of them as he could, cut off their landing, and set upon such as should come out of the East or West Indies into Spain, or go out of Spain thither." Under such wide instructions he made for Cadiz, burst into its harbor, captured, burned, or sunk more than thirty vessels he found there. Then, establishing himself at Prince Henry's old post at Sagres, he harried the coast, seized forts, supplies, and ships, and sold his captives to the Moors to ransom English slaves. Thence he sailed to the Azores and there captured a Portuguese carrack, whose rich cargo opened English eyes to the real value of the Eastern trade; and so, having "singd the beard of the King of Spain," he returned triumphant from the adventure which had proved so great in glory, spoil, and warlike results.

His success only delayed the blow, though that delay was of much help to England; and in the following summer the

Spanish Armada set sail. No such naval expedition had ever before been launched by any European power. A hundred and thirty vessels of near sixty thousand tons burden were manned by eight thousand sailors and more than twice that number of soldiers, who, with galley-slaves, servants, and others, brought the total force to thirty thousand men. Moreover, the fleet was equipped with great stores of ammunition, supplies, horses, mules, carts, and intrenching tools. For this was no mere naval venture. In the Netherlands 1588 the Spanish general, Parma, drew his troops together and prepared transports for an invasion of England which the Armada was designed to cover and assist. Nothing less than the complete conquest of the British Isles was planned; and naval victory was but the prelude to a war on land.

Beside the threatening bulk of this huge twofold armament the English preparations seemed almost insignificant. The royal ships were sparsely provided with food or powder; and the stirring words of the queen scarcely atone for the lack of sufficient munitions, equipment and supplies. But what the government lacked, private enterprise in large measure supplied. A score of ports furnished their vessels to meet the foe, London first of all. Hundreds of seamen, thousands of landsmen volunteered to serve under the great captains who had made the English name a terror to the Spanish world. An army was collected; and the Thames' mouth fortified. Thus prepared, England awaited the attack.

It was not long delayed. Held back by contrary winds until July, a favoring breeze brought the Spanish armament across the Bay of Biscay into the English Channel, where the English fleet, under the queen's cousin, the capable Lord Howard of Effingham, awaited them at Plymouth. There the Armada should have stopped and fought. But, acting under orders far too minute, the inexperienced Spanish commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, hurried past, with some slight skirmishes, toward his rendezvous at Calais, where Parma, who had brought his forces up prepared to convey them into England by transports, was harassed and held back by a Dutch fleet. Following close on the Armada's track, July 21-29

the English hung on flank and rear, pounding with their heavy artillery, cutting out disabled vessels or slow sailers, which the Spaniards made no effort to save, hampering and harassing their less mobile enemy for a full week till the Armada found shelter in Calais Roads. Driven thence almost immediately by the English fire-ships, they faced their enemies in a last, decisive engagement off Gravelines.

The
Battle off
Gravelines

In the conflict which was to decide, in some sort, the future of the oceanic world, of Protestantism, and perhaps of Europe generally, all the advantage seemed to lie with the enormous fleet of Spain. Beside its huge array the English vessels seemed as small and weak as their narrow kingdom beside their enemies' far-flung empire. But the weakness was apparent, not real; the advantage actually lay with them. Despite its numbers the Armada counted hardly more than fifty men-of-war fit for the service on which they were engaged; while the English, even when their adversaries first entered the narrow seas, were scarcely overmatched in fighting ships. The slight disparity in numbers was more than made up by the nearness of their ports, with consequent facility for refitting and repairs; while the apparent discrepancy in size was largely accounted for by difference in build.

But the deciding advantage lay in the ships and men. More stable than the top-heavy, cranky Spanish craft, whose pitching and tossing made good marksmanship all but impossible, the English were superior in number and weight of guns. Better manned and served, firing three shots to the Spaniard's one, with greater range and impact, as well as greater accuracy, they poured a tempest of shot into the towering targets of their enemies from a comparatively safe distance. More weatherly, they were able to evade the Spanish efforts to come to close quarters, keep the weather gauge, cut out stragglers and disabled ships, and fight or run with equal success. Finally, the crowning English advantage lay in their officers and crews. The Spaniards, hampered by the soldiers on whom they had relied for boarding and land-service, were undermanned with seamen. Their artillery-

men were despised by "men of sword-thrust and push of pike"; their highest officers were grotesquely ignorant of sea affairs, and inferior in every particular, save that of personal bravery, to the English. The English fleet, on the other hand, was heavily manned with sailors trained equally to work and fight their ships. Its commanders were accustomed to their task, and in familiar waters; its admirals were no mere courtiers, but seasoned veterans, chosen not for wealth or social status but for ability. Thus each navy was a fit representative not alone of its national sea-power but of its society.

When finally the two fleets came together at Gravelines, even the disparity of numbers told against the Spanish. While they had lost by capture, shipwreck, destruction, and unseaworthiness, the English fleet had actually increased, since to it "out of all Havens of the Realm resorted ships and men; for they all with one accord came flocking hither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and country." From the first the issue never was in doubt. Defeated with terrific loss, unable to find refuge in the continental ports or effect a junction with Parma, whom the Dutch held impotent, Spain's great Armada finally broke and fled into the North Sea, pursued by the English to the Firth of Forth. Some of its vessels perished off the coast of Holland, some were taken, others sunk or burned. The rest made their slow and painful way about the British Isles, leaving a long trail of wrecked or foundered ships. The survivors who were unfortunate enough to escape the sea were butchered by those into whose hands they fell, till of that imposing force which had set forth to insure the triumph of Spain and Catholicism, a broken handful made its way home again. Without losing a single ship, and at the cost of scarcely more than sixty men, England not merely remained the mistress of the narrow seas, she became the leading naval power of the world. With the failure of her Armada, Spain, broken and bankrupt, lost her primacy in the European system of states; and there began a new chapter in history.

July 29,
1588

CHAPTER XV

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH; AND THE ANGLO-DUTCH INVASION OF THE EAST. 1588-1601

The
results
of the
Armada's
failure

LIKE all such great catastrophes, the defeat of Spain's Armada marked at once the climax of one series of events and the beginning of another. The chapter of European history which it closed had been the record of the maritime, commercial, and colonial supremacy of Portugal and Spain. The one it opened was to chronicle the transfer of that power to the north. The sixty years just past had seen the new communions challenge the establishment in church and state; the next sixty were to see affairs readjusted in the light of the new faith and policies thus evolved. The generation then vanishing from the scene had been concerned most largely with controversies which turned upon questions of theology. The generation coming on the stage was to find in the field of science an enlarging sphere of intellectual activity. The colonizing energies of Europe, directed by the Mediterranean powers, had hitherto concerned themselves principally with the tropics, working on broad but superficial lines under royal, noble, and clerical influences. Henceforth they were to be largely absorbed by temperate and cold temperate states; and by middle classes, seeking to win from commerce in private hands and from the actual transference of European peoples with their own customs to the New World the more enduring gain of trade and colonies. Above all, the oncoming generation was to see the currents of religion, politics, and colonial-commercial enterprise joined in new forms of European polity. Thus as a century before Europe had created a new situation in the world's affairs to which she had readjusted her actions and her thought, so now she stood at a fresh parting of the ways, impelled to new

achievements along new lines by forces which she herself produced.

The Protestant ascendancy

Of all the consequences which flowed from the Armada's failure none was more striking than that it threw into high relief the three significant features of the situation which the preceding two decades had evoked. These were the increased importance of sea-power, the growing strength of the middle classes, and the shifting of the balance of statecraft toward the reformed communions. Of these the last was most immediately evident. Under Elizabeth, England had revealed a subtlety in politics no less remarkable than her success upon the sea. As a result, not merely was she now definitely ranged on the Protestant side; but the execution of Mary Queen of Scots had delivered that nation into the hands of its Calvinistic elements. These reared the young prince James,—who was to become the ruler of both kingdoms,—in the faith of Geneva rather than of Rome. At the same time the Republic of the United Netherlands had produced a worthy successor to William the Silent in the person of Jan van Oldenbarneveltdt. His talents, reinforced by the military gifts of the great Stadtholder's son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, bade fair to rescue the new nation from Spanish bondage and weld it to a state which, from its slender foothold on the land, challenged the supremacy of the sea.

France felt the same impulse. Twelve months to a day 1589 after the English ships turned back from their pursuit of Spain's defeated fleet, Henry III, last of the Valois kings, fell victim to the dagger of a mad priest; and thenceforth the greatest of the Huguenots, Henry of Navarre, faced no rival in his long and bloody progress to the throne. His enemies of the Catholic League were overthrown at Ivry. Paris was won by his nominal conversion to Catholicism, "the lip-service of a mass." Just ten years after Drake had rounded Cape St. Vincent to crush the Spanish vessels then preparing at Cadiz to overthrow the Protestant powers of the north, this half Protestant, half Catholic, and wholly tolerant sovereign of a united France confirmed the rights of his Calvinistic subjects by the Edict of Nantes. 1598

Thus while half of Germany and all of Scandinavia embraced their doctrines, from the Hebrides to the Pyrenees the new communions found little persecution for a full generation, and Europe remained not unevenly divided between the old faith and the new.

The Anglo-Dutch
attack on
Spain

Yet with all the romantic interest which attached to the career of Henry IV, with all the many and varied activities which it witnessed, the fifteen years which followed the destruction of the Armada form a far less impressive period in the affairs of Europe than the preceding decade. The Papacy, indeed, saw three masters in as many years. The struggle of the Imperialists against the Turks went on. The Spanish king continued his efforts to suppress his subjects' liberties; and Catholic quarreled with Protestant throughout the Empire as before. The north saw the continuance of the conflict for Vasa supremacy over Sweden and Poland which centered in the ambitions of Sigismund III. But all these events, however important to the men of the time, yield in ultimate significance to that struggle between Spain and her Anglo-Dutch enemies, which spread throughout the world and, by the transfer of naval supremacy to the northern powers, revolutionized Europe's affairs.

This long struggle, it has been observed, was not merely a warlike adventure; it was a conflict between two principles of European civilization. And with the decline of Spain it was but natural that those nations which best expressed the spirit of the changing age, commercial, intellectual, religious, maritime, political, should take their place in the forefront of Europe; as a century earlier political expansion had lain in the hands of Spain and Portugal, and intellectual initiative, with commerce and finance, had been most conspicuous in Italy.

The
United
Nether-
lands

Chief among those nations were England and the United Netherlands, and nowhere were certain aspects of the oncoming development more remarkable than in the tiny provinces about the Rhine mouths, still battling for independence, like a later Greece with a Spanish Persia. More than sixteen hundred years earlier, Cæsar had found their swamp- and

sea-dwelling ancestors, the Belgæ and Frisii, among the stubbornest and least accessible of his enemies, and Spain was now repeating his experience. Save for the Roman outpost at the "Last Crossing,"—"Ultra Trajectum," Utrecht so-called,—they had remained all but untouched by Roman influence.

As the centuries went on they had been converted by Irish monks; taught by the missionaries to dike and drain the land against the sea, at once their greatest enemy and friend. Their meadows had become the seat of great monasteries; their towns had been enriched by their daring fishermen, who "founded cities on herring skeletons." Later still they came under the power of the aspiring house of Burgundy, and thence, by marriage, to the rule of Spain. Neither was able to crush their ancient love of liberty. Their landed aristocracy, their burghers, their farmers and sailors, lord and merchant-prince alike, cherished a stubborn pride of race and land; and, with their adoption of the Calvinistic doctrines, the Protestant element among them was further hardened against their Catholic rulers. All the tact of Flemish-born Charles V had barely kept his Dutch provinces in leash, and Philip II's ill-advised designs had driven them to rebellion. And though the Catholic Flemings and Walloons had been won again, the United Provinces under their heroic leader, William of Orange, maintained a struggle, which, despite their desperate disparity of numbers, had brought them thus far not merely success but prosperity.

They were still in doubtful conflict for possession of the narrow land which they had so largely won back from the sea, and their real strength lay upon that restless element. Their slow-flowing rivers, their canals, their level, low-lying fields, their too well-watered country, all of whose principal towns were seaports, made them at once extraordinarily accessible to trade and yet defensible in the last resort by letting in the ocean. The people whose "farms only grew enough to feed them half the year," became rich from the North Sea fisheries which fed a fasting faith, and on the carrying trade which their location and facilities threw in their way.

Their
commerce
and
industry

They were masters of the many-mouthed Rhine, with its great commerce, neighbors to the English producers of wool and grain, and to the Flemish weaving districts which consumed those products. Besides the wines and silks of France, the fish and oil, hides, tallow, and forest products of the Baltic and North Sea, they seized upon the trade in Eastern goods from Lisbon and, after the fall of Antwerp, they became the chief distributors to northern Europe for that profitable commerce. So great was their maritime ascendancy that as early as the middle of the sixteenth century their principal province, Holland, was reckoned to possess a thousand ships and thirty thousand seamen. Nor was this all. From Italy their enterprising merchants learned the lessons of finance and trade that had been lost on Spain and Portugal, the tried devices of banking and exchange which were to make the Netherlands a second Lombardy. Meanwhile from Geneva they drew a Calvinistic polity and faith which imposed stern virtues of economy and industry, inspired the love of liberty and individual rights, and helped to nerve them to resist oppression to the last limit of human endurance.

Their
political
situation

Yet, though their very faults made for success against the outside world, their internal affairs were seldom so fortunate. The faith which infused the principles of dissent, brought with it doctrines of independent thought which held the seeds of controversy. The natural antagonisms of merchant and noble, of maritime and agricultural provinces, were emphasized by wars in which the one bore the chief brunt and the other reaped the chief benefits. The rivalry between province and province, town and town, which, even in time of war, did not always yield to common interests of self-defense, in quieter times might well lead to fierce dissensions. The Union of Utrecht, which had set up the central government of a States General over a federated body of United Provinces, republican in form, had failed to destroy particularistic tendencies. Their constitution was designedly imperfect and obscure. Their legislature was but a meeting of provincial diplomatic delegates, and these, joined to a weak executive and a local administration which failed to check

the opposition of the unenfranchised classes to the petty oligarchies of merchants who ruled the cities, perpetuated the old divisions. Finally the jealousies between town and country, province and province, were crowned by the antagonisms of rival schools of theology.

But withal the Netherlands revealed tremendous energy. For the first time individual initiative had virtually free scope in nearly every department of life, and it was almost immediately reinforced by outside agencies. The first of these was the sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops. The greatest single catastrophe since the fall of Constantinople was the ruin of the Queen of the Low Countries; and its destruction in the burst of Spanish fury which wrecked the rich, rebellious towns of the devoted Catholic Netherlands drove thousands of their wealthy, energetic merchants into the Dutch provinces to increase their resources of capital, ability, and numbers. Still more, when Philip II repudiated his indebtedness and ruined the capitalists of Augsburg, and the great house of Fugger fell, carrying with it many lesser moneyed interests, Amsterdam became perhaps the most powerful financial center of the continent; while the United Provinces, enriched by new energy and capital, struck boldly for supremacy in trade. To this achievement the states bent all their efforts; chambers of commerce in the cities lent their aid; individuals planned and fought. For the first time in modern Europe there arose a national state based on commerce, bound by its ties and interests into new forms of politics and business enterprise. It was republican if not democratic, self-governing, individualistic, yet, for the time at least, co-operating to one end. Free in thought and speech beyond all other continental peoples, it now brought to bear a fresh and powerful energy, nation-wide, to establish a new and active principle and become a vigorous factor in the world's affairs.

Yet whatever the intellectual and material advance of the United Netherlands, whatever their immediate strength and success, the ultimate promise of her neighbor-ally, England, was greater still. With all their pride of race, few peoples

England

or none of northern Europe were of more mixed blood than those of the British Isles. The Celtic tribes, which at the dawn of British history were driving a still older population into the fastness of the islands, having been conquered by the Romans, after the imperial eagles were withdrawn were themselves driven from the lowlands by Saxon invaders. These, in turn, were conquered by Dane and Norman, with adventurers or refugees from the whole continent who followed or accompanied them to this melting-pot of European peoples, till around the Saxon-Danish-Norman heart of England proper and the Scottish Lowlands spread a wide Celtic fringe of Wales, Cornwall, and the Scotch Highlands. Ireland had followed much the same course, and though she had been nominally conquered by the English who had absorbed Wales, their sovereignty was scarcely recognized outside the so-called Pale along the eastern coast. The tribal chiefs of the west were nearly as independent as the rulers of Scotland; while, to the political and racial animosity they bore to English domination, the Reformation—which had overspread England and the Scotch Lowlands, but found no foothold in Ireland—added another and even deeper basis of antagonism.

Her
triumph

With the defeat of the Armada, after so many years of travail, England now stood forth triumphant and rejoicing in her strength. What the court of Lorenzo de Medici had been to letters, what the court of Ferdinand and Isabella had been to war and adventure a hundred years before, the court of Elizabeth now became to both letters and adventure. Strong in the prestige of Spanish overthrow, enriched by the trade and plunder of the oceanic world, inspired by the new learning of the Renaissance and the spirit of the Reformation, skilled alike to wield the sword and pen, the brilliant circle ranged about the English queen touched the high level of courtly achievement in action and intellect alike. The court, indeed, was but the more splendid flower of a sturdy stock. Elsewhere in Europe popular liberties had, for the most part, sunk beneath the despotism which men welcomed as a cure for feudal anarchy, and aristocracy had hardened

to a caste. But in England the Parliament lived on beside that very tyranny which had crushed the mediæval baronage. There had been created a nobility of "new men" dependent on the crown and bound by the old custom by which a commoner could rise to ducal rank and the younger sons of nobles sink again to commoners; thus insuring a more intimate relation among all classes of society than was generally possible on the continent.

The ruling house partook of all the qualities of the race from whence it sprung. Brave, crafty, affable, skilled in the "art of governance," the Tudors revealed the powerful anomaly of wielding despotism by popular consent. They were arbitrary monarchs of a free people, and they expressed the will and the temper of their subjects and their times. Shrewd, haughty, practical, illogical, and proud, at once religious and cynical, they possessed insight and common-sense beyond their class. "I do not so much rejoice," declared Elizabeth, "that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people." If the Tudors were tyrants, they brooked no tyranny in others. If they were at times unjust and cruel, they enforced justice as they saw it. If they oppressed, they checked lesser oppressors. If they struck down aspiring individuals, they seldom dared invade the rights of a class; for their power rested in their concert with their subjects. The Tudors retained, indeed, what power they could in the face of the increasing strength of their subjects. They were not able to overawe their Parliaments, but they created scores of new boroughs, whence they hoped to draw into the Commons a body of representatives, like the new nobility, devoted to their interests. Yet if this was their design it was far from accomplishing the subjection of even the lower House to royal will; and it evidenced at once the growing power of the commonalty and the substitution of "governance" for mere arbitrary royal authority. While the Vatican sent Bruno to the stake, Richard Hooker argued the supremacy of law and government in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, unharmed. While the Consistory compelled Galileo to recant, Coke maintained to the king's face that

The
Tudors

royalty was under God and the law. Such were the results of Tudor domination on their own generation and the next.

The
church

England's energy was not limited by politics and war. Her breach with Rome, which had begun with the question of royal divorce, deepened by the disestablishment of the monasteries, and confirmed by the conversion of the people, had been made permanent by the foundation of a Protestant church unlike any other in Christendom, and now, by the failure of the Armada, secured from Catholic attack. Created, like the aristocracy, under the influence of the crown, it remained Roman in form though Protestant in doctrine, episcopal, diocesan, liturgical, and largely Calvinist, a working compromise between reaction and reform, a middle ground on which all but extremes could meet. Parliament, alternately subservient and independent, now a convenient instrument, now an effective check to royal power, was supported by a commercial, moneyed class that took its place beside the landed interest which had risen upon the ruins of the baronage, enriched by the spoils of a disestablished Catholicism and a depressed yeomanry. Thus with all its inequalities and inconsistencies, well-balanced, self-contained, and self-supporting by land and sea alike, equally removed from extremes in politics, faith, and society, the England of Elizabeth stood forth the characteristic leader of its times, as its great rival, Spain, had been a hundred years before.

The
Puritans

Like her it had its adventurers and religious enthusiasts. From manor-house and farm, seaport and counting-house poured forth a steady stream of younger sons, yeomen, sailors, merchant-adventurers, to seek their fortunes oversea. Everywhere, but especially in this busy middle class, as the doctrines of Calvin made their way, the advancing thought of the reformed communions, Puritan so-called, had tended to press beyond the middle ground of the Tudor church establishment to a more extreme Protestantism. It combined narrower sympathies with wider liberty of thought. It urged a severer code of morals, a more austere life, a simpler form of worship, opposing itself to the "rags of Rome" and the "abominations" which to its eyes defiled the statelier,

"seemlier" forms of the Anglican worship. Against these extremists, with a sure instinct for the royal prerogative, the crown had set its face, but the blood of the martyrs was ever the seed of the church. The persecuted Puritans had multiplied and strengthened with the growth of a class where "heterodoxy and trade went hand in hand." It now became increasingly apparent that their doctrine of the individual right to choose his faith, their democratic or theocratic tendencies, backed by their numbers and their capital, would inevitably be transferred in time to the field of politics, whence vested authority labored to exclude their disturbing influence.

In literature as in adventure and religion, meanwhile, Englishmen went far in the generation which followed the Armada. The "poets' poet," Spenser, crowned his earlier triumphs with his *Faerie Queene*. Courtier-adventurers, like Sidney, laid aside the sword to wield a scarcely less trenchant pen; and dramatists, with the supreme genius of the modern literary world, Shakespeare at their head, passed the bounds which had been set to achievement hitherto in that field. Relieved from imminent fear of destruction at the hands of Spain, conscious of its strength, and equipped for progress in nearly every field of human endeavor, the nation turned to complete the downfall of its ancient enemy. And as in the case of Holland, now joining in the fray, its very elements of unrest contributed to its offensive power, since religion no less than trade was the prize of success.

Literature

Its first efforts were directed toward retaliation; and the scattering ships of the Armada had scarcely straggled back to Spain before England had launched a fleet against her enemy. This enterprise, under Drake's command, fell short of what had been expected, but the loss inflicted on the Spanish ships and stores completed the work of making his countrymen safe from further danger on that side. Not the least of the English intention had been a plan for "intercepting the king's treasure from the Indies," and though that failed, the project of traversing the eastern trade monopoly was almost immediately revived by an extraordinary

Reprisals
for the
Armada

1589

The
third
circum-
navigation
of the
world
1586-8

circumstance. A fortnight after Drake returned from pursuing the Armada, there had appeared in his native town of Plymouth one Thomas Cavendish, in his little ship *Desire*, from a voyage around the world, which in daring and results was a fit rival to Drake's own exploit. Two years earlier Cavendish had sailed with three small vessels by way of the Canaries and Cape Verde to South America, passed the Straits, and made many prizes, among them a Manila galleon, the *Great Santa Anna*. Thence he found his way to the Philippines, and so, by way of Java to the Cape of Good Hope, discovered St. Helena, and, "by the mercifull favour of the Almightye," reached home just in time to hear of the defeat of the Armada, "to the singular rejoycing and comfort of us all." From this great voyage he brought back not merely treasure; under the circumstances the maps and information he acquired were of inestimable value. For by confirming and enlarging the knowledge of the Spanish preserves which had first been invaded by Drake, he performed a service of scarcely less importance to his fellow-countrymen, whose energies were now bent on completing Spain's overthrow.

Elizabeth's
policy

Fortunately for Spain, and unfortunately for England, Elizabeth still hung irresolute between conflicting policies. Had she followed the plan of cutting off the *Flota* which supplied the Spanish power with the sinews of war from America and was now the most considerable source of Spanish revenue, she would have brought her enemy to his knees at once, and saved Europe a bloody chapter in her ensuing annals. If she had seized strategic points and held the sea she would have accomplished scarcely less. But vacillation and caution, as too frequently before, marked the course of the English queen in the decade and a half which intervened between the Armada and her death; and though many expeditions harassed and weakened the power of her antagonist, Spain, however crippled, was enabled to go on. Norreys and Drake were despatched to aid the aspirant to the throne of Portugal, Don Antonio, to rescue his country from the Spanish domination. Frobisher, Cumberland, Hawkins, Howard,

Essex, and Raleigh were sent out to ravage the Spanish coasts, plunder the Indian and American fleets, and avenge Philip's aid to an Irish rebellion, which was suppressed with stern cruelty, as the English queen's long reign wore to an end. But there was, withal, no serious, determined effort to end Spain's power, even on the sea. After two vain attempts to found a colony in Virginia, Raleigh turned, with Drake and Hawkins, again to the Spanish Main, seeking its plunder and that fabled El Dorado which had lured so many brave men to their death. This elusive goal Raleigh sought about Guiana and the Orinoco, while Drake and Hawkins ended their careers where they had been begun in a last blow against the West Indies. It was a tragic close to a momentous period. At Porto Rico Hawkins died; and Drake, foiled in his efforts to plunder the towns he attacked, soon followed his colleague. Off Porto Bello his body was committed to the sea,—“and that which raised his fame became his grave.” But with all the harassing conflict of raid and reprisal, neither the destruction of Spanish fleets and ports, nor the seizure of Fayal, nor even the vain attempt to invade Spain's western monopoly by the ill-fated settlement of Virginia, effected little more than the hampering of Spanish plans and momentary loss of men and property. The final blow remained to be struck.

1597

1595

As a preliminary, this guerilla warfare of the seas provided the information which was essential to the greater enterprise. Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh had many rivals in their attack upon the Spanish Main. In those tempestuous years before and after the Armada, many others made their way to sack the Spanish ports from Vera Cruz about South America to Acapulco, and to waylay the galleons, till the way to the New World came to be known to the English almost as well as to the Spaniards themselves. The “ruttier,” or sailing directions thither for all seasons of the year, took its place among the navigation records, with charts and descriptions not alone of the Americas but of the Atlantic islands off Africa, of the winds and currents of the Atlantic and even of the Pacific. Of all the plunder of the Spanish

The break-
down of
Spanish
monopoly

ships nothing was counted more valuable than the letters, reports, and maps of their captains' cabins. Within a dozen years after the Armada, on the basis of such material, England had built up a body of information of more worth to her even than the wealth of gold and silver she had secured from Spain. The Dutch were not far behind, and in one field they surpassed even their future rivals. Once the mystery of the sea-ways east and west was solved, the map-makers, printers, and engravers, who abounded in the Netherlands, published the knowledge which the privateers secured. So far as Protestant peoples were concerned, the Reformation had destroyed whatever force the Papal bulls had lent to Spain and Portugal. Now as the last bulwark of the Iberian monopoly, the secrets of the passage, began to fail, the guns of the Protestant privateers and the Flemish gravers' tools joined to complete the conquest of Philip's far-spreading empire of the seas.

The
invasion of
the East

Of all the difficulties which confront the historian who aspires to chronicle the progress of any society, small or great, the most perplexing is to choose the leading motives which at any moment dominate the actions of the time and determine the future, and to weave into one narrative the many and often widely divergent activities of classes and individuals which make up the sum of the achievements of the mass. In too many cases this seems to be all but impossible; and even in considering the results of such a catastrophe as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, it is not easy to determine justly the relative importance of the various results which seem to flow from that great event. But among them one is certain. With the collapse of Spain's domination of the sea, the way was opened for her enemies to invade the long guarded routes to the Orient, and to begin there a chapter of history of the most far-reaching consequence not only to themselves but to Europe and to the world generally.

The great days of the Spanish Main came to an end with the concluding years of the sixteenth century; for the English courtier-adventurers found the ports prepared against them, treasure hid, and capable resistance everywhere. But if

the colonizers for the moment found no permanent foothold in the western hemisphere, the merchant-adventurers were more fortunate on the other side of the world. Even before Armada times the Muscovy Company had secured its position in the trade of Russia. The English queen and the Russian Czar had exchanged ambassadors, and a score of voyages had brought Persia within the widening area of English enterprise. The "high courage and singular activity" of the Arctic adventurers had been rewarded with little more than unmeasured realms of polar ice through which they had been unable to penetrate to the riches of the East. But what their daring had failed to accomplish was now achieved in different quarters and by different means. For as in the preceding generation Sebastian Cabot had brought from Spain the knowledge which had directed the English along new paths of enterprise, so now, with the defeat of the Armada, there came from Portugal a like impulse which took the English power at last across the line.

The story is one of the romances of history. Among the seamen who had flocked from all quarters to fight the Armada came one James Lancaster, who had been "brought up among the Portuguese," to command a vessel in that "last great battle in the west"; and his arrival marked an epoch in affairs. Many adventurers, indeed, English and Dutch, had already made their way to the Guinea coast. The survivors of the Drake and Cavendish voyages, at least, knew something of the way back to England by the Cape of Good Hope. But thus far knowledge of the seaway to the Indies was not within the scope of English seamanship. Now, however, all this was changed. Three years after the defeat of Philip's fleet, Lancaster sailed in the same ship he had commanded at Gravelines, the *Edward Bonaventure*, with two more, from Plymouth bound for the Indies. From Table Bay he sent back one of his little squadron full of scurvy patients. Another of his ships was lost; but he went on. He evaded Portuguese hostility, conciliated the natives, gained knowledge "of the state and traffique of the country" everywhere. He made his way by Zanzibar about Cape

James
Lancaster

1591-4

Comorin to Ceylon, Sumatra, Pulo Penang, and Malacca, trading and taking prizes; and after three years, returning as he went, brought his rich cargo home, with twenty-five of the two hundred men who sailed with him.

What Vasco da Gama's first voyage had been to Portugal, Lancaster's exploit was to England. The Portuguese monopoly had been invaded successfully, the closely guarded seaway to the East traversed, and the Spanish-Portuguese power had been found far from invincible on its own trading-ground. The effect was profound if not immediate. The following year, financed by London merchants, Lancaster plundered the Brazilian ports to such effect that he was compelled to hire Dutch ships to help transport his booty from Pernambuco; and scarcely was the profit shared among the backers of his enterprise than wider plans were set on foot to follow up the lead his earlier exploit had given. But the delay had already proved nearly fatal to the progress of English enterprise in the East; for before the Londoners could formulate their plans they had been anticipated by their rivals across the North Sea.

The Dutch
invasion of
the East

It was not surprising that the Dutch should take the lead in this movement. They had long been accustomed to act as middlemen for oriental products between Lisbon and north European ports, and thus had grown familiar with the supply and the demand of a traffic which they had shared only with a few houses in London and the Low Country capitals. Now that they were in arms against Philip, English and Dutch alike had been shut out from Lisbon. Their ships were seized; and a commercial no less than a religious and political crusade had been proclaimed against them. With this, and with the fall of Antwerp, nothing remained to those determined to participate in the traffic with Asia but to break through to the sources of the eastern trade. Years earlier the northern route had been proposed; the Mediterranean way had been attempted; and the Guinea coast had been explored. But the Polar plans had thus far come to naught. Spain had strengthened her hold upon the Mediterranean where, with the Turk and the Barbary corsairs, seafaring became too

dangerous to be largely profitable; and the Guinea commerce was a poor substitute for that of Lisbon.

Dutch efforts to secure a source of eastern goods had thus far been futile; but at this juncture, like the English, they were aided by circumstance. Lancaster had been by no means the only foreigner in the Spanish-Portuguese service. Long before his day an English Jesuit, Stephens, had become a resident of Goa; more recently Elizabeth had sent a certain Ralph Fitch as envoy to Cambay and China. The latter, taken prisoner by the Portuguese and conveyed to Goa, had escaped, visited the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, at Delhi, and returned to tell his marvelous story. More important still, five years before the Armada sailed, one John Huyghen van Linschoten of Haarlem had gone out in the train of the Archbishop of Goa, and he now returned to publish his experiences and the routes to India. Three Dutch expeditions in successive years to find the northern way to the East had failed, and the heroic explorer Barentz had been lost; but Linschoten's tale of "great provinces, puissant cities, and immeasurable lands" spurred his countrymen to attempt the southern passage. And at the same moment fortune put in their hands a proper instrument for their purpose. This was a Dutch skipper, Cornelius van Houtman of Gouda, sometime in the service of Portugal but now disgruntled by the treatment accorded him by his employers, and prepared to reveal the secrets of the spice trade.

Thus equipped, the Company van Verre was formed for a Cape voyage. The aid of Linschoten and the geographer Plancius was secured; four ships, carrying some two hundred and fifty men and mounting sixty guns, were fitted out; and with Pieter Dierckz Keyser and the English John Davis as chief pilots, and Houtman as chief commissary, the squadron set sail. Rounding the Cape in safety, it stopped at Madagascar, the Malaccas, and Sunda, and reached its objective, Bantam, before it met determined opposition from the Portuguese. Proceeding thence, fighting and trading, taking on, with its cargo of spices, Chinese and Indians from Malabar, a Japanese and an experienced pilot from Gujerat, it made

friends with the natives wherever possible. It gained information everywhere. After more than two years it sailed again into the Texel with its precious goods and even more precious knowledge.

Its results

Its effect on Holland was no less great than that of Lancaster's voyage had been on England; and its results were far more practical and immediate. The Company van Verre prepared a second squadron at once. The Old Company of Amsterdam and the New Company of Zealand were founded, and others soon followed. The plan of reaching the East around South America was revived; and finally, when van Neck took out eight ships to Java and the Moluccas, set up factories, treated with native rulers, and returned with full cargoes, the whole nation fell into a frenzy of excitement over the prospect thus spread before them. They scarcely counted the danger and the cost. With one accord they hurried forward their preparations in defiance of the pressing hostilities at home and the squadrons which the Spanish-Portuguese authorities hastened to throw across the path of the intruders from the Canaries to the East.

Dutch
activities
elsewhere
1593

Meanwhile the Dutch had been no less active on the African and the American coasts. Five years after the Armada, Barend Erickzoon had led the way to the sources of gold and ivory and slaves on the west coast of Africa. The numerous efforts of his successors to seize S. Jorge de Mina and S. Thomé and so secure a permanent foothold on the Guinea coast had met with small success; for the climate had been found insupportable and the Portuguese power invulnerable. Yet despite the losses to individuals, it was apparent that the annoyance of the Spaniards and the prospect of further gains in America, which were later realized, were of advantage to the state. Especially was this true in the western hemisphere. Oldenbarneveldt, indeed, obstructed the design of an Antwerp refugee, one William Usselinx, to found a company to exploit and colonize the Americas, of much reward thereafter. But for many years, with the connivance of the colonial authorities, the Dutch carried on a profitable smuggling trade and even built posts on the

Amazon. So great, in fact, was Dutch activity in the East and West at the close of the sixteenth century, so keen the competition, not merely with other nations but among themselves, that it seemed not unlikely to defeat its own ends. The States General found it impossible, among local rivalries, to enforce the regulation of the various companies; and, failing this, they turned to another and, as it proved, a far greater design, that of consolidation. So far had the United Provinces progressed in a decade that they planned to seize the whole of the trade of the tropics in both hemispheres.

Before the project of consolidating their various interests in that field could be put into force, their English rivals had given them another incentive to that end and a model for their action. Against the English, as against the Dutch, Spain had sought to close the Mediterranean; and the existence of the old company of the Levant being thus endangered, steps were taken to reorganize and strengthen that corporation. This was the more important in that its interests were threatened from another quarter; for scarcely had the Dutch secured a hold on the spice trade when they raised the prices against the English. Under such circumstances the Londoners were driven to protect themselves; and, as a first step, two founders of the Levant Company, Staper and Smith, planned a new association. An agent, John Mildenhall, was despatched to the Great Mogul to secure commercial privileges. Lists were made of places held by neither Portugal nor Spain, which might be available to English trade without open hostility. A capital of some seventy thousand pounds was subscribed; ships were bought; the queen was petitioned for a patent. Finally, on the last day of the sixteenth century, a royal charter conferred on "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies"—commonly known as the East India Company—exclusive privilege for fifteen years of all commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in places not held by other Christian powers.

The English East India Company

The new corporation was obliged to send at least six ships a year. It was forbidden to export specie without guarantee-

1600

ing to return it; and its activities were controlled scarcely less by the crown and the Privy Council than by its own governors. It partook at first, therefore, in large degree, of the qualities of that form of organization known as a "regulated company," in which individuals or groups within a larger body, under its general supervision, sent out separate ventures. Still more was it the child of the curious Elizabethan policy, disinclined to face the facts of any situation, tentative, hesitating, inconclusive. It was inconceivable that the company should not come into conflict with the Spaniards and the Portuguese despite the mandate of the charter forbidding it to occupy the ports of its rivals. It was no less absurd to imagine that the southern colonial powers would look with more favor upon an organization invading their monopoly because of its charter provisions. Thus the early history of the company, whose activities were so restricted and whose capital was so limited, but which was destined to such great achievement, in consequence partook of the spirit of half measures so characteristic of Elizabethan policy.

Its first
voyage
1601-3

None the less, its services were from the first considerable. Under such auspices, with Smith as its first governor, James Lancaster was made commander of its fleet, seconded by the most famous navigator of his day, John Davis, who had explored the Polar regions, sailed with Raleigh and Essex, and but recently piloted Houtman around Africa. With four "tall ships" these leaders set sail in the first spring of the new century, rounded the Cape and made Achin, to find the "queen of England very famous there by reason of the wars and the great victories . . . against the king of Spain,"—so far had the results of the Armada spread. Loading with cinnamon and pepper, they established factories in Bantam and the Moluccas; and, after an uneventful voyage home, dropped anchor in Plymouth harbor to find England mourning the death of Elizabeth which had occurred three months before. Meanwhile, still seeking, like their Dutch competitors, to avoid the Spanish-Portuguese hostility and secure a shorter way to the East, the company had sent Wey-

mouth on another search for the northwest passage. In that he failed; but, with Lancaster's return, the way about the Cape, however long and dangerous, was at last assured, and there began that long three-cornered rivalry for eastern supremacy which was to take its place among the principal activities of European powers for two hundred years.

However great the ultimate effect upon the English, the immediate results of the establishment of their East India Company were of far more importance to the Dutch. What the States General alone had not been able to effect in saving the merchants from their overzeal was now accomplished by their rivals. The government of the Provinces took steps at once to unify the separate Dutch companies. Their petty jealousies were overcome. The fear of centralized control, which was always a bugbear to the Netherlands, was allayed by the establishment of a so-called Council of Seventeen, with representatives from all the chambers of commerce involved in the new enterprise. The authority of Oldenbarnevelt and Maurice of Nassau was invoked to quiet factional discord; and, two years after the English company was under way, the Dutch East India Company was chartered. 1602

The Dutch
East India
Company

The terms and resources under which the new corporation began its long and profitable career fitly symbolized the difference between the English policy and the Dutch in regard to Spain and the East. The Provinces were still nominally mere rebels against their sovereign, and the scruples which possessed Elizabeth and her advisers as to conflicting rights, for them had no existence, since, in any event, they were outside the law. Nor were their preparations less significant. The capital of more than six million florins, subscribed by citizens of the Provinces, the exclusive privileges for twenty-one years to trade, colonize, and make war throughout the vast territory which lay between the Strait of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope, revealed the scope and purpose of the powerful corporation. Sixty directors were chosen from all the principal chambers of commerce of the cities and provinces, a third of them from Amsterdam, with an inner circle, the "XVII," to whom direction of affairs was given.

Thus was revealed the national character of this undertaking as at once a source of profit and a warlike move against the Spanish power. With its resources and experience recruited from the whole people, its tremendous capital, its wide privileges, it was not merely the symbol of a new force in European politics and a new element in the world's affairs. It became the greatest engine of expansion and of trade yet organized in modern Europe, destined not merely by its deeds but by its example to play a great and decisive part in the next stage of political and economic progress of the continent. Such were the circumstances which, in the fifteen years between the Armada and the death of Elizabeth, gave a new turn to the fortunes of Europe and introduced new devices to further her power and resources.

The end
of an era

With the formation of the English and the Dutch East India companies the decade and a half which succeeded the Armada was fitly crowned, and the emergence of such organizations well typified the changes which were altering the face of European life and politics. Already the rulers of the generation which had seen the power of Spain broken in the disastrous failure of its crowning exploit were passing from the scene. Five months after the Edict of Nantes appeared, while Houtman was engaged in his voyage to the East, the champion of the Counter-Reformation and master of the colonial world, Philip II, died, leaving his country bankrupt, discredited, and, as it proved, weak beyond belief of those who still remembered her as the strongest and proudest power of the continent. Of Philip's antagonists, William of Orange and the subtle Elizabethan, Walsingham, had gone long since. Burleigh died a short month before; while their mistress, Elizabeth, lived to see five years of triumph over her old enemy. On the Imperial throne, the astrologer, Rudolf II, had spent two-thirds of his long reign in vain attempts to turn back the rising tide of heresy and preserve from his too ambitious vassals and relatives something of the power which Charles V had wielded. But, like his neighbors on the east, he found himself the champion of a losing cause. There, while Sigismund III of Poland and Sweden strove to

guide the widely diverging destinies of his ill-matched pair of principalities, the northern states adjusted their affairs to altering circumstance and the Turks rested on their conquests. In Russia, simultaneously with Philip II's death, the old line of Rurik ended in Feodor II, whose removal left a long heritage of civil strife, which for the time removed the Muscovites from further share in the affairs of Europe. With the death of Elizabeth in 1603 the Armada period may be said to end. Thenceforth Europe moved forward under new leaders upon new paths to widely different goals.

And while the older antagonisms of Europe went on, the great religious question shaped itself to new and still more terrible and far-reaching conflict, and the issue of royal prerogative and popular privilege took form. While the intellectual development of Europeans reached new heights of achievement and revealed new possibilities to science and philosophy, Europe beyond the sea came suddenly into a prominence which it was never to lose. For with the loss of Spain's monopoly of the ocean ways, the colonial and commercial elements of the northern powers, now suddenly unleashed, hastened to carry out their long-cherished dreams of expansion, and so began another era of European progress

CHAPTER XVI

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The middle
classes

It has been observed that the triumph of the English and the Dutch over the force of Philip II was due, in no small degree, to the activity and ability of that element in society to which is usually given the name of middle class, an element equally removed, on the one side, from the aristocratic caste which during the middle ages arrogated to itself the conduct of public affairs, and, on the other, from the lower ranges of peasants and laborers. To a still greater extent was the progress of society due to that same class which, as the seventeenth century approached, came to be of increasing importance in affairs. However much great movements like the Renaissance and the Reformation, science, letters, art, and scholarship had owed to the patronage of those in authority, this secularized middle class, economically independent and intellectually progressive, equally opposed to clerical conformity and aristocratic convention, had been the prime movers in economic and cultural activities. In consequence the history of the sixteenth century concerns itself not only with the ambitions of rulers, commanders, and ecclesiastics, but with the achievements of commoners who from Luther to Drake, Copernicus to Descartes, revolutionized the world of thought and action.

To these were joined the no less remarkable, though for the most part anonymous, improvements of the arts and crafts in the hands of obscure inventors and artisans. These laid the foundations for the advance in capacity and comfort which we are apt to call civilization. In consequence, whatever credit may be assigned to the ruling classes of Europe for their services in this cause, it is chiefly to those from whom

social and political eminence was withheld—the middle classes—that European culture and capability owe their development, and it is in their activities that any history of modern European progress must find much of its theme.

At no preceding time in history had the numbers of this middle class been so great nor its influence so apparent as in the closing years of the sixteenth century. As a natural consequence, its increasing strength was beginning to be evidenced by its emergence into public affairs. Not merely in science and literature, to which it still remained the chief contributor, in art and architecture, in philosophy and theology, as in every handicraft from weaving to ship-building, but in matters which a century earlier would have been reckoned beyond its province, this element, now coming to be known as democracy, had proved its power. And if one feature, above all others, characterizes the difference between the seventeenth century and its predecessors, it is the greater part played by the people in every state not wholly dominated by the ancient order. Of all the forces making for the modern world, of all the powers to whom the future belonged, this was the chief; and to those nations who were first to recognize or experience the strength latent in this new source of greatness came the first reward for its recognition.

It owed its rise to the economic and social advance of which it was a product and to which it had so largely contributed. The sixteenth century had been the age of capital and of national kingship, as well as of the Reformation and the exploitation of the western hemisphere; and with the decline of feudalism there had developed not merely a new system of national and international exchange, but new sources of wealth and power arising from commerce and finance. The relatively local industry, the restricted markets, the payment in kind or exchange, which characterized the mediæval period, had given way to wider operations and greater interests. Not every feudal lord still exacted duties on the goods that traversed his lands; and, whatever the situation which still existed "beyond the line," in European waters not every merchant ship was a potential pirate.

Economic
and social
advance

While commerce was thus slowly freed from its chief danger and inconvenience, finance received a like impulse. For the ecclesiastical anathema against usury had given way to the idea that men might properly take interest for sums which otherwise might gain profit in their own business. Money thus became a commodity, and, enriched by the influx of specie from the New World, as well as by the removal of restrictions and prejudice, the merchant-banker class increased in numbers and influence. Land remained, indeed, the more honorable, if not the more profitable, basis of wealth, but almost from year to year capital played a greater part in affairs.

Banks and
stock-
exchanges

As commercial operations had increased in number, magnitude, and variety, new devices were put in operation to finance them. From Italy the idea of a public bank had made its way to Holland. Besides this, the Netherlands had adopted another financial expedient of incalculable importance for the future. This was the issue of stock in shares which could be transferred from hand to hand, bought and sold publicly like land or goods. Such a device, first used by the great oversea trading companies, effected a revolution in finance of as great importance as banking itself and of perhaps even more far-reaching consequence, since it permitted men of small means to have a share in great financial enterprises, and drew from a thousand little hoards the national savings into vast reservoirs of capital.

Nor was this the only important feature of this period of commercial revolution; for commerce itself experienced great changes. Fairs, which had been so characteristic of the middle ages, remained as picturesque and profitable survivals of the older period. The cloth fairs of England and the Low Countries; the city exchanges of Germany, now reinforced by the book market at Leipzig; the great Russian fair of Nijni Novgorod, where East and West met to exchange their wares; and hundreds of like and lesser marts throughout the continent still played a great part in the economic as in the social life of Europe. Even beyond the sea, from Porto Bello to Japan, this oldest of systems held its sway undis-

turbed. Such activities were actually greater and more various than two centuries earlier, as supply and demand had gradually increased. Yet in comparison with the total amount of business done, their importance had relatively declined before the advance of more modern systems. The word exchange no longer connoted mere barter of commodities; for specie, bills, notes, credit, discount, and shares of stock were now a part of commerce as of finance. Combinations of trade and capital, so-called "engrossers," "regraters," "forestallers," or monopolists were active and now clearly recognized factors in affairs; and, as a result of long evolution, the business world took on an aspect familiar to modern eyes as "exchanges," dealing in stocks and bills, made their appearance in the centers of capital. Only in one direction was trade still hampered—its method of land transport. Wagons had taken the place of pack-horses, and with them had come some slight attention to highways. But, in the main, Europeans were to await for generations the transport facilities adequate to their ambitions and their needs.

No small part of this widespread development had been directly due to Europe beyond the sea. Trade routes had been revolutionized. As the bulk of commercial and financial power was transferred to northern powers the stream of traffic had worn down new channels of commerce, and the influx of precious metals altered the economic character of the continent. The flood of bullion and the increase of trade had not merely called a new class into existence to redress the old mediæval balance of noble and serf, free and unfree: it threatened to revolutionize politics no less than society. This increase of wealth had not been, indeed, an unmixed blessing to all men alike. It had produced a rise of prices in the sixteenth century, which had perhaps been not unrelated to the popular discontent of that tumultuous period. Neither wages nor national revenue had been increased proportionately to the growth of capital, and as yet no adequate means had been devised to draw such fluid wealth into the service of the state or lay on it such burdens as the land still bore. Both masses and governments, in consequence, had felt the

Effect of
Europe
oversea on
the old
world

strain; and readjustments in taxation, like the welfare of working classes, had, as usual, lagged far behind the growing national resources. Worse still, as royalty had become more ostentatious and expensive with its growing power, as the luxury of favored individuals and classes had increased more than the comfort of the great majority, social disturbance grew.

One may not venture to declare what relation, if any, exists between the concurrent development of these phenomena and the tremendous period of war by which it was accompanied and followed. But it is certain that there was throughout the continent a large discontented element, landless and moneyless, ready for any desperate enterprise. Nor is it less certain that, whatever religious and political motives impelled rulers to wage war against the old ecclesiastical establishment and their neighboring rivals, the hope of gain was not always absent from councils which professed themselves concerned only with conscience and honor.

Scarcely less significant than these phenomena was the general change of mental attitude, habit, and consequent demand, produced by the increasing stream of goods from Asia and America. What had been thought not long since the almost unattainable luxuries of the few, with the advance of what we call civilization, had come to be regarded as the necessities of the many. Spices and sugar, cottons, silks, with an infinity of lesser products of the extra-European lands, had begun to seem essential to existence. Upon them now depended many arts. Painters and dyers, workers in precious stones and metals, ivory, and stuffs of all sorts relied upon them. The advance in medicine brought new demands and new necessities. Even sports, like the recently invented game of billiards, and habits like the growing use of tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoa, lent their influence to increase the pressure on this commerce and to establish more firmly the connection between Europe and the outside world. It became inconceivable that her people should allow themselves to be cut off from the sources of the gold and goods which more and more became the foundation of a great part

of her existence; that they should allow themselves to sink again into their earlier civilization and economy. Still less was it possible that they should revert to that ruder scale of living which, to the men of the early seventeenth century and to their successors, would have seemed little better than barbarism. Thus, on every side, the new desires and devices of modern life were riveted upon Europe's society, and thenceforth played their part in her economy and even in her politics.

These altered standards were not confined to the highest Building classes alone, to royalty, the great nobles, or the clergy. What Pope and Spanish king had done in building a St. Peter's or an Escorial, the aristocracy did their best to imitate in castles, country and city houses. Even the burghers of the northern capitals did not lag far behind their splendid predecessors of the Italian city-states and their contemporaries of a higher rank. Guild-hall and market, mansion and counting-house rose among the humbler edifices of the trading towns in a new birth of architectural magnificence.

Among the alterations which the sixteenth century produced, especially in western Europe, none was more conspicuous than the development of the dwelling-house. As the demand for comfort grew and areas of strong government and relative peace increased, as the advance of artillery made it less possible for each man's house to be his castle, as the growth of royal authority discouraged more and more the construction of fortress-dwellings which might be centers of resistance to the king, the upper classes had turned to a different type of habitation. Feudal castle gradually gave way to manor-house and country-seat, to villa and château; while city mansions increased in numbers, convenience, and magnificence. Arrow-slits widened to windows glazed with leaded panes; rushes gave way to rugs upon the floors; rude arras to rich hangings. Tapestry shared the walls with pictures; plaster came to cover the bare stone; rude stools and benches, pallets or monumental beds gave way to lighter, more graceful, and more movable furniture.

Most of the arts had spread northward from Italy, and

Manners
and
costume

with them came minor refinements of scarcely less significance to the changing bases of European life. Manners improved with cooking and service, as plates replaced trenchers, while spoons, individual knives, and here and there a fork, took the place of dagger and fingers at meal-time. Habits of personal cleanliness made way; and, in the more civilized communities, soap became an article of manufacture and commerce, in some rare instances rivaling even perfumes. Methods of warfare altered even more. With the improvement of cannon and musket, full armor gradually gave way to helmet and breast-plate. The two-handed sword, the battle-ax and club, even the most deadly of mediæval weapons, the English long-bow, with its chief competitor, the Genoese cross-bow, became mere curiosities. This was accompanied by changes in costume. For, as the necessity for close-fitting clothes suited to wear beneath armor declined, men turned to other forms of dress. And though the name of that Columbus of tailors who first devised the masculine costume with which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were familiar is lost to history, it is apparent that he probably lived in the years which followed the Spanish Armada.

The sixteenth century is scarcely less notable for a general advance in the facilities for production and the increasing use of the comforts and luxuries of every-day life than for its attention to the concerns of the spirit. What may well be called the material reformation of Europe is fully as evident as the ecclesiastical reformation during that period. In the field of metal-working the invention of stamp-mills to prepare the ore, the discovery of the so-called wet process of treatment of the powder so produced, the use of sieves, and, above all, the separation of gold and silver by the quicksilver method, completed a revolution in the recovery of precious metals. This added enormously to European resources, especially when introduced into the mining regions of the western world. Beside these the discovery of the art of coating iron with tin was of no small importance in the lesser affairs of existence. Most of these new processes were the result of German ingenuity; and to that people, or to the Netherlands,

is attributed the adaptation of the loom to the weaving of ribbons. This was accompanied by another and still more important development, the art of knitting whose progress during the sixteenth century was crowned in the last years of that period by the invention of the stocking-loom. Than this, which is usually attributed to an Englishman, Lee, there is scarcely a single advance of more importance in material comfort since the introduction of silk and cotton to European markets, nor any so productive of alteration in costume and, in some measure, of habits and industry.

One other feature of the period just passing was no less remarkable. The art of carpentry or joinery, which in its higher branches was expressed in cabinet-making, took great strides during the same period. This was due in part to the increasing demand for better house-furnishings. But it was scarcely less owing to the progress in tool-manufacture. The sawmill, which replaced the older and peculiarly toilsome and unsatisfactory process of working out boards or "deals" by hand labor, had been gradually developed during the sixteenth century till it was now possible to cut several planks from a log at once. This, added to the improvements in the use of water or wind power, enormously facilitated the task of the wood-workers; while the development of the size, power, and uses of the turning-lathe aided them perhaps even more than their fellow-workers in metal. Beside these, still, in an allied field, the progress of the coach-makers had been no less remarkable. Those vehicles—which had earlier been confined to the use of women, sick persons, or great dignitaries—were now lightened, ornamented, and hung on springs of greatly superior arrangement and quality, and began to take their place among the necessities as well as the luxuries of life throughout Europe. Like every other refinement of existence, progress in mechanical art was greatly stimulated by printing; since the last half of the century saw for the first time manuals and diagrams of many varieties of methods and machinery for the use of artisans.

Wood-
working

In other fields the new bases of life were no less marked Education

if somewhat less conspicuous. As the conflict of communions widened and deepened during the sixteenth century, each side had hastened to enter the educational field; and Catholic and Protestant schools alike had grown in numbers and in intellectual strength. From Jesuit Coimbra no less than from Calvinist Geneva, the impulse to found new seats of learning or reorganize and revive older establishments spread throughout the continent in the hands of the adherents of the rival schools of faith, and, joined to the humanistic movement which had preceded it, lent to education a new vigor and new direction.

Protestant
universities

This was especially true in the Teutonic lands. England, beginning with Henry VIII's splendid foundations of Christ Church at Oxford and Trinity College at Cambridge, made great additions to her roll of collegiate foundations in both her universities during the Tudor period. Scotland, and even Ireland, with its Protestant establishment of Trinity College, Dublin, felt the same impulse; while in Germany the universities of Jena, Marburg, Königsberg, Helmstedt, and Altdorf, among others, testified to the same evangelizing spirit of the new communions. Finally Holland, at the height of her desperate struggle with Spain, found energy to establish at Leyden, in honor of the heroic resistance of that city, a faculty which was to become famous throughout the continent in the succeeding century. The Catholics went further still. For, apart from the rejuvenation of their older seats of learning, the religious orders established universities in Spanish Asia and America,—Lima, Mexico, Cordoba, Manila. And this movement, however ecclesiastical its origin, soon brought results in many other fields. Above all, while in other lands the progress of the Reformation and the national spirit tended toward a certain provincial and dogmatic spirit, the Italian universities retained or acquired a universality scarcely known elsewhere. In consequence, they became the goal of those who aspired to the best learning of the time, and the ranks of their faculties, no less than of their students, tended to attract the ablest and most enlightened men of the continent.

Meanwhile in both Protestant and Catholic establishments, whatever their service to their respective faiths, the emphasis on training men for secular pursuits insensibly augmented; as it became increasingly unnecessary for those who entered professional or public life to be in holy orders. Lay statesmen and officials became the rule rather than the exception, even in the most Catholic of states; for, with all Europe's absorption in the saving of its soul, the age of ecclesiasticism in secular affairs was passing rapidly. The changes thus taking place were indeed unequal in different quarters of Europe, conditioned as they were by the development of personal liberty. They were far more conspicuous in the north and west. Thus while serfdom still flourished in eastern Germany, Poland, and Muscovy, it was already dying out in France, and had long since vanished from English soil. In like degree, except for parts of Italy, the intellectual advance tended to follow the same lines as the development of commerce and the new communions, since in those vigorous societies now rising into eminence, the new ideas found a warmer welcome and a greater tolerance than in communities still dominated by the noble and the priest.

Thus as the sixteenth century merged into the seventeenth Europe was being gradually transformed into a far more secular society than that which the early reformers found. The combined influence of the Renaissance and Reformation had now elevated and strengthened lay authority. Now in place of an all-powerful unity of faith and feudal rights came a new unity in diversity of interests and beliefs, which from that day to this has been the characteristic of the European world. This was due in chief measure to two elements—the increased demand for comforts and luxuries which bound this great society into the interdependence of its several parts for the material necessities of their more complex lives, and the intellectual movements which tended to build up a universal society, founded not on uniformity of belief but on community of knowledge. In such wise and under such impulses Europe, amid the incessant conflict of political and ecclesiastical rivalry, developed the germs of a new unity,

Seculariza-
tion of
society

at the same time that it set forward on new paths of material and intellectual adventure.

Printing

To this movement, as to all others in the intellectual field, the art of printing contributed. With the sixteenth century appeared the "text-book," or manual of instruction, whose name indicates its origin in those publications of classical or even Scriptural texts, which became the basis of a great part of education, then and since. The educational value of the printer's art was not confined to merely intellectual pursuits. From that stream of publication which began with Caxton's book on chess had flowed a multitude of manuals on almost every department of life—hawking and heraldry, building and decoration, gardening and husbandry, and, perhaps not the least, as indicative of the amelioration of the hardships of mediæval society, on cooking. With this went other activities difficult to classify, yet obviously related to the progress of Europe. Thus collections of pictures and books, the founding of galleries and libraries, came into evidence, and, in a somewhat different field, the establishment of botanical and zoölogical gardens with which, beginning in Italy, the great ones of the earth satisfied their curiosity no less than their love of display.

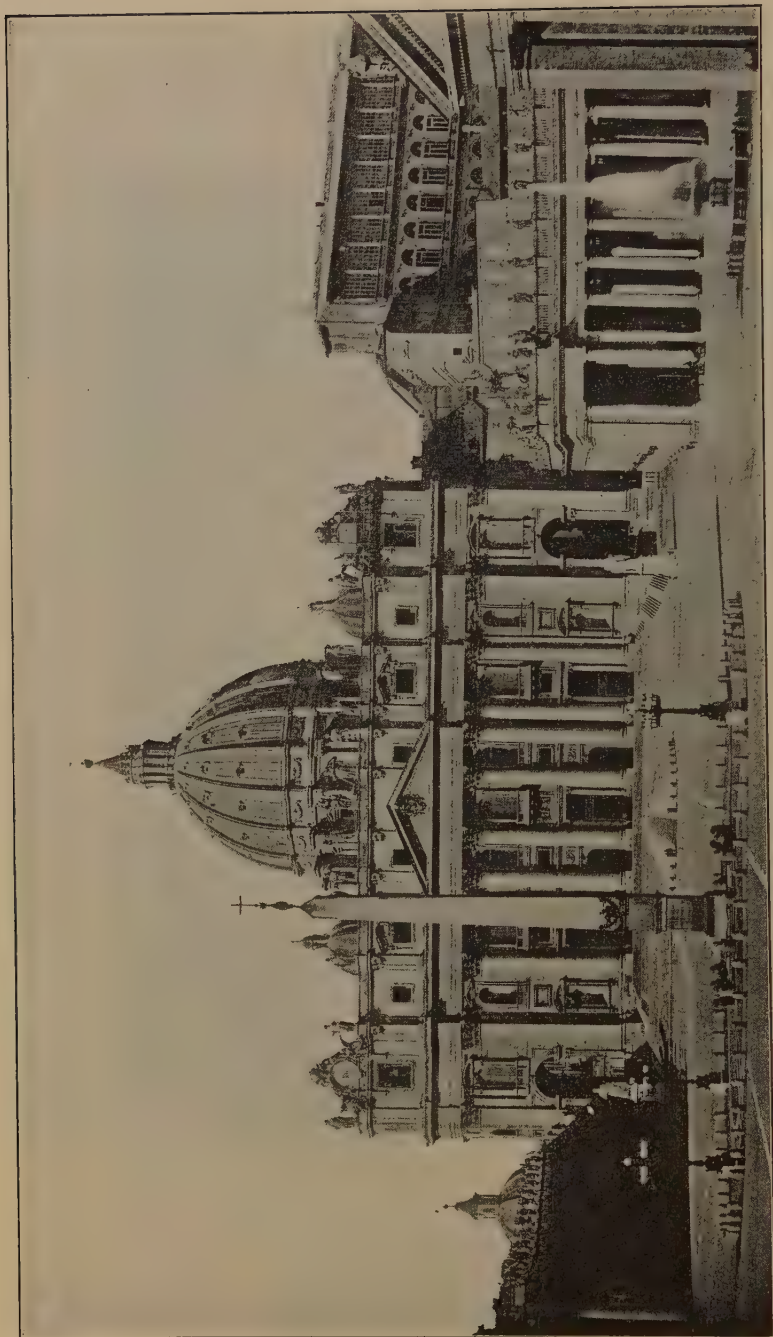
Letters

Besides these still, the closing years of the sixteenth century made their own contribution to the refinements of civilization. These were different, indeed, but not inferior even to those advances in the humanities and especially in the urbanities of life which the splendor of the artistic renaissance had contributed to the continent. For with all Europe's absorption in war and trade, religion and politics, there remained minds open to matters outside the province of all these, which busied themselves with concerns even more enduring than wealth or power. Amid the clash of faith and arms in France, Michel, Seigneur Montaigne, composed in the security of his Périgord château those *Essays* which have remained the delight of all succeeding generations. Filled with the spirit of classicism, the love of nature and of man, hatred of dogma and an irrepressible delight in mankind, its weakness and its strength, they not merely amused, they



THE CHÂTEAU OF CHENONCEAUX.

Built during the 16th century; a beautiful type of French Renaissance architecture and not, like the buildings of an earlier period, adapted to defence.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ROME.

helped to humanize the world. While Portugal's power declined, her greatest poet, the exiled Camoëns, began in his distant Asiatic prison the epic of the Portuguese heroic age, the *Lusiad*, which related the great deeds of Vasco da Gama and his successors. At the same time all Italy was ravished with the sonnets of Tasso, which soon inspired the continent to imitate a form of verse that thenceforth took high place in nearly every European literature. Meanwhile, his epic, *Jerusalem Delivered*, set him among the immortals of Italian poetry and even won for him the high though tardy recognition of the church authorities. Finally, as England emerged from the long coil of circumstance which hampered her entry into world-politics, the court of Elizabeth read with delight the young Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, fit prelude to that nobler burst of melody, the *Faerie Queene*, whose beauty adorned the years following the defeat of the Armada.

1571

1574

1579

1590

The other arts were not neglected in this stirring period when politics began another chapter of its ever-changing events and characters. The golden age of the Italian painters was past; the first great contributions of the Netherlands had been made; and the deaths of Holbein and Dürer, Titian and Michelangelo had left only such talents as those of Tintoretto and Paul Veronese to reflect the sunset glories of a greater school. But two arts now took on at once new beauty and new form. The first was architecture. During the mid-sixteenth century in those nations so diverse yet so closely connected in many ways throughout this period, England and Italy, there sprang up, almost simultaneously, two rival schools of the builder's art. The one was the neo-classic type, already begun in the hands of the Renaissance masters who had turned from Gothic models to those of the ancient world for their inspiration. Now, in the hands of Palladio, the classical influence began definitely to supersede the mediæval and renaissance forms in European taste, as the massive pillar, round arch and dome overpowered the more graceful Gothic forms, and the tower virtually disappeared from architecture for two centuries and more.

Painting

Architec-
ture

In England, meanwhile, the combined effect of wealth and political change—the advance of comfort and luxury, with the impossibility of defense against improved artillery,—turned men to a neo-Gothic type. This, during the Tudor period, adapted the older form especially to the convenience of domestic use; and, before the classical style invaded northern lands, produced some of the most livable as well as the most beautiful examples of dwelling-houses which Europe had yet seen.

Glass and
china

To the refinements of life another art contributed. In England and Germany glass-making, introduced from Italy, developed new methods and new forms no less useful than beautiful; and in France the genius and patience of the heroic Palissy drew from a thousand unsuccessful attempts the secret of making that delicate glazed pottery known to the East, and named from its chief source, china.

The drama
and opera

But with all these manifestations of progress during the period which centered in the Armada, one rose to such sudden and, as it proved, such sustained eminence, that it became the prodigy of the age. This was the art of dramatic representation which, like architecture, found almost simultaneous expression in England and Italy. It was not new. No savage tribe but had rude elements of the drama among its religious or social rites; no nation of antiquity but had framed canons of tragedy or comedy, chorals or interludes. With the advent of the Greeks into the field of drama, the rude eclogue and pastoral which formed the earliest vehicles of this art, grew suddenly into the tragedy of Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides, and the comedy of Aristophanes. These marked the climax of dramatic achievement in the ancient world, or, so far as those particular forms were concerned, of any time. Thence the decline was rapid and complete. The Roman imitations of the Greek drama were bad; the rude mystery and miracle plays of the middle ages were worse. And with all its progress in other fields, in the dramatic art the Europe of the early sixteenth century scarcely surpassed many of the half-civilized peoples whom its adventurers found and conquered. The Renaissance restored to her a portion of the

Greek masterpieces; but Greek drama made its way slowly into scholarship, more slowly still into literature, and not at all into stage-craft.

The same was measurably true of music, inseparably con- Music
 nected with drama in the Greek conception. Its methods and its instruments, inherited or adapted from the past, improved but slowly through the period lying between the ancient and the modern world. The middle ages wrought the old "Pan's pipes" into a rude organ, whose sounds filled the hearts of its hearers at least with awe. Troubadours and minnesingers relied largely on the harp for their accompaniments. The bugle and trumpet, flute and hautboy, trombone or sackbut, with a few other forms, almost as old as European civilization itself, remained the chief wind instruments. From the viol the late Renaissance period began to evolve the violin in the hands of Italian instrument makers; and toward the close of the sixteenth century the Amati of Cremona began that improvement of this kind of stringed instruments, which reached perfection a century later in the productions of their great pupil, Stradivarius.

Thus equipped by the instrument makers, the composers had gradually improved their craft. The rude elements of harmony known to the Greeks were slowly acquired and extended during the middle ages. The modern tetrachord took the place of the ancient hexachord. The scale was made to run up, not down; the so-called *discantus*, or two-part harmony, was introduced, and the art of counterpoint, or composite melody, was founded. By the close of the fifteenth century four-part writing had been achieved, with the variations from simple melody which were accomplished by such refinements as the so-called inversions, discords, and chromatics. The early part of the sixteenth century, in addition to the improvements made by sharps and flats, and what were known as accidentals and "passing notes," had seen the development of the staff, bars, and clefs. These, defining the older and looser notation, set music another and a greater step along the path which made it an "absolute art," not unrelated to mathematics. Much of this improvement was

due to the Netherland school of musicians, which during this early period of musical evolution did most to introduce these innovations and give music its modern form. Thence the later Renaissance brought these newer developments into Italy, where, at Venice and Rome in particular, they were reinforced by an emotional element and the genius of another school of composers.

Palestrina
and
Monteverde

For the most part music had developed in the church, which found in its harmonies one of the chief agents of its mystical appeal. But secular music felt the same impulse and a variety of new forms, among which the madrigal was conspicuous, soon challenged the older and less pleasing as well as less flexible fashion of folk-songs and minstrel lays. The latter years of the sixteenth century gathered up the various threads of this long development, and two powerful influences combined to complete the change from mediæval to modern forms. The first was the work of the Vatican choir-master, Palestrina, first of moderns or last of mediævalists. The second was that of the Cremonese composer, Monteverde, who, breaking away from the so-called polyphonic forms in which Palestrina excelled, turned his attention to freer melody and more worldly activities. He adapted his scores to dramatic purposes, and associated his talents with that movement which by the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, under his direction, had established in Venice the first European opera-house. Nor were the Protestant communions slow to enlist music on their side. For the long list of their hymn writers, beginning with Luther, allied with their composers, of whom "the Protestant Palestrina," Lassus, was chief, rivaled the Roman harmonists, and injected the element of choral or congregational singing into European life.

1637

The play-
wrights

Such were the beginnings of a new art which was to spread with great rapidity throughout the European world. It had an ally. While Italy had led the way to the final development of melody and the opera, she had done scarcely less for the drama. This in her hands, and in those of the other peoples, followed or accompanied her progress in the new

field of operatic representation. The growing class of story-tellers and scholars who owed a great part of their inspiration to the Renaissance was, indeed, quick to find other channels than the medium of narrative literature for the expression of its talents. That curious fraternity of strolling players who, during the later middle ages, in particular, had amused Europe at fairs and feast days, was not slow to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the altering spirit of the times. They turned from the folk-comedy and the religious mystery-play which had been their chief stock in trade to other forms of representation, drawn from the incidents of the life about them or from the rich treasures which the story-tellers and the classical scholars had collected. Among them, in consequence, there sprang up a school of play-writers, soon recruited by literary aspirants who saw in the drama of life a field for talent till then absorbed by other forms of prose and verse. The fashion grew no less by the activities of the writers than by the hold it took upon the public, which found in the new art a means of amusement peculiarly satisfying to its tastes. In many cities arose a system of resident companies, supplied from their own ranks or from outside sources with dramatic material,—stock companies, as they became known to a later age, strollers only upon occasion. And, as the fashion spread, the actor, the manager, and the playwright became recognized features of European society.

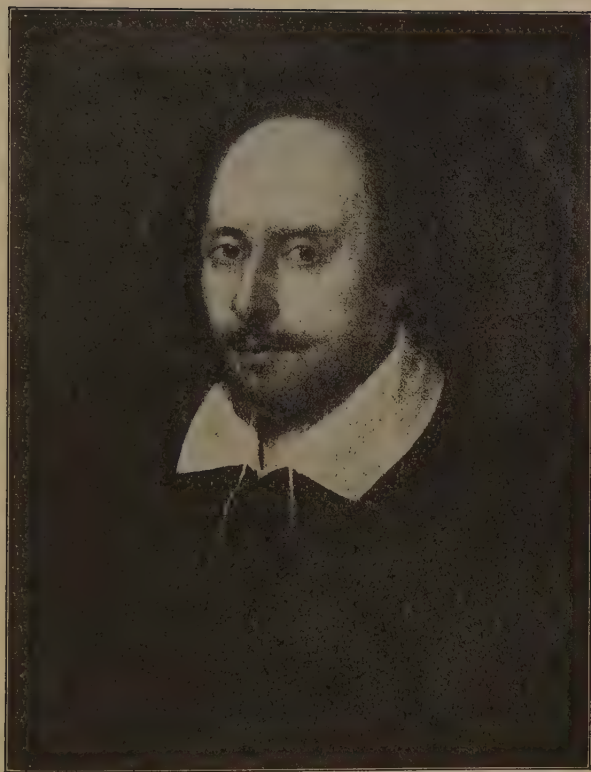
Nowhere was this movement destined to greater importance than in England, whose dramatic development became not merely a type but a model for the continent. There the new art fell into the hands of a brilliant group about the court of Queen Elizabeth, and by them it was extended and improved. Breaking with every tradition of the mediæval drama, they freed dramatic representation from the constricting forces which had kept it apart from the general literary progress of the continent, and set upon the stage those problems of human life and character in which the Greek playwrights had found material for their masterpieces.

As in the case of the early opera, classical influence, no less

The Elizabethan drama

in subject than in treatment, was at first strongly in evidence. But the dramatists, like the composers and the librettists, soon broke away from the traditions instilled by the Renaissance and sought wider fields. From the works of men like Painter, who brought the rich treasures of Italian fiction to England, came one set of plots and characters. From the chronicles of men like Holinshed was derived another series of dramatic motives based on the history of England itself. A long array of legends, from Troy to Tamerlane, supplied a third; and from the life about them came the inspiration of a fourth, and, as it proved, the most enduring form of dramatic literature.

The development of the English drama was even more rapid than the rise of opera in Italy, to whose story-telling ability and whose culture England owed so much. With the sudden increase in wealth and luxury which accompanied the plundering of Spain and the growth of commerce in the last years of the sixteenth century, reinforced by the renaissance influences and the literary impulses proceeding from Italy, the Elizabethan court turned to adventures in the field of literature no less daring than those which it had undertaken in war and politics, and with no less brilliant success. Under noble and royal patronage, playhouses and companies of actors took their place in English life, playwrights and drama in the world of letters. Within a decade a new type of man had found a place in European society, the literary adventurer, and the earliest of these was the dramatist. Recruited from every rank of life, hard-living, free-thinking, filled with the fierce passion of creation, they founded not only a new profession but a department of letters. Among them one figure became pre-eminent. Greene, the creator of lighter English prose; Marlowe, whose genius revolutionized the stage with his *Tamburlane*, *Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta*; Kyd, Jonson, and their fellows yielded to the supreme talents of the country-bred actor-manager-playwright, William Shakespeare. In him at last the modern world found a figure worthy to set beside the greatest of the ancients. And, among the minor coincidences of human affairs, it may



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

The Chandos portrait.



MIGUEL CERVANTES

be observed that the death of Calvin and the birth of Shakespeare in the same year, 1564, symbolize, in a sense, the changes which overtook Europe between the beginning and the end of the sixteenth century.

Following the fashion of the time, begun by Surrey and Wyatt, who had introduced Italian forms of verse into England, and influenced scarcely less by Florio, who had translated Montaigne, the young poet had first turned his attention to such studies. His earliest essays in the new world of letters reflected the influence of the Italian school of romantic drama which had inspired his predecessors and his contemporaries. But besides the cycle of plays whose scene was laid in Italy there was material nearer to his hand; and in the tragedies of English history he found the stuff from which many of his most successful works were drawn. Almost from the first his talents were recognized. For it is not surprising that the London of Elizabeth, filled with the profit and the pride of conquest, no less than with the exaltation of spirit which accompanied England's sudden revelation of her strength, saw in this playwright the representative of all that was greatest in the nation whence he sprung, or that ten thousand persons flocked to see his first great drama in a month. And as his genius went from strength to strength, by the time of the death of Elizabeth the Warwickshire playwright stood forth as the commanding literary genius of the European world.

Spain alone, of all Europe in this epoch, produced a rival, and even her men of genius were scarcely to be reckoned with the great Englishman. To one of them, the soldier, Lope de Vega, who had fought at Lepanto and with the Armada, remains the proud distinction of having written some two thousand plays, and thus having achieved the eminence of superlative prolific industry in the field of literary production. But to another belongs the honor of a work which, though inferior to the many-sided genius of Shakespeare, still challenges his popularity and, like the writings of Montaigne, gave literature a new form. This was Miguel Cervantes, who, wounded at Lepanto, turned to letters for a

Spain
—Lope de
Vega and
Cervantes

1604-5

livelihood and, forsaking the drama, to which, like all Europe, he had first been attracted, brought forth the marvelous tale of *Don Quixote*. Half humor and half satire, this first of the great romances of modern time, gave the death-blow to the fast-fading chivalry of his native land and laughed it out of existence. At the same moment that England and Spain reached the height of their literary rivalry with the productions of Shakespeare and Cervantes, in the twelve-month following the death of Elizabeth, the two great forms of literature which affected the modern world so powerfully were firmly fixed. And as Europe turned to other tasks, her way was lightened if not illumined by her old friend Romance, which, whether in drama or opera or novel, was to accompany her thenceforth through all her wanderings in these new forms. With Cervantes, Spain's literary greatness ended, for the time. But from the nation which saw *Hamlet* at the same moment that *Don Quixote* found its way to print, there flowed a broadening stream of prose and verse. Even beside the work of Shakespeare may be set that masterpiece of translation, the King James Version of the Bible which now enriched this greatest of modern European literatures.

Italy

In this great revolution one feature was conspicuous. It was the altered position of Italy. Already Vasari had begun his monumental work on the *Lives of the Painters*. If it were not enough to show that the great artistic age of Italy was past when men began to write its history, the death of Veronese in the Armada year eclipsed the last star in the splendid galaxy of Italian artists. And the completion of St. Peter's church at Rome in the concluding decade of the sixteenth century marked at once the culmination and the close of the great burst of neo-Christian art which had illumined Europe with the glory of the Renaissance. Nor was it without significance that the newer school of architecture abandoned the aspiring arches of the mediæval Gothic forms, and, under the influence of Palladio, reverted to those classical models whose influence dominated the ensuing century. At the same time that artistic pre-eminence disappeared from Italy and political domination fell from the

1590-1600

hands of Spain, the last of the immortals of Italian poetry, the last interpreter of the mediæval spirit, Torquato Tasso, died. The Portuguese Camoëns had already sung the vanished glories of his land's heroic age. The Spanish Cervantes wrote the great ironic epitaph of his country's misguided chivalry in *Don Quixote*. Each was symbolic of the time in which it fell. Each was the swan-song of the supremacy of its people in arts as arms. For as the spring of painting and literature lessened in the south, it had sprung with fresh vigor in the rising powers of the north, where England took the place in letters which had been held by Italy, and Holland was presently to rival her in art. 1595

The Italian peninsula, indeed, was to retain for many years a reputation which drew men of all nations to study and admire the relics of her classical antiquity, and still more those achievements which for two centuries had made her pre-eminent in every field of intellectual endeavor, in politics as in painting, in scholarship as in diplomacy, in engineering as in literature. Long after she ceased to lead she continued to instruct the continent. Rome, though shorn of half her spiritual dominion, remained the mistress not alone of the Catholic world but of the imagination of all Europe. Venice, "a shell on the shores of the Adriatic, deserted by the wonderful organism which once inhabited it," could still reveal the wonders of her declining greatness to the inquiring traveler. The splendor of the Medicean court had faded; but Italian universities remained the goal of European students. And the polish of the most refined society in Europe, the skill of craftsmanship engendered by long generations of artists and artisans, the lessons and traditions of statecraft and letters, commerce, mechanics, and administration, with all the refinements of life, remained to spread their influence throughout the rest of the continent.

Her position at the close of the 16th century

Yet withal, save in the fields of music and of science, creative genius waned in Italy, as in southern Europe generally. Like power, wealth, and enterprise it sought the freer northern air, where political liberty had already found refuge. The triumph of the spirit of the Inquisition; the

Its cause

increasing authority of learned, devout, but reactionary forces like the Jesuits; the narrower if stronger ideals of the Vatican, which marked the victory of the Counter-Reformation in southern Europe, were all against an intellectual development on the lines which were to be the dominating element in the next advance. It was evident that, unless this could be changed, the Mediterranean world had exhausted its intellectual as well as its political mandate. One force remained—the numerous academies which sprang up in the old centers of thought and action in the peninsula, and thence spread through the continent their encouragement of the new scientific spirit which now made such headway in European thought. These were, however, outside the pale of the official and ecclesiastical influence. Though Galileo, the founder of physics, and Bruno, the prophet of modern thought, were both Italians, Galileo's theories and Bruno's life were sacrificed to the principle of conformity, and the two rising forces of a modern world, science and popular government, found their chief enemies among the same classes which for two centuries had been the patrons of the Renaissance.





CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF HOLLAND. 1603-1623

THE death of the English queen, Elizabeth, marks with peculiar emphasis a turning-point of European politics. For forty years her duel with Philip II had been a leading motive of international affairs; and, after the Armada year, she had become, in many ways, the most conspicuous ruler in Christendom. With her departure from the scene, England, like Spain after the death of Philip, declined from the exalted position which she had occupied in the concerns of Europe. That leadership fell to other hands. Neither the aging astrologer-emperor Rudolf, nor the weak Philip III of Spain, nor James VI of Scotland, who, uniting Britain for the first time under one crown, became James I of England, compared in influence or ability with another king who now took the center of the stage. This was Henry IV of France, who, after the long years of war and intrigue which made up French history during the latter half of the sixteenth century, had ascended the throne on the death of Henry III the year after the Armada. He became king in fact as well as name five years thereafter, by his abjuration of Protestantism and the consequent submission of the Catholic party. In his hands France showed reviving strength, and with the Edict of Nantes, which gave the Huguenots virtual tolerance and political equality, the nation began to play its part in the European drama.

The change
in rulers

1594-

1604

1598

So far as merely military events go to make history, the decade and a half which followed the death of the English queen was a barren epoch. But one considerable conflict, the continuance of the war between Spain and her rebellious provinces, disturbed the peace of the western continent, while only the struggle between Sweden and her enemies broke the

quiet of the East. But in those deeper concerns of human affairs which center in the transition from one form of polity and society to another, it was a most eventful period; and in the activities of Europeans outside the confines of the continent it was a decisive epoch in the history of the world.

Henry IV
1553-1610

In these events Henry IV and his minister, Sully, played a great part. The deep scars of civil war were healed as far as possible by a series of adroit compromises which had been begun with Henry's conversion and the Edict of Nantes. The king's title to the crown had been further assured by his marriage to Marie de Medici, and the house of Bourbon thus established on a throne which it was to hold for nearly two centuries. Finance was reformed, trade encouraged, a sound basis laid for royal authority and national prosperity alike, and the old colonizing projects of Coligni revived. Beyond this still, Henry dreamed of a "Great Design,"—a Christian federation of western Europe, based on his alliances with the Protestant rulers within the Empire and the support of England and the Netherlands, to secure a balance of power making for universal peace. That dream, like his more practical project of breaking the Hapsburg strength by war and diplomacy, was cut short by an assassin's dagger. 1610 Seven years after the death of Elizabeth, France fell again into the hands of a queen-mother. Sully was dismissed. The 1614 States General were suspended,—as events were to prove, for a century and three-quarters,—and a decade of royal minority, Catholic regency, and Huguenot disturbance, intrigue, and civil war ensued before another statesman arose to set the kingdom again in the forefront of European politics.

Gustavus
Adolphus
1594-1632

Meanwhile the East produced a ruler not incomparable to the French king as a power in continental affairs. While France felt the reaction following the death of Henry IV, the accession of Michael Romanoff as Czar of Muscovy ended the anarchy which had followed the extinction of the house of Rurik fifteen years before. But the advent of the family which has held the Russian throne from that day to our own was singularly unpropitious. Two years before 1611 Michael I assumed the crown, Sweden had declared war upon

Denmark; and the young Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, had proved himself a terrible enemy. Under his leadership, ably seconded by the talents of his chancellor, Oxenstierna, the Danes were beaten and compelled to an unfavorable peace. Immediately the Swedish arms were turned against Russia, with such effect that Ingria and Karelia, with the key-fortresses of Finland and Livonia, fell into the hands of Gustavus. Sweden became the foremost power of the north, well on the way to the control of all the Baltic shores and a position among the first-rate European states. Russia, shut off from access to the sea, was, for the time being, correspondingly depressed in the international scale; and the young Swedish king stood out as a factor to be reckoned with for the future, a fit successor to Elizabeth and Henry of Navarre as the leading figure among the rulers of Europe. 1614

It was not without significance that all three were members of the Protestant communion, into whose hands had passed the initiative in European affairs after the death of Philip II. Neither the German nor the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg at this juncture revealed qualities of wisdom or of strength. In the German Empire as in the Spanish Netherlands the chief features of its rule were the decline of its authority and continuance of conflict. Meanwhile central Europe, as the long reign of Rudolf wore to a close, found itself again disturbed by the breakdown of the Peace of Augsburg, which, with all its faults, had insured to Germany half a century of uneasy peace. Now, however, the ambitions of the rival sects and rulers brought on evil days for which all the Emperor's learning and his skill in astrology could find no cure. 1611-12

The chief difficulty arose from the spread of Protestantism and the relation between religion and politics. These portended a trial of strength between the two communions, and, no less, between the imperial power and that of the lesser rulers within the Empire. Four years after the death of Elizabeth, the seizure of the city of Donauwörth by the Catholics to avenge an insult to their faith seemed likely to precipitate a conflict. But peace was patched up and the 1607

1608

1609

reign of Rudolf ended without a general appeal to arms. Yet it was apparent that the struggle was only delayed. A Protestant Union was formed under the leadership of Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of William the Silent, and a Catholic League headed by Maximilian of Bavaria was organized almost immediately to oppose the Protestant alliance. Little by little the relations between the parties which these bodies represented were strained to the breaking-point. As Matthias succeeded Rudolf the antagonism deepened; and as he, in turn, made ready his departure from the throne, the smoldering enmity flamed into war.

The progress of Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation

It is not surprising that conflict seemed inevitable to the men who embarked upon the trial of strength between the two communions. In the century which had elapsed since Luther had nailed his ninety-five theses against indulgences to the door of the Wittenberg castle church, the struggle between the old faith and the new had gone on with scarcely an intermission. For though the various diplomatic settlements, of which the greatest was the Peace of Augsburg, had prevented much armed strife, no one recognized them as a final determination of the great problem then filling the minds and hearts of the people of the continent. Throughout Europe, particularly in France and Germany, Protestantism had made its way from town to town, from province to province, congregation by congregation encroaching on the old establishment. In France it had achieved the accession of Henry of Navarre and the Edict of Nantes. In Germany it had converted whole districts and their rulers. And in each, against the bitter opposition of the Catholics, it had perfected an organization to maintain itself and forward its interests. On the other hand, the forces of the Counter-Reformation had been no less active. In France and Germany they had founded Catholic Leagues; and while Henry had ascended the throne of France it had been at the price of his adherence to the ancient faith. In Poland the energies of the Jesuits had set bounds to the progress of Lutheran doctrines. In southern Europe the new heresy

had been effectually crushed out; and in outlying districts like Ireland it had made no headway. The union of the Flemish and Dutch Netherlands had been dissolved and the former had been won back to Spain and held to their old faith. While the imperial authority had grown increasingly orthodox under the influence of the Jesuits until the accession of Ferdinand brought to the throne a man of their own making, the Catholic forces in the central powers had become more and more aggressive in their attitude toward the heretics. These, in turn, by virtue of their successes, had asserted their rights more and more vigorously.

Nowhere was the issue more acute than in Bohemia. There the teachings of Huss had taken deep root and the majority of the people were now Protestant. The crown was nominally elective, the Czechs tenacious of their privileges, and, during the disturbances of preceding years, they had managed to secure so-called Letters of Majesty, which guaranteed them the exercise of their faith. As a result that faith had flourished. Even where it had been unable to replace Catholicism entirely, it had often effected compromise, and made an arrangement by which men, following the peculiar system inaugurated by Huss, were permitted to take communion in both kinds; and these Utraquist congregations, as they were called, had multiplied.

To more tolerant minds than those of the early seventeenth century such a compromise might well seem the best solution of a vexed problem. Yet it was far from satisfying those who saw the foundations of belief thus undermined, and it became an aggravation rather than a palliative of the situation. In the face of Protestant progress the Catholic minority in Bohemia had drawn together into a party which, supported by the Hapsburg house, formed a powerful factor in affairs. When the deposition of Rudolf brought Matthias to the throne, one of his earliest acts was to forbid the completion of a Utraquist church for whose erection permission had already been obtained. The Protestant Estates protested and the edifice was built. But the new Emperor ordered it closed, and in this breach of the Letters of Maj-

1618

esty he was supported by the Catholic element. The controversy became acute with the destruction of another Protestant church and the appointment of Catholic governors in seven of the ten districts of the principality. And when the Catholic town council of Prague asserted its right to pass upon the qualifications of parish priests, and so control the faith of the capital, the storm burst. The so-called Defensors, headed by Matthias of Thurn, projected a Protestant revolt. In the so-called "defenestration of Prague" two of the Catholic governors of Bohemia were thrown from the windows of the council chamber. The aid of the Protestant Union was invoked; a provisional government was set up; and with the arrival of troops from the Union, and the forces of Silesia and Lusatia under John George of Jägerndorf, the conflict began to take form. The Bohemians found allies. Savoy loaned them a general, Count Mansfeld, with two thousand mercenaries, and the ruler of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, renounced allegiance to Austria and prepared for war.

The Thirty
Years' War

1618

Under such auspices began the reign of Ferdinand II, now head of the Hapsburg lands in all but name. His claim to the Bohemian throne was repudiated by the rebellious Protestants, who chose Frederick V, Elector Palatine, for their king. A twelvemonth to a day from the action of the Prague town council he was crowned; and central Europe embarked on the most desolating conflict in her history.

"A winter-king," the Jesuits declared, on the election of Frederick to the Bohemian throne; but their prophecy was not immediately fulfilled. Led by Mansfeld and Thurn, aided by the Margrave, John George of Brandenburg-Jägerndorf, and Bethlen Gabor's diversion against Hungary—whose titular "prince" he now became—the Bohemians drove the Imperialists before them to the walls of Vienna, and only a Polish invasion of Transylvania, which broke up the Protestant combination, saved the capital.

1619

Upon the death of Matthias, Ferdinand became Emperor in name and fact, and bending his whole resources against Bohemia, the tide began to turn, with help from Spain,

Bavaria, and the Lutheran Elector of Saxony. Spinola poured his Spaniards from the Netherlands into the ill-fated Palatinate. John George of Saxony subdued Silesia and Lusatia, and Maximilian of Bavaria, with the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly, united with the Imperialists in Bohemia.

There, just outside the walls of Prague, they joined battle with Frederick's army under Christian of Anhalt, and crushed Protestant hopes in the ensuing defeat of the White Hill. Frederick, put under the ban of the Empire, found refuge in Holland. His lands, with those of Christian and John George of Brandenburg, were confiscated. Bohemia was subdued, its charter repealed; and Protestantism was rooted out in all the Hapsburg lands so far as possible. As Catholic and Imperialist made their triumphant way through Germany the Protestant Union was dissolved; and the Palatinate was conquered by Tilly despite the desperate resistance of Mansfeld and Christian of Anhalt. Maximilian of Bavaria was rewarded for his aid by the upper Palatinate, and the electoral title which had been Frederick's; while the Elector of Saxony was granted Lusatia in pledge for his services. Thus, in total disaster to the Protestant cause, ended five years of fierce conflict which formed the first period of the German war.

The
defeat of
the Prot-
estants
1620-2

1623

These events were accompanied by others of less ultimate consequence, but of much immediate importance. In Holland a revolution which coincided with the outbreak of the German war cost Oldenbarnevelde his place and his life, and made Maurice of Nassau Stadtholder of the United Netherlands. A Huguenot rising under Condé in France, and a Spanish conspiracy in Italy disturbed the peace of these peoples at the same moment. And, in a very different fashion than that which had marked the reign of Elizabeth, England had become a noteworthy figure in European affairs during the course of the events which led to war in Germany. Its most remarkable characteristic was the reversal of the Elizabethan policy. The royal pedant who ascended the throne upon the great queen's death, James the Pacific, "the

England
—James I
1603-25

wisest fool in Christendom," as Sully declared, had entered on a course in foreign and domestic concerns, marked neither by shrewdness nor success, but destined to the gravest consequence. Among his earliest acts was peace with Spain. For, obsessed by the absurd delusion that he could somehow compose Europe's deep-seated antagonisms by mere diplomacy, he entered on a long series of negotiations which made England, in no long time, a negligible factor in Europe's affairs. Meanwhile he antagonized the powerful Puritan and commercial elements among his own subjects; oppressed the Non-conformists or drove them from the land. He disorganized finance by his assumption of the right to tax without consent of Parliament; and weakened royal authority no less by bitter quarrels with the Commons over his pretensions to absolutism than by unkingly qualities which forfeited the popular respect. Learned, disputatious, obstinate, timid, he seemed equally incapable of meeting or averting the dangers thickening about his office and his faith; while his petty intellectualism and his pretension to prerogatives from whose assumption even Elizabeth had shrunk, proved a poor substitute for Tudor governance.

Failure
of James'
policy

His motto was that beatitude which extols the virtues of peacemakers. But the times were unpropitious for a doctrine of nonresistance, nor were his methods adapted to attain his ends, however satisfying they were to his sense of intellectual superiority. It is true that while on every hand Europe was torn with conflict, England remained at peace. But it was peace without honor, and only in name. Through all the catastrophe to Protestantism the supine English king, infatuated with his belief in his own shrewdness and flattered by his weak favorites, saw the collapse of the faith he held, his son-in-law dethroned, his daughter a fugitive, firm in the absurd conviction that he could arrest by his diplomacy the triumphant power of Catholic Imperialism. His more clear-sighted Parliament—infuriated scarcely less by his fatuous complacency than by the conquest of the Palatinate—voted to support Frederick, and petitioned James against the marriage which he projected between his son and the Spanish

Infanta, as a solution for the recovery of his son-in-law's dominions. The quarrel came to open breach. The king, having defied the laws of common-sense and the will of his people, was confronted with a Great Protestation of the Commons, which asserted the right of Parliament to a voice in state affairs even against the opinion of the crown. It was in vain that James tore the offending page from the Commons' journal with his own hand, imprisoned the popular leaders, and let his son go to Spain to urge his suit in person. The unprecedented journey was as vain as it was foolish, and the young prince, humiliated by his experience, returned at the moment that his brother-in-law's fortunes collapsed, to find his father all but openly defied by Parliament. 1621

Such were the events which introduced Europe into a new chapter of her history in the two decades following the death of Queen Elizabeth. Save for the reorganization of France and the germs of progress which lay in the English situation, they were chiefly destructive; and had the development of Europe been confined to continental politics, these decades might well be reckoned a backward step in the world's history. But while ambitious rulers and zealous statesmen strove for advantage to themselves or to their faith, while the most fertile parts of Germany were ravaged by alien mercenaries, there had proceeded that conflict between Spain and the Dutch, inherited from the preceding generation. Upon it hung the fate of the rebellious Netherlands, and, in some sort, that of her great antagonist. With it the European rivalries were carried to the farthest regions of the earth, while at home it had become a school of war for half Europe. Siege and counter-siege had filled the history of that narrow borderland between the Dutch and Spanish Netherlands for nearly forty years, though with the defeat of the Armada it became increasingly evident that Spain's chances of recovering her lost provinces were waning steadily. The Netherlands and Spain

The accession of Philip III only served to emphasize the decline of Spanish power. Like the English king, he was dominated by his favorites, the Duke of Lerma and his son; his nation was weakened by a fatal foreign policy and the 1598-1621

incessant wars to which it led, as well as by a declining industry and a false economy. Spain still aspired to play a great part in Europe; intrigued in Italy, fought the Dutch, and lent assistance to the German Catholic and Hapsburg powers. She was still able to deceive the English king. But when, with the foundation of the Dutch East India Company, the conflict took a wider range, it became apparent, to Spain's principal antagonists at least, that the nation which had so lately aspired to dominate European politics and faith was hard pressed to compete with the Netherlands alone. In their struggle for independence and commercial supremacy there had rested the chief importance of international affairs in the years between the death of Elizabeth and the outbreak of the German war.

The
colonial
conflict

That conflict, like the Anglo-Spanish rivalry a generation earlier, involved far wider interests than those of continental Europe. For the Dutch undertook to finish what the English had begun, and in their resistance to Spanish domination they not merely fought Spain along their own frontiers and weakened her efforts to assist the Catholic cause in Germany, but they carried the conflict to the most distant quarters of her empire. In consequence, besides the outbreak of war in central Europe, and the antagonism between the English crown and Parliament, the first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a struggle for commercial and colonial supremacy, which rivaled even the efforts to maintain religious liberty in Germany and political liberty in England, and was not without its influence upon each.

The Dutch
conquest
of the
East

1606-7

The initial success of the Dutch was rapid and complete. In the four years which followed the death of Elizabeth as many fleets found their way to the East, where from the Cape of Good Hope to the Isles of Spice the Portuguese were forced to fight for the retention of their factories and trade. Three years after Elizabeth's death one of the decisive naval combats of history destroyed a Spanish-Portuguese fleet at Malacca and left control of eastern waters in Dutch hands. A twelvemonth later, another Spanish fleet was overwhelmed by the sea-power of the Netherlands at Gibraltar; and the

Atlantic, like the Indian Ocean, was thus cleared of obstructions to the Dutch trading fleets' passage to the East. While the talents of Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau held back the Spanish arms on land, Holland became the virtual mistress of the Spanish seas; and, two years after the battle of Gibraltar, compelled her nominal suzerain to a cessation of hostilities. That so-called Twelve Years' Truce determined, to all intents, her status and her future. Thus, while her neighbors were disturbed with civil quarrels, the Netherlands, with all their disadvantages, building upon their successes over Spain, secured their place in world trade and polity. 1609

But as their merchants took advantage of the situation thus created, their statesmen and divines improved the opportunity to fall out among themselves, and the decade which followed the signature of the Twelve Years' Truce was filled with civil and religious discords. The theologians had divided into two factions whose animosities were as bitter as only theological disputes can be. The new controversy over predestination between Arminian and Gomarist, as the rivals were called from their respective leaders, was transformed into quarrels over toleration and civil supremacy. Maurice of Nassau, who frankly said he never knew whether his predestination was blue or green, found himself opposed to Oldenbarneveldt. A *coup d'état* placed in power the Contra Remonstrants to whom the prince belonged. The Advocate was hurried to judicial murder; and in the first twelvemonth of the German war Maurice became the sovereign of the United Netherlands in all but name. Such were the earliest fruits of the search for ultimate theological truth which accompanied the virtual independence of the Netherlands. 1618-19

The Dutch
Revolution

Had Spain, in this juncture, revealed even a portion of the strength she had possessed a generation earlier, she might have improved the years of the great truce to make her position more secure. To that end one thing was imperative, the reconstruction of her naval power. The Dutch, indeed, were compelled to defend their narrow land against their late masters if they were to make good their place in European polity. But the defense of their frontiers was not

enough. To their minds the sea was at once their element and their opportunity, the field of commerce and of colonies their real inheritance. Without this even their hard-won independence at home was but a barren gift, their future not only empty of the power and wealth they coveted, but wholly insecure. It was upon their sea-power they relied as well for the profits which it brought as for the offensive warfare which should compel their opponent to terms. In consequence, from the Caribbean to Celebes their fleets harassed the Spanish power with ever-increasing violence. To them might well have been applied the old motto of Bremen: "It is necessary to navigate, it is not necessary to live."

Spain

After the shock of the Armada, the succeeding onslaughts of English and Dutch, and the disastrous defeats of Malacca and Gibraltar, Spain found herself all but powerless against this fierce and well-sustained attack. Her government seemed equally incapable of retrieving or averting catastrophe. Weakened by the incessant drain of her foreign policy and by consequent bankruptcy, the mediocre talents of her rulers were unable to rouse her underlying strength, bring order out of chaos, or awake ability from indurated pride of rank and birth. Her centralized control, her aristocratic temper, her clerical and official rigidity, her repression of initiative, left small room for that individual enterprise which had become the heart and soul not only of the new colonial forces but of commerce and the politics which flowed from them. At home her popular liberties and her economic strength had long since decayed. The Cortes had been finally dissolved by Charles V; and those provincial privileges which survived his attacks had gradually lost whatever power they had once possessed to influence policy. Besides the collapse of her mastery of the ocean and her monopoly of the knowledge of the seaways, her docks and harbors were ruined by neglect, her navy only a memory of its recent greatness. In consequence the story of her possessions abroad became scarcely more than that of weakening defense against the Anglo-Dutch attack. And, had her power been confined to the peninsula, or had her activity been bounded by the abilities

of her rulers, she might well have been eliminated from world politics.

In one direction especially she was weak. Great as were the triumphs of official voyages and far-sounding victories—of which history, perforce, takes chief account—the greatest conquests in the world of commerce, however dependent upon arms, were won by individual enterprise. Nameless traders with their little ships, sailing wherever in the world there was hope of profit, coasting from port to port, stretching across from Africa to America and back, threading their way among the islands east and west, exchanging European goods for ivory or slaves, and these for gold, tobacco, sugar, hides, spices, or dyes,—these were the omnipresent agents of expansion, no less powerful because their names were not emblazoned on the page of history. Such were the means by which slaves first found their way to Virginia and English and Dutch goods were introduced to South America. And such were the means, added to the organized trading forces of the great companies, by which the Dutch undermined the power of their late masters.

For the moment the Atlantic colonies were preserved by their nature from direct attack. Though harassed by English, French, and Dutch, their plantations offered no such prizes as Spain's fleets and trading-posts. The islands went on much as usual, save for an occasional descent of their enemies. Brazil, even at the crisis of this early period, flourished and spread its settlements from Pernambuco far to the northwest, where Para was founded to foil French ambitions in that quarter. And though it might have been apparent that once the East was secured, Spain's enemies would turn against the West, the very destruction of the trading empire brought respite to the planting colonies.

Thanks to the activity of her colonists, within the shell of desolation which her policy drew about the rich interior of her own American provinces, Spain's power actually increased while the storm of aggression beat most severely on her coasts and commerce. Far within their borders, settlers, prospectors, priests, planters, and officials slowly spread over

South
America

1615

1565-85

her far-flung empire the broadening authority of her government and the peculiar institutions of her colonial society. In the La Plata region colonists pressed in, founding new posts, like Corrientes and Tucuman, and in Cordoba even a university. The Creoles spread their herds across the pampas, the Jesuits their mission farms and ranches along the Paraguay and Uruguay, until, at the height of English attack, the port of Buenos Ayres, through which ran the currents of communication between this new society and the old world, had grown into a principal resort of smuggling trade as well as a center of legal commerce. So great was this development that at the same time the German war reached its first climax, the Lima authorities divided this vast region into smaller administrative areas, and so organized the provinces of Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, and Paraguay.

1620

Farther north the same process went on in almost equal pace. In the same year that the Argentine was thus divided, the rich grazing and tobacco land of Venezuela, the district about Barcelona, began to be settled, and the previously prohibited cultivation of cacao was begun. From there, from the plantations west and south, as far as the old capital of Bogotá, which now, with its cathedral and schools, began to rival Lima and Mexico, Spanish culture, no less than Spanish authority, took on new life. The most distant lands of New Spain felt like impulse, and while explorers resurveyed the California coast, or traversed the lands which Coronado found, in Santa Fé, New Mexico, the foundations of a new provincial capital were laid. In these extensions of her empire the insular possessions lagged behind. Manila, remote from outside influence, took on the form of a municipality, and with its government buildings, its barracks, and its university, maintained the Spanish influence in the Philippines, its chief event the yearly galleon to Mexico. But the West Indies, subject to continual attack, save for the fortified port of Havana, sank into insignificance, or became the resort of pirate and privateer.

1605

Center and symbol of the whole vast area, Lima and Mexico flourished, with their hospitals and schools, their

cathedrals, and universities, the oldest and largest institutions of their kind outside of Europe. They represented the wealth of the Spanish American colonies, which had increased since the discovery of quicksilver-bearing cinnabar at Huancavelica, 1566 in the tenth year of Philip II's reign. This gave fresh impetus to the mining industry in which mercury was by this time an invaluable agency in the recovery of gold from ore. The growing stream of wealth which the improvements in the reduction of ore by the copper pan amalgamation process, and the discovery of new mines in the Lake Titicaca district, poured into its hands, evidenced the substantial increase of Spanish colonial prosperity. Yet at the same time Spain's own strength declined till it became dependent on its own dependency. Such, in the years which saw the Dutch supplant the Portuguese in the East, were the extensions which European power and civilization owed to the energy of the Spanish colonists.

But if, with the beginnings of the seventeenth century, those colonists thus flourished behind their wilderness barrier, despite the bureaucratic rule which did little to second their activities, the unfortunate Portuguese bore the full brunt of all the many enemies of Spain. To them Philip II had, indeed, confirmed control of the trade and offices throughout their empire. But it was a barren gift; for neither he nor his successors could insure immunity from the consequences of his own policy. As a result, the first four decades of the Portuguese captivity saw the collapse of their colonial empire. Under the guidance of the pacific James, England's attack slackened; but Dutch aggression, hampered by no illusions and few scruples, held on its way to seize the eastern trade by right of the strong hand. The rise of the Dutch empire in Asia was only the story of the fall of Portugal.

The Dutch
and the
Portuguese
Empire

1580-1620

It was in vain that the old masters of the East strove to assert their rights. It was in vain they sought support from native rulers, the Grand Mogul, the King of Siam, and the Shah of Persia. It was in vain they struck time after time from Goa or from Portugal against their enemies. Their



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earlier oppression now bore its bitter fruit, for everywhere the invaders found native allies. Long misgovernment met its reward; and desperate efforts to reorganize their armies and their fleets brought small success. The Portuguese themselves shunned such service, save when official speculation made it profitable. And though the garrisons were increased fivefold by native levies, these lent themselves rather to corruption than defense, until, with such a strain on her resources, it became a question whether the loss of her eastern possessions would not be a positive gain for Portugal.

It was, then, rather against the eastern posts that the Dutch directed their first and most furious attack, and, for the time being, made their chief effort to break down Spain's colonial monopoly, for it was there that the great profits of such extra-European ventures lay, and there that trade and power could be obtained most rapidly and most easily. In consequence, within six years from its foundation, the Dutch India Company had made enormous strides.

Everywhere throughout the islands which stretch south-eastward from Asia it not merely established its own trading connections, but had endeavored, with considerable success, to exclude the English, as the rival traders made their way among the native princes seeking business and treaties. From India through Ceylon to Java and Sumatra, south and south-east through the Moluccas, or Islands of Spice, with their chief trading centers of Ternate and Tidore; among the Isles of Cloves and Nutmegs, Banda, Amboyna, Pularoon; to Macao in China; past Celebes and Borneo, to New Guinea, even to the remoter confines of Australia, now rediscovered and renamed New Holland, they pushed their vessels in search of trade and laid foundations for a new empire of the commerce of the East.

The Dutch
colonial
empire

Nor was trade the whole of their activity. Beginning with Achin in Sumatra opposite the Portuguese Malacca, to Bantam in Java, and Johore on the south coast of the Malay peninsula, they established posts by which, with the possession of strategic points like Ternate and Amboyna, they sought to command not merely the seaways of the farther

1609

East, the straits of Malacca and Sunda, but the whole traffic of the islands and the routes to China and Japan. To this end their next efforts were directed. Amid continual war with the Portuguese, and efforts to enlist native princes everywhere against the common enemy, they extended their suzerainty over local chiefs. Now, as they grew stronger, they strove to prevent the natives from commerce with any other nation. When the Twelve Years' Truce was signed, they crowned this first stage of their progress by sending out Pieter Both as Governor General, to organize and confirm their hold upon the Archipelago. Already their ships had reached Japan, whose Shogun, Iyeyasu, detained their English pilot-major, William Adams. By his influence the Dutch were allowed to found a factory in the island kingdom. Two years thereafter the exile secured the same privilege for his own countrymen; and thus, by the curiously romantic intervention of this Kentish sailorman—who became the founder of the Japanese navy and eventually a god—began that long-lived relationship of such future consequence to East and West alike.

England
and
Holland

But it was not alone against the Spanish and the Portuguese that the Dutch had to contend, for, as the English had preceded them in organized efforts to control that trade, so they remained their chief competitors for its great profits. If political development were a well-ordered, logical, and intelligent progress toward well-defined ends, instead of blind advance toward the unknown, the triumph of one set of principles or practices might become the basis for concerted action to the advantage of all the victorious elements. Had England and Holland, triumphing over Spain and Portugal, been content to divide and enjoy the heritage which they were about to win—had they even been satisfied to confine their hostilities to the destruction of their mutual enemies until that issue had been determined—the result might, indeed, not have made for peace, but it would, at any rate, have limited the area of conflict. But scarcely were they fairly in the field of eastern trade when to their joint attack on Spain and Portugal was added their rivalry with each

other, which within another generation was to become one of the great issues of the European world.

It might have been supposed that this oversea conflict would have been the cause of an immediate general European war. But three circumstances combined to prevent this result. The first was the fact that colonial affairs were still regarded as outside the pale of European polity as then understood; that events "beyond the line" were in the main a separate concern, to be reckoned a cause of war at home, or not, as the occasion served. The second was Spain's inability to avenge all of her injuries at once. The third was the pacific policy of James I and John Oldenbarneveldt.

These last were, in a sense, the immediate determining elements. The peace between England and Spain and the Twelve Years' Truce were forced on Philip III by his triumphant enemies; and had they pressed their great advantage home, they might have crushed Spain's power once for all. Yet to their minds peace seemed the wiser course and its accomplishment was easier because, whatever the antagonism beyond the Cape, the interlopers had certain advantages in their efforts to expand their power oversea while keeping peace at home. The field was wide; it was imperfectly cultivated by Portuguese enterprise, and there were opportunities for profit without war.

Such a condition appealed especially to the English king; and his subjects, unlike the Dutch, had from the first sought means to invade Portuguese monopoly without conflict. Their immediate concern was to find some legal procedure for their acts. And in accordance with the Company's pious, punning motto, "Deus Indicat," they turned to India. On the third of the so-called "Separate Voyages," which filled the first dozen years of its existence, one of the Company's captains, William Hawkins, landed at Surat and carried letters from James I to the Mogul Emperor, Jehangir, at Agra, in an attempt to gain a foothold on the mainland. But neither the effort to connect themselves with the Mogul authority, which was meanwhile extending its power over the interior, nor the development of their trade, had proved espe-

The
English
in India
1600-9

1607

1609

cially successful. Now, when to the antagonism of Dutch and Portuguese was added the increasing effort of interloping English adventurers to break down the Company's monopoly, it was compelled to take steps to preserve its existence. Nine years, therefore, after its first incorporation, just as Spain and Holland had come to terms of truce, the English company was rechartered, its privileges were re-granted in perpetuity, its capital was enlarged, and, under these more favorable auspices, it began a new chapter in its eventful history.

1622

In one direction the English were fortunate. On the north-west coast of India a post at Surat had been established, and thereafter, defeating the Portuguese squadron guarding the approaches to the English vantage point and destroying the fleet which held the coast between Goa and Diu, permission for a permanent settlement was obtained. Sir Thomas Roe was despatched to gain trading and residential privileges from the Grand Mogul. Agencies were established in the interior to gather muslins and indigo for the Surat post, and when, ten years after the destruction of the Portuguese fleet, the English with native aid captured Ormuz, Portugal's supremacy in Cambayan and Persian waters was at an end.

Had the English been equally successful in their other ventures, or in their relations with their rivals, the history of their empire in the East would have been far different from what it proved to be. On the other side of India, where the Dutch factors controlled the trade of the Malabar coast, they essayed in vain to establish a post at Pulicat. Under protection of the king of Golconda a short-lived post was set up at Pettapoli; and, finally, at Masulipatam, halfway between Cape Comorin and the Ganges' mouth, they founded the "most fortunate and thrifty" of their stations. The rich trade in textiles and the precious stones which made Golconda a synonym for wealth, the spices and camphor and benzoin of Siam and the Archipelago, found their way hither with the goods from the farther East. Yet in the very success of this factory lay the seeds of enmity with their Dutch

rivals; in particular since it shared in that spice trade for which the Dutch were prepared to fight with any or all other powers.

To control that most coveted of monopolies, Both's expedition had bound the native princes of the Archipelago to the Dutch interest by a network of treaties and so laid the foundations of Dutch supremacy. Meanwhile, at home the statesmen strove for an accommodation. The nominal friendship of the rival states, endless negotiations, James' apparent determination to have peace at any price, combined with Oldenbarneveldt's efforts to compose the quarrel, to calm the storm,—but to little purpose. The long negotiations led only to the vaguest of arrangements. It provided that each nation should enjoy its own conquests and discoveries, pay customs to each other at their respective ports, and so divide the trade for twenty years, leaving the question of the posts undetermined. To this was added an agreement to join against the common enemy, establish a joint Council of Defense, and so "beat the Spaniard out of the Indies."

Anglo-Dutch
hostility

1619

But all the good intentions and the adroitness of statesmen and diplomats availed little to insure peace beyond the line. The strategic points of the seaways and the centers of the spice trade were seized by the Dutch. Collisions of all sorts embittered relations already strained to the breaking-point. Disputes over conflicting treaties with the natives were followed by attack and reprisal, which led to open war. In this conflict the English company, its profits reduced, its very existence threatened by rivalry at home and war abroad, found itself in no condition to oppose the great national enterprise of the United Provinces. It was as little able to compete with the new traffic in tea which the Dutch introduced from China as they were to rival the trade in coffee which their competitors first brought from Mocha. And, whatever their profits from their chief commodity, pepper, from spices and eastern products generally, they fell far short of the Dutch, not only in their revenues but in their general status through the East. Only their defeat of the Portuguese at Ormuz, two years after the Treaty of Defense,

1621-2

and their entry into some share in the trade of that region broke the long record of disappointment and defeat which these years held for England's merchant adventurers.

To them the treaty brought no relief. However it may have satisfied the English king and his advisers, it availed little in checking hostilities in the East. Sir Thomas Dale was despatched to face the new Dutch governor-general, Jan Pieterzoon Caen (or Koen), with whose arrival opened a new chapter in Dutch colonial history. This great administrator had been trained in the Roman commercial house of Piscatori. He had long been president of the factory and outlying agencies of Bantam, and what Albuquerque had been to Portugal, Caen now became to the United Provinces. Nor were his plans and operations dissimilar. Fortifying Jacatra and Bantam to control the Sunda Straits, and putting down native revolt in the Moluccas, he returned from his first expedition to wrest his half-completed fortresses from the English and Javanese who had taken advantage of his absence to overthrow Dutch domination. Dale, driven from Jacatra, made his way back to India, to die of fever, and Caen, thus relieved of his most dangerous enemy, prepared to consolidate his country's power in the East. Jacatra was destroyed, and near it was begun the city and fortress of Batavia, which, more than worthy rival of Surat and Golden Goa, has stood from his day to our own, the capital of the Dutch trading and planting empire of the East.

Caen's services by no means ended here. For he maintained the Dutch contention that, whatever the great treaty said of commerce and defense, it gave the English no *dominium* or jurisdiction in Asiatic territories, and he proceeded to oust them from the slender foothold they had gained. Unable to supply their complement of ships, unwilling to join in a projected attack on Bantam, or to engage in war with Spain, embittered by the quarrels over mutual restitution of property taken in the late reprisals, the English found themselves outgeneraled in war and diplomacy alike. Their ships remaining in the Archipelago were taken. Their

Caen
1617-22

Batavia
1621

treaty with Bantam was seized on as ground for war. Their position at Batavia was made untenable; their agents were fined, imprisoned, even flogged; their agencies in Lantor and Pularoon were expelled; and they lost whatever power they had held. Before the end of Caen's first term of service the Dutch were masters of the Archipelago.

This was not the worst. At the same moment that the Catholic Imperialist success ended the first period of the German war the Dutch confirmed their hold on farther Asia by a crowning tragedy. In the remotest regions to which commercial rivalry had led Europe's adventurers, the little island of Amboyna—one of the great centers of the spice trade—had, from its position in the heart of the Moluccas, long been contested by successive powers. These now were narrowed to the English and the Dutch, whose agents were at bitter enmity. Scarcely had Caen left office when the controversy was determined there by a single stroke. The Dutch, who outnumbered their competitors some ten to one, charged the English with conspiracy, fell on the little garrison, put them to death, and took possession of their few remaining posts throughout the Archipelago. With this Holland's control of the Spice Islands was assured. The English were driven back upon the continent, to find what compensation they could there; and the first chapter of Anglo-Dutch rivalry ended. The contest for Asiatic trade was not concluded with this forcible delimitation of the spheres of influence; its last outrage left a long legacy of bitter retribution to succeeding years. But, for the time being, the Dutch held the ascendancy. The English were compelled to that momentous decision which made the mainland of India the chief scene of their activity, and, in the end, the chief prize of their imperial ambition.

The massacre of Amboyna

1623

The English had other rivals in their activity on the Asiatic continent. At almost the same moment that England and Holland burst through the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in the south, the Russians had begun to play a part in this invasion of the East. Their adventurers, following along the path Yermak had pointed out, were making their way across

Russia

- 1588 the vast plains of northern Asia to the conquest of Siberia. In the Armada year Tobolsk had been founded and the trade route to Bokhara opened up. As the Dutch and English companies began their long rivalry the Muscovites reached the upper Obi and established an outpost at Tomsk, halfway from Moscow to the Pacific. Thence they prepared to press forward across the northern steppes. The year in which the German war broke out they reached the Yenesei, and founded
- 1618 there the town of Yeneseisk. And, at the moment that the Anglo-Dutch rivalry reached its height with the Massacre of Amboyna, the Russians had become the masters of the greater
- 1623 part of Siberia, and were well on the way to those vast regions which lie along the course of the Lena.

The
results of
expansion

Thus in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, while Germany embarked on the last and greatest of religious wars, and England entered upon an era of civil disturbance which was to end in a no less momentous conflict, the earth was divided into new spheres of European influence, and a new element was injected into world politics. And if one feature of political affairs becomes more apparent than another, as the events of the ensuing century unfold themselves, it is that European activities are no longer bounded by the limitations which conditioned the affairs of the preceding century. However important the situation which had brought central Europe into the throes of war, the future belonged less to the issues which were there fought out than to those elements which found their first expression in the English disturbances, and the activities of Europeans beyond the sea. It has been observed that any society which cannot expand must die; and that its every function is affected by its margins of free land and the extension of its opportunities. In that view the extension of their power beyond the sea offered to those European states which now entered the colonial field a new lease of life no less than new fields for their energies.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND IN AMERICA. 1603-1623

It is apparent in even the most superficial consideration of European history during the first two decades of the seventeenth century that, however important the events which brought the English crown into conflict with the Parliament, made Sweden the mistress of the Baltic, and plunged Germany into the throes of a religious conflict, the interest and importance of that period is not confined to Europe itself. No account of the activities of France under Henry IV would be in any sense complete which ignored one of the greatest events in his reign, the planting of French settlements in America. No chronicle of eastern affairs would be of much value which omitted the advance of Russia into Asia. Nor is it possible to write of the conflict between Spain and the Netherlands without consideration of the principal scene of that conflict, the sea, and its great prize, commerce and colonies. Above all, no record of the reign of James I can pretend to any completeness which fails to include not only the controversy between the crown and the nonconformists within the British Isles, but those far-reaching policies and events which, during this period, planted English colonies and English power in the western world. For, among the various results which flowed from the conflicts and controversies of the sixteenth century, none exceeds in importance that decline of Spanish naval power which now, for the first time, opened the seaways and the lands beyond to northern nations, and that consequent movement of north-European peoples to America which introduced a new element into the world's affairs. Beside the beginnings of the German war, the quarrel of English crown and Parliament, and the estab-

Europe
and her
oversea
possessions

lishment of England and Holland in the East, the settlement of North America must be reckoned as one of the determining factors of modern history.

France in
America

1535-

It might have been supposed that those nations to which the destruction of Spanish naval power was due would have been the first to enter into the inheritance of the western hemisphere now opened to their enterprise. But such was not the case. For under the stimulus of the new spirit which had come over her affairs with the accession of Henry IV, it was France who first roused to fresh adventures oversea. Midway between the crusading and commercial powers, her instinct for colonies and trade, adventure and empire, if it lacked somewhat of the fierce covetousness and religious zeal of Spain and Portugal, and fell short of the passionate regard for dividends which characterized her northern neighbors, partook of both impulses. For centuries, as fishermen, as interlopers in the Portuguese monopoly, as privateers and colonists, her seamen and adventurers had found their way to the west. Merchants of Rouen, Dieppe, Honfleur, Bordeaux had set up factories on the African Gold Coast, sent expeditions to the farther East, financed Brazilian voyages, and founded short-lived trading companies. The French rulers of the sixteenth century, like their neighbors across the Channel, however, had been turned aside from wider colonial ventures by the long rivalry with Charles V and by the civil wars. The despatch of Verrazano and Cartier by Francis I, Cartier's settlements and those of Roberval, had done no more than dissipate the fear of the griffins and monsters which ranged the northern seas, the fiends who held the Isles of Demons, the savages possessed of Satan who occupied the interior of Canada. Some claims to the shore neglected by Spain and Portugal had been established. Coligni's colonizing projects had been cut short by his tragic death; all else had come to naught, save the precarious gains from West Indian piracy and private trade.

However, with a monarch bred in the Huguenot school, to which nearly all French extra-European enterprise had been due, and with a minister interested no less in the eco-

nomie than in the political power of the nation, there came a change. As Granada's fall, a century earlier, had turned adrift needy Spanish adventurers bred to war and seeking fresh enterprise, the peace which followed the accession of Henry of Navarre put a like force at the disposal of the French. For a colonial enterprise they could enlist recruits from a nobility which had lately played a part that, however embittered and disguised by a religious complication, was not unlike that of the English baronage a hundred years before. To these they added a king, who, despite all differences of character and circumstance, was in a position not unlike that of Henry VII; and a realm scarcely less disturbed than England after Bosworth Field. From such elements they recruited a fresh adventure.

Within a year after the Edict of Nantes, a trading association had been established to deal with Java, the Moluccas, and Sumatra, and the Company of Canada and Acadia had been brought into existence. It was but natural that the latter company should seem the more important, for French enterprise had always directed its chief interest toward North America. The region about the St. Lawrence was the earliest territory known to them in the new world, and the most explored; it was beyond the accepted limits of the powers with which Coligni's colonies had had such sad experience. Inhospitable as it seemed to Mediterranean peoples, its rigors were less heeded by the hardier northerners. Unprofitable as it had appeared to Spain, its furs, its forest products, and its fisheries offered to French adventurers prizes only less attractive than the spices of the East; while to her statesmen, the illimitable, unoccupied interior of the continent brought dreams of imperial dominion. Since Cartier's day, wild tales had been afloat of Norumbega, of the great native town of Hochelaga below the rapids of the St. Lawrence, which had barred the earlier explorers from their hope of reaching Asia, and thenceforth were known as Lachine. Since his time trade had increased in fish and peltry, in "ocean ivory" of walrus tusks, in oil, and such products of forest and sea; and when the Edict of Nantes had freed the energies

Canada
1599

of France it was to this vast region that their thoughts first turned.

Champlain

The revival of her colonial ambitions took form from the ideals and the circumstances of the time. A Breton Catholic, the Marquis de la Roche, named as lieutenant-general of "Canada, Hochclaga, Newfoundland, and Labrador, with their adjacent lands," began by settling an ill-fated convict colony upon Acadia. His death transferred his patent to a St. Malo merchant, Pontgrave, and a naval captain, Chauvin, who landed settlers at Tadoussac to live on Indian charity or starve. Thereafter a stout soldier, *Sieur Aymar de Chastes*, Commander of St. John, Governor of Dieppe, a Catholic supporter of the king, whose aid had given Henry the victory of Arques, was granted a charter "to plant the lilies and the cross" in the new land. Allying himself with Pontgrave, he presently enlisted the services of one who was to be to French power in the new world what Cortez had been to Spain and Yermak to Russia, *Samuel Champlain*. Son of a Brouage sea-captain, bred to arms, having seen service in the civil wars, sometime enlisted in a Spanish expedition to the West Indies to gain information of those regions for the French government, this brave, sagacious adventurer, wearying of inaction as a royal pensioner at court, committed himself to the new enterprise, and set out with Pontgrave on an expedition which was destined to give France an empire. Such were the founders of New France.

His first
voyage
1603

On his first voyage Champlain explored the St. Lawrence and the Saguenay. He failed to find the town of Hochelaga, or a way past the rapids of Lachine, and returned to learn that his colleague, de Chastes, had died, and *Pierre du Gast*, *Sieur de Monts*, the Calvinistic governor of Pons, and sometime a companion of Chauvin in America, was now grantee of Acadia. The adventurers' reports, now published, awakened fresh interest in the project to found a colony. De Monts lent his assistance, and Pontgrave, and a wild company, half Protestant, half Catholic, wholly adventurers, sailed with Champlain to found the settlement of Port Royal, on the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. From that region the coast was

1604

explored far to the south. But the resentment of the interloping traders whom he sought to repress brought the revocation of de Monts' monopoly, and it was only after two years of effort that the governor of Pons again despatched Champlain as lieutenant-governor to secure a site for a trading-post. From Tadoussac the great explorer made his way again up the St. Lawrence, and at the foot of that huge cliff from whose commanding eminence the city of Quebec still gazes 1608 down the broadening river to the sea he founded the first permanent French settlement in America, or indeed outside the European continent. With this the hold of France in the new world was finally secured. Tadoussac, overrun with Basque and French adventurers, remained a center of fur trade. Increasing fleets of fishermen and merchants visited Acadia and Newfoundland. The Jesuits followed; and before the first decade of the new century was gone, while Holland secured her foothold in the East, France had established her authority along the St. Lawrence and prepared, under Champlain's direction, to extend her power deep in the heart of the vast wilderness beyond.

It could not be supposed that, in the face of these great movements in the East and West, England would content herself with the slight profits of her Asiatic trade; and those who had formed the companies to exploit the East were quick to feel the lure of the West, to which the earlier adventurers had already shown the way. Raleigh, who had written in Elizabeth's last years, "I shall still live to see Virginia an English nation," had fallen from place and favor, lost his patent and his liberty. James I had reversed Elizabethan policy and set England's feet in different paths. But Englishmen still dreamed of the land which Raleigh had thought to seize between the spheres of Spain and France, and whose name, Virginia, still echoed the greatness of a passing generation and its queen. Already her captains had spied out the land. The year before her death Raleigh himself made 1602 a last effort to rescue his ill-fated colony. On his track Gosnold explored southern New England coasts, first by himself, later with Gilbert and Pring; and, later still, Weymouth led

England in
America

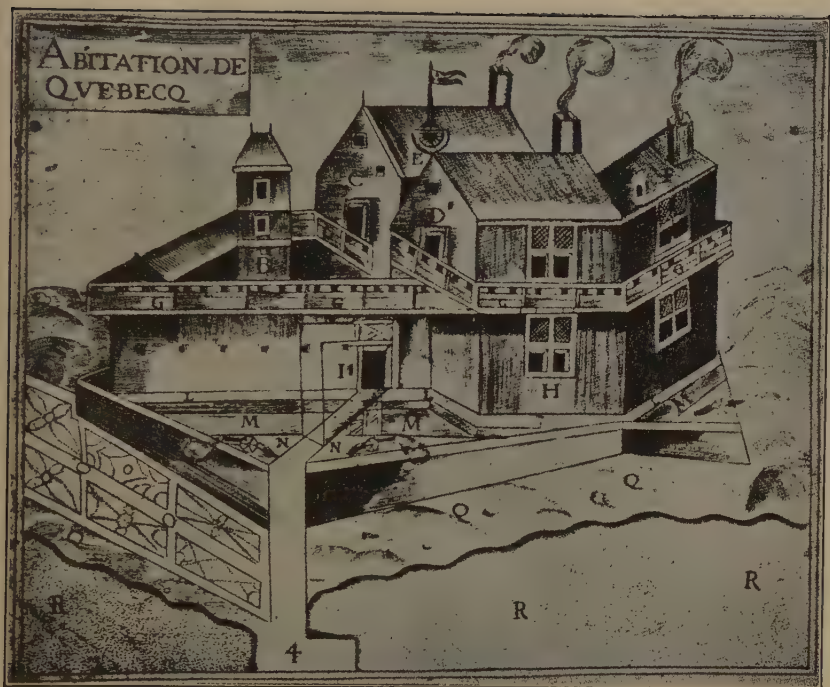
an expedition to the Kennebec. With this, as French power fixed itself on the St. Lawrence, England gathered fresh forces for a colonizing enterprise destined to permanence, between the regions now claimed and occupied by Spain and France.

The
Virginia
Company
1606

Nothing could have been more typical of the nation which set it on foot than the men who pushed it forward. With its chief promoter, the explorer Gosnold, were associated Sir Thomas Smyth, the first governor of the East India Company, and chief assignee of Raleigh's forfeited patent; Popham, a cousin of the chief justice; Wingfield, a West Country merchant; Hunt, a clergyman; Somers and Gates, comrades of Raleigh; Dale, a Low Country soldier; Raleigh Gilbert, nephew of "the caged eagle"; with "knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers," chiefly in London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. These petitioned James for "licence to deduce a colony into Virginia," and two years after Port Royal was founded a patent passed the royal seal establishing two companies. To the London Company, or First Colony, was granted land along the Atlantic coast of North America, from 34° to 38°, with right to three degrees farther north if it was first to colonize. To the Plymouth Company was issued a similar grant from 41° to 45°, with like overlapping rights to the south. Each company was given land for fifty miles each side its first colony and twice that distance inland; rights of coinage and of self-defense; with liberal trading privileges; and, for government, a resident council in the colony and a general council at home. Such were the personalities and the plans for England's first successful attempt to extend her civilization and her power in America.

Jamestown
1607

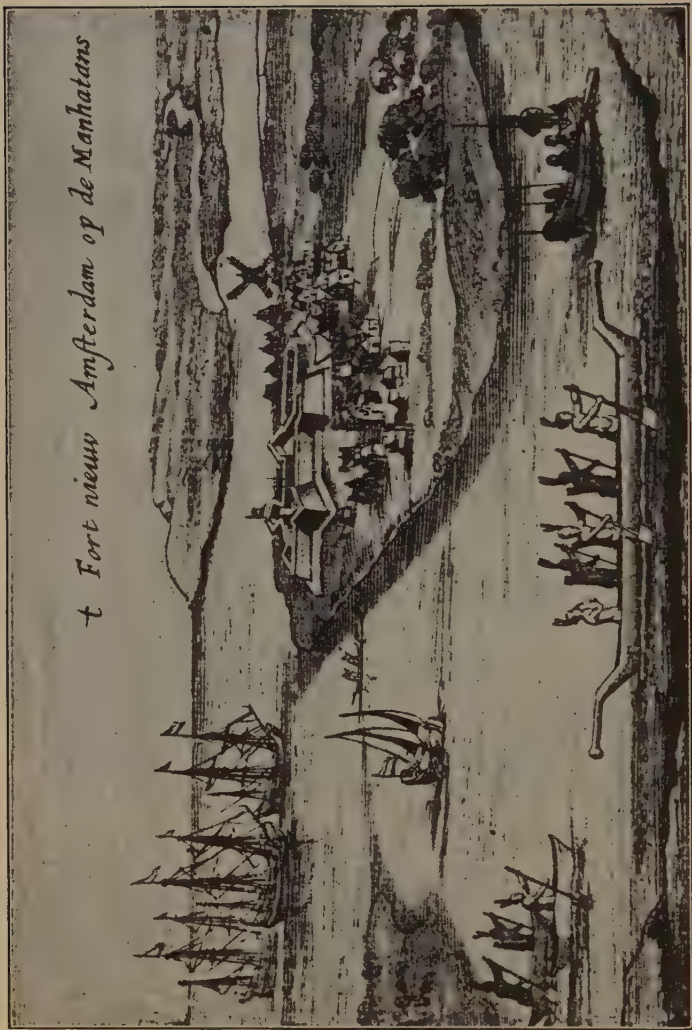
Thus equipped, the first corporation bought three ships. A hundred adventurers, mostly gentlemen, were enlisted; Christopher Newport, "a Marriner well practised for the Western parts of America," was engaged; and, nine months after the passage of the patent to the company, its little fleet set sail. Watering at the Canaries, trading with the "Salvages," and refreshing themselves in the West Indies, they were driven by storm into the Chesapeake. Thence they



CHAMPLAIN'S *Habitation*, Quebec.

From Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613. By courtesy of the New York Public Library.

+ Fort nieuw Amsterdam op de Nanhatans



NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1630.

From Hartgers's *Beschrijvingh van Virginia*. Interesting not only in itself, but as an example of the numerous descriptions of the world produced in Holland during the 17th century.

sailed up a river, christened it the James; where on a low-lying peninsula the adventurers began a settlement which they called Jamestown. As soon as this was well under way, a council formed, the river explored, and savage attacks beaten off, they were left by Newport to their great task, than which there was "nothing so difficult . . . to establish a Commonwealth so farre remote from men and means." Meanwhile, the western company, dissociating itself from the Londoners, despatched an expedition, under Gilbert and Popham, to the Kennebec. But the climate was severe; the hopes of finding mines were disappointed; the French and Spanish traders were hostile; and in the very days that the French colony which was to found Quebec made its slow way across the north Atlantic, it was passed by the discouraged English colonists, "frightened at a blast," returning home. 1607-8

Had it not been for the courage and capacity of one man, the Jamestown settlement might have suffered the same fate. What Champlain was to New France, John Smith was to Virginia. Besides a varied service in the European war, especially against the Turks, he had experienced a long series of what by his own account were not infrequently marvelous adventures. Such a life had hardened this sturdy captain who took charge of affairs in the first trying year of the new colony into a commander whose courage, persistence, and resource made the continuance of the experiment possible, and sustained its feeble life amid many vicissitudes till a new supply of settlers enabled it to go on. In such hands, and by such slender means, was England's foothold in North America secured. John Smith

While it was thus slowly and painfully establishing itself in the New World its status at home was altered. Reorganized at the same time that the East India Company was rechartered, the London Company became an open corporation with purchasable shares, which might be allotted to a colonist for his services, together with land to be distributed after seven years in proportion to the stock he held. Royal and episcopal supremacy was confirmed, with English land tenure and judicial system. At the same time also a new The London Company 1609

grant of territory, whose indefinite terms were of much importance thereafter, conferred on the reorganized company two hundred miles of coast on each side of Old Point Comfort, extending inland "west and northwest from sea to sea."

Under the new charter was formed a corporation without parallel hitherto in European experience. Its government was vested in an English president and council, its active management was intrusted to a governor and council in the colony. Thus the colonists became, in effect, at once servants and sharers of a species of joint-stock communistic enterprise; turning their produce into its magazines, drawing thence their necessary supplies, and sharing in the prospective profits of the venture. With all its disabilities it somehow managed to survive. Despite its earlier disappointment in finding neither mines nor a seaway to the East; despite the sufferings which culminated in the fearful "Starving Time" of its third winter; despite its feebleness which was accentuated by Smith's return to England, the colony held on. And it gradually became evident that, however unpractical its original organization was to prove, a new and vigorous force was to compete with Spanish conquest and planting and French commerce in the exploitation of America, and extend there the frontiers and resources of European peoples on new lines and over increasing areas. The Jamestown colony was projected at the same moment that the outbreaks in Germany presaged religious war. Its early years coincided with the Anglo-Dutch attack upon the Portuguese empire of the East, and the growing hostility between the English crown and people. Beside these great events the activities of a handful of settlers in the North American wilderness seem trivial enough. Yet it was in their hands rather than in trade war or religious controversy that the future lay.

North
America
and its
inhabitants

The conditions which the French and English encountered in the regions where they now made their first permanent settlements, and whither they were soon to be followed by the Dutch, differed widely from any hitherto met with by European settlers. From temperate through cold temperate

to Arctic latitudes they found lands covered for the most part with forests, beech, oak, ash, pine, chestnut, walnut, and poplar in many varieties, familiar and unfamiliar to them. Those forests were filled with game which, with a few striking exceptions, was not unknown to Europe in some form. Deer and bear abounded, with rabbits and squirrels, wild birds of many kinds, particularly ducks, quail, and grouse of numerous species. To European eyes the opossum, the raccoon, and the wild turkey were novelties; and as they penetrated the interior, the bison, or buffalo, added a new element to their resources and experience. In particular, the fur-bearing animals formed the chief wealth of this new heritage, especially in the north. Mink, fox, and ermine, bear skins, from the brown and black varieties of the south to the white Polar variety, the walrus and the seal, were plentiful. Above all, perhaps, was the beaver, whose extraordinary intelligence and engineering skill had spread the lodges of its widespread communities across the northern continent, the most numerous as well as the most sought of all the more valuable fur-bearing inhabitants of the new world.

The
animals

The peoples with whom Europeans now came in close contact, the North American Indians, resembled somewhat in color and habits some of the races the invaders had met in South America. They varied among themselves, but not so much as they differed from the chief races the Europeans had already conquered, the Aztecs and Incas. In spite of the fact that many of them had villages, their settlements were usually not permanent, and they were, for the most part, within the fairly defined areas their tribes inhabited, semi-migratory in their character. Their living was gained in part from hunting, which, with war, absorbed the energies of the men; and in part, among the less savage tribes especially, from cultivation of the soil, carried on almost entirely by the women, or squaws. Indian corn or maize, pumpkins, fruits, beans, added to the potatoes or yams, rice and tobacco of the south, formed their chief subsistence, with fish, oysters, and clams which the waters provided.

The
Indians

Their arts

Their arts were rudimentary. Lodges or tepees of bark, poles, and skins formed their houses; their clothing, such as it was, they made from the skins of animals, principally the deer. They were still in the stone age, and their implements of war, chase, and husbandry were all of that material. They lacked the three animals most important to civilized man, the horse, the cow, and the pig. Their sole domesticated animal was the dog, and their only conveyance the canoe. Their principal weapons were the bow, the war-ax or club, the hatchet-shaped tomahawk, and the rude knife which they used not merely as a means of offense and defense, but to secure their most coveted trophies, the scalps of their enemies. Some tribes achieved rude pottery and basket work, most used a rude currency of wampum or shells strung on cords.

—religion
and culture

Their religion was a natural mythology; in literature they had not proceeded beyond the stage of folk-tales and myths; and their use of rude hieroglyphs did not extend to the production of permanent records. Their government was tribal; and their most powerful confederacy, the Iroquois, or Five Nations, which occupied the lands between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes, had attained an organization and an ascendancy which dominated a great portion of the north. Thence their far-reaching hunting and war parties brought them into collision with a like group of Chickasaws and Creeks, which held a similar position in the south. Among these tribes there existed a rude form of commerce in materials for apparel, war, and chase; and this, with their wide journeys in search of game or enemies, was the sole bond of union among these scattered peoples.

Their
qualities

They had, indeed, some admirable qualities. They were incomparable woodsmen, capable of enduring extraordinary hardships. They were at once proud, brave, and cunning; their stoicism was almost incredible, and they possessed a noble and lofty eloquence. Above all, owing perhaps to their peculiar social system, they preferred death to slavery; and in this respect offered a striking contrast to almost every other uncivilized or even civilized people the Europeans met. This characteristic determined the conditions of the invaders

of North America. Had they desired, it would have been impossible to reduce the Indians to subjection; and, in consequence, if they made good their occupation of the continent, it was only at the cost of long and bloody war, of the extermination or expulsion of its original inhabitants.

Such were the people and such the conditions of successful colonizing which Europeans were now called on to face in the new scene of their activities. Compared with the far-flung empire of Philip III these tiny specks of settlement seemed insignificant, even when, at this moment, they were reinforced by the exploit of Henry Hudson, who, sailing up the river which still bears his name, claimed it and the adjacent territory for his Dutch employers and laid foundations for a later occupation. Compared with the problems at issue among peoples and rulers at home, such enterprises seemed all but contemptible. While Europe was convulsed with a life and death conflict between the two communions, while England began her struggle between crown and Parliament, it might seem that the activities of a handful of adventurers in a distant and savage land could well be ignored.

Yet, in a longer view, those feeble French and English settlements yield nothing in importance to the more spectacular European conflicts which accompanied and in some measure conditioned their progress. In those colonies there lay not merely the germs of wide and powerful dominion, but the beginnings of a new order in the world. The activities of captains and kings filled a far larger place in the minds of the generation which endured the Thirty Years' War than the achievements and hardships of the founders of these new societies. They have thus, naturally enough, bulked larger in history. But if we are to regard constructive effort as one of the chief aims of mankind and a leading concern of those who chronicle its achievements, it is apparent that Champlain and Smith are worthy to be set above many of those rulers who in this period occupy a far greater space in its annals. And, in the long resolution of events, the formation of self-governing societies in North America is certainly not

Importance
of the
North
American
colonies

1609

incomparable with even the maintenance of Protestantism in central Europe. For, apart from the opening of vast areas to settlement, the North American colonies were indissolubly connected with the two great issues which then faced European peoples,—freedom of belief and popular share in government. They were thus not only in close touch with the struggles in Germany and England, but they were, in a sense, a peculiar type and symbol of their times.

Colonial
history
and de-
velopment

It is a false view of history which regards the activities of Europeans beyond the sea as outside the current of general European development. With all the variations among Europeans themselves, and between them and their offshoots abroad, there remains a certain unity in diversity in their joint activities whose neglect breeds a wholly distorted view of the past. As the struggle proceeded in Europe between Catholic and Protestant, between crown and subject, the English and the French made their way deeper into the heart of that wilderness which was to become the seat of a greater and freer society than any which had yet arisen outside the old world. Upon that world these societies were to have a profound influence. They were to contribute in no small measure to the solution of many of the problems then convulsing Europe. And, apart from their effect upon the future, they, like the concurrent activities of the Dutch, were not without significance on at least one of the two great issues then at stake in European affairs. For they placed before their countrymen at once a refuge from oppression and an ideal which powerfully reinforced the agencies then making for liberty throughout the continent. It is easy to exaggerate that immediate influence. It is still easier to overlook it. But no one who considers the whole field of European activity in the eventful years which saw the outbreak of religious dissension in Germany, and the beginning of opposition to autocracy in England, can doubt that the rise of the Dutch empire and the colonization of North America are to be reckoned among the most powerful influences which made for a new situation in the world's affairs.

1607-21

In those busy years Champlain defeated the Iroquois who

barred his path, explored the Richelieu and the Ottawa, and made his way westward to Lake Huron. Franciscans were brought out to convert the savages, and the fortifications of Quebec strengthened. And though the governor of Virginia, Dale, destroyed French posts from Mount Desert to Port Royal, and limited French activity in the south, the "father of New France" confirmed his country's hold upon the mighty stream which, "like an insatiable merchant, engrossed all commodities" in that quarter of the world, and made the middle St. Lawrence at once the warehouse and the citadel of France in America.

Meanwhile the English gained an advantage which they never lost in the struggle for a continent, now thus begun. This lay in the increasing numbers of their immigrants, which marked them from the first as the chief colonizing nation of the world. Despite discouragement and loss, due to the incapacity of the first settlers, despite the unfortunate location of the capital, and the impracticable communal system which presently broke down, despite official incompetence and the failure to find gold, Virginia grew. Germans and Poles were sent out to make potash and pearl ash from timber cleared away in the process of turning forests into farms. Hundreds of emigrants from England, inspired by the changes in the charter, which enabled men to gain free homes in the new world, poured into the settlement. To its success other events contributed. Of these the greatest was the beginning of tobacco culture on a scale which soon afforded a sound economic basis of prosperity. A Dutch ship brought some slaves, and so introduced that system of labor which had made the fortunes of the older tropical colonies. At the same moment the first General Assembly of the burgesses was convened by the governor. And when finally Sir Thomas Wyatt brought out a new constitution vesting local power in the governor, council, and House of Burgesses or assembly, the outlines of development and the stability of Virginia were assured. Self-contained and largely self-supporting, as well as self-governing, this new society of unmixed European blood, slave-holding, absorbed in planting and farming,

The progress of English settlements in America

became not merely the first real successful colony of the north-European states but the first of a new species of colonial enterprise.

The
Puritans

1618

The James River settlement was not long an isolated phenomenon in English affairs, for, as Europe plunged into religious war, two circumstances gave a new turn to these colonial activities. Raleigh, returning from a last, unfortunate voyage to the new world, found his way to the scaffold at the behest of the Spanish ambassador, as punishment for the destruction of a Spanish-American settlement. With his death ended the Elizabethan period. At that precise moment an obscure company of English Separatists, who had sought refuge from James's persecution in Leyden, joined with a group of London merchants in an agreement to plant another colony in the new world. With this came preparations to put into effect Coligni's great design of using the New World to redress the balance of the old by making there a home for the oppressed. Thus the death of Raleigh, first of English colonizers, last of the Elizabethans, so far from relieving Spain of interference in the west, but ushered in a greater chapter in that history. It is one of the striking coincidences of history that the years which saw the German religious question revived by the occupation of Donauwörth and the formation of the Catholic and Protestant leagues, were notable for the foundation of Jamestown and Quebec. It is no less noteworthy that the very moment of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War and the death of Raleigh, the religious-political movement against which James I, in common with the sovereigns of his time, had set his face, found in America a field for its activities.

For a new element was injected into the colonization of America, the Puritans. The management of the Virginia Company, transferred from traders like Smyth to the hands of "subtle men of high courage," like the leader of the Parliamentary opposition to James, Sir Edwin Sandys, had begun to assume the complexion of the political and religious elements which then divided England. Not even Tudor authority had been able to check the Reformation at the middle

ground of the Established Church. The more advanced Protestants, oppressed by Mary, discouraged by Elizabeth, and persecuted by James, who threatened that he would "make them conform or harry them out of the land or worse," had been driven to different courses to save themselves. Some had carried on a propaganda in the country, in Parliament, in the church itself, reinforcing the party opposed on other grounds to the royal financial and foreign policy. Some had more or less patiently endured their miseries. Some had fled beyond the sea to that "cage of unclean birds," "the common harbor of all opinions and heresies," the United Netherlands.

Such was the first of the elements which were now joined in a new undertaking. There were others of scarcely less consequence. In a community bent upon fresh enterprises of eastern trade, American colonies, and so-called "plantation" ventures in lands but lately wrested from rebellious Irish chieftains, the writings of John Smith—or those which his exploits and imagination inspired—which now appeared, roused England as Champlain's had earlier stirred France. His work was reinforced by other activities. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, undeterred by the failure of the Kennebec colony, 1614 employed Smith to explore "northern Virginia," with the result that the "New England" coast was mapped. A new region was thus brought to English view and almost at once a new corporation appeared as "the Council for New England" to exploit its possibilities. This was formed by the so-called "Merchant Adventurers of London," who secured patents for a colony from the Virginia Company and looked about for settlers. With their enlistment of the Puritan exiles in Holland, the new project was assured.

New
England

The groups now brought within the circle of English colonizing schemes were a peculiar product of the age in which they lived. They were the members of a so-called Brownist or Separatist congregation of Scrooby in Yorkshire, belonging to the estate of Sir Edwin Sandys' brother. A dozen years before, under their minister, John Robinson, they had found refuge in Holland. Fearing to lose their nationality in that

The
Pilgrim
Fathers
1609

alien land, they had first planned to emigrate to the district which Hudson found and named; and, failing that, they were prepared to listen to the proposals of this branch of the Virginia Company as voiced by Sandys. The form which the enterprise took owed much to the communal plan of the Virginia settlement. Seventy subscribers provided the capital, and shares were allotted to the emigrants, one to each emigrant above sixteen, two to each family furnishing itself, one for each two children between ten and sixteen. A slender store of utensils and food was provided, and thus equipped the colonists sailed on a small vessel, the *Mayflower*, to transplant their peculiar society to the western world. They sighted land the day after the battle of the White Hill was fought; and at the moment that Bohemia and the Palatinate were being overrun by Spanish, Imperialist, and Bavarian Catholics, the seed of another Protestant colony was planted in the New World.

1620

New
Plymouth

Before landing on the inhospitable shore to which their pilot's ignorance or intention brought them, they signed a covenant "to . . . combine into a civill body politick . . . to enact, constitute and frame just and equall lawes for the generall good of the Colonie," and by this momentous act they established, virtually, a republican form of government. Under their elected governor, John Carver, and their captain, Miles Standish, "the John Smith of New England," they founded their little settlement of New Plymouth in the last weeks of that momentous year (1620) which saw the Imperialists complete their triumph for the moment in Germany and the Jamestown colony take final shape.

With this the English spirit of expansion was embodied in the form it maintained thereafter little changed. It was the product of three elements, commercial companies, seekers after religious and political liberty, and individual adventurers; and of these the second became the predominating influence. Widely different from all other forms of such enterprise hitherto, it was to achieve successfully the transfer not merely of political authority and commercial supremacy, but of a European society to displace a native population and

build up real colonies of white blood beyond the sea. Above all, it was to establish in a new land, for the first time, a popular form of government.

The Virginia and New Plymouth settlements came none too soon, if England was to gain foothold in America. Not

New Neth-
erlands



merely were the French confirmed in the possession of the St. Lawrence region; the Dutch had already bestirred themselves to the same end. Before the Jamestown experiment was an assured success, long before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, those who had sent Henry Hudson out to find a "way across the pole to the isles of spicery," and equipped the *Half Moon* with which he made his way up the great river christened after him, had laid their plans to secure a foothold in that promising region. The traders followed close on Hudson's track. A post was soon established on Manhattan Island at the river's mouth; and within five years

1614

there was formed the United Netherlands Company, with grants of land from 49° to 45°, and right to trade and colonize. Forts were built at Manhattan and farther up the river. Long Island was explored. Steps were taken to secure the fur trade; and, while the Jamestown colonists cleared their lands, while Robinson's congregation were petitioning in vain for permission to occupy the newly opened region, and Champlain pushed westward from Quebec, Dutch traders found their way along the Hudson and the Mohawk and laid foundations for a New Netherlands.

The Dutch
West India
Company

But the occupation of the Hudson River valley was the least of Dutch activities in these eventful years. For while England and France were forced to be content with their experiments in the western world and what crumbs of eastern trade they could pick up between the Dutch and Portuguese, the Netherlands aspired to nothing less than the domination of the whole world of trade and colonies. Projects for settling South America were revived. The Zealand stations on the Oyapok were strengthened. With aid of English and Huguenot refugees a post was founded on the Essequibo and another on the Amazon; and, as the Twelve Years' Truce drew to an end and the fortunes of Oldenbarneveltdt declined, the plans of William Usselinex, an Antwerp refugee, long held in abeyance by the pacific policy of the Advocate, revived under the stimulus of the Orange patronage. A year after the founding of the Plymouth colony they culminated in the establishment of the Dutch West India Company. Its privileges were symbolic of the times which gave it birth. It was granted monopoly of commerce and navigation in west Africa, east and west America, and organized like the East India Company from the chambers of commerce with a Council of Nineteen at its head. At once an ally and an instrument of the government in the war with Spain, now on the point of being renewed, it was granted a subsidy by the States General, and promised naval aid. Thus it became scarcely less a military and political than a commercial enterprise. Its capital, subscribed from patriotic motives as well as the hope of dividends, exceeded that of its eastern rival by half a million

1621

florins; and when, two years after it was launched, its subscription books were closed, the United Provinces, especially the Orange party, now in control of Dutch affairs, possessed in this new corporation a powerful weapon against their Spanish enemies.

The issue was now joined. In Germany the struggle between the communions was fully under way; in America three nations contended with each other and with their common enemy, Spain, for a foothold; and through the East, as everywhere on the sea, the Netherlands challenged the dominion of the world of trade. On every field the conflict between the old order and the new, in religion, in politics, and in commerce, brought to a head the irreconcilable ambitions and interests of rival schools of faith and policy and interests. Whatever the result, it was now evident that Europe would experience, in every phase of her activity, not merely a new series of events but new conditions in her development. And if, for the time being, the concerns of war and diplomacy bulked larger on her immediate horizon, it was no less evident, to far-seeing men, that the not distant future held the promise of wider policies and more far-reaching activities than those which then absorbed her greatest energies. Among these the exploitation of America was not the least.

That exploitation had profound effect on European policies. While Spain aspired to play a great part in Europe, her hold on America was shaken by French, Dutch and English Protestant interlopers. She had never confirmed that hold on eastern North America by settlement, and no single circumstance of this eventful period was more significant than the decision of her rivals to ignore her claims and the authority of the Papacy and set up a new basis for title in effective colonization. In that, as in their invasion of Spanish trade monopoly both East and West, they wrote the epitaph of Spanish colonial dominance and an outworn European polity, as they opened a new age of world politics.

CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. 1623-1642

The
situation
of Europe

AT noon of All Souls' Day, 1517, the Wittenberg professor of philosophy, Martin Luther, had nailed to the door of the castle church in that quiet German university town his ninety-five theses against the doctrine of indulgences as then proclaimed and practised by the Papal authority. A hundred years later, almost to a day, there had burst forth in Bohemia a controversy which, scarcely less insignificant in its external aspects than the act of the German reformer, was productive of a conflict almost as widespread, and of even bloodier consequence than the original agitation which flowed from Luther's opposition to the Papal practices. If the beginning of the Thirty Years' War proved nothing else, it demonstrated three things,—that the older religious unity of western Christendom was gone beyond recall, that ecclesiastical issues were an active factor in public affairs and international relationships, and that the manifold efforts of the Hapsburg house to unify Germany under its direct sovereignty had made no headway in the preceding century and a half.

The great conflict which had begun a hundred years from the time when Luther drew up his Resolutions in defense of his position, had by the year 1623 entered upon the second stage of its long and bloody progress. Already its champions, like its character, had begun to change. Save in so far as they represent the tendencies of the time, or react against them, the accession of new rulers is seldom of much moment in the evolution of human affairs. But, as at certain other periods of European history, the seven years which followed the outbreak of war in Bohemia brought on the stage a group of kings, captains, and statesmen destined to play decisive parts in the political fortunes of the continent.

Three years after the beginning of the struggle in Germany, the pious Philip III of Spain had died, his spirit broken by the appalling evidence of his nation's decadence. 1621 The favorites who had battered on the state had been dismissed. His people, now bankrupt and desolate, mourned his virtuous incompetence, but continued with proud and devoted stubbornness their hopeless conflicts in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, and across the sea, maintaining still their arrogant, impossible claims to determine Europe's faith and future. At the same time the United Provinces, deprived of the services of Oldenbarneveldt, found, when they took up again the burden of their war of independence against Spain, after the Twelve Years' Truce, that, as Maurice himself declared, "nothing went well after the death of the Advocate." Threatened by the forces of his skilful adversary, the Spanish general, Spinola, the Prince of Nassau barely managed to hold his own, while his people, apart from harassing the power of Spain, were for the time unable to give their German co-religionists any effective aid.

France and England were in little better case. Under the boy king, Louis XIII, France was weakened by intrigue and civil war; and it was not until the commanding genius of Richelieu made itself supreme in the royal councils that his nation again took its share in European politics. As the long, feeble reign of James I wore to a close, England played a like unheroic part. The "British Solomon" had seen his fatuous foreign policy of a Spanish marriage go to wreck. The quarrel with his advanced Protestant subjects, the Puritans, grew from bad to worse. His relations with his new Parliament strained to the breaking-point, as his financial expedients, his claims to absolutism, and his failure to help the German situation, combined to alienate almost every element of his people from him. Nor was his successor more able or more fortunate. Two years after his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was driven into exile, James' death brought to the English throne his pious, obstinate son, 1625 Charles, with whose reign began a still more troubled period of English history.

France and
England

Eastern
Europe

Meanwhile, eastern Europe revealed a new alignment of powers and a new race of princes. The long reign of Michael Romanoff gave way to that of his successor, with no great result, either in character or importance to the world at large. The declining strength of Poland and Turkish lethargy left therefore but two powers to be considered in that quarter of the world. The first was Sweden, whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, was now lord of the ascendant in the Baltic lands. The second was Denmark, whose ruler, Christian IV, aspired to play a part in European politics; and, like his Swedish colleague and rival, looked with anxious eyes upon the situation which had developed in Germany.

The
Danish
period of
the Thirty
Years' War
1625-9

It was, indeed, high time for these northern princes to take thought for the morrow, since, if German Protestantism was to be saved, there was pressing need for some champion to appear on its behalf; and if the Baltic states were to maintain their position, it was no less necessary to check the advancing power of the Imperialists. For seldom had the cause of the reformed communions seemed more desperate than in those days when Bohemia and the Palatinate fell from their grasp. The victories of the Bavarians and the imperial forces had not, it is true, extinguished resistance. There remained the army of Mansfeld; and while the drums of his recruiting officers beat up reinforcements in other lands for his service, the Danish king, supported by subsidies from England and the Netherlands, drew together an army and pushed into northern Germany. There, in his capacity as Duke of Holstein and head of the lower Saxon Circle, he proposed to challenge the Imperial and Catholic supremacy, and, conjointly with his Mecklenburg allies, to champion the Protestant interest.

The moment seemed propitious. Now that their own aims had been attained, neither the new Elector, Maximilian of Bavaria, nor the Catholic League were overzealous in the Emperor's cause, save on their own somewhat excessive terms. Ferdinand himself was no general, and his abilities had been directed toward the settlement of Bohemia, whose population had been decimated by the war and whose lands had been

distributed among his loyal Austrian Catholic nobility. At the moment, therefore, that Mansfeld failed to save Breda from Spinola, and Gustavus overran Courland and conquered ducal Prussia, the Danish king poured his troops across the border, and Bethlen Gabor prepared to threaten Vienna with his Transylvanian army, in a joint attempt to relieve the Protestants. Tilly advanced into Saxony to meet this new danger, and the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War began, not inauspiciously for the Danish king. 1625

But the success he promised himself was short-lived. In the midst of his embarrassment the Emperor found relief from an unexpected quarter. Among the numerous adventurers who had hastened to enrich themselves by buying in Bohemian estates, one, Albert of Wallenstein, who had taken a prominent part in the Bohemian war and made his reputation by service against Venice, revealed the talents and audacity which were to place him high among the great ones of the earth. To him the Emperor intrusted his defense; and from the masses of mercenaries which the spoil of Germany had drawn into her wars, he was authorized to recruit a force, dependent on his genius for its form and leadership, and on pillage for its support. Thus equipped, he fell suddenly upon Mansfeld's forces, defeated them, killed their leader, and drove them through Silesia and Hungary till they found refuge with Bethlen Gabor, who had been compelled to withdraw again into Transylvania. 1626 Wallenstein

Meanwhile Tilly had beaten Christian IV at Lutter in Brunswick; and, following their successes, the two imperialist commanders joined to conquer Holstein. Thence Wallenstein proceeded to overrun Schleswig and Jutland; drove out the dukes of Mecklenburg; and forced the duke of Pomerania to submit to the imperial power. Silesia was compelled to like submission. Bethlen Gabor, deprived of the assistance of the Turks by their treaty with the Emperor, was rendered powerless. Baden was overpowered by the imperial troops; and Germany cleared of Protestant forces. For his great services Wallenstein was created Duke of Friedland, promised the estates of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and allowed to

1628

assume the title of Admiral of the Baltic. It was only when his conquering advance reached the walls of Stralsund that his progress was stayed; and his failure to capture that city, with Tilly's repulse from Glückstadt, marked the high tide of Catholic-Imperial success.

The Peace
of Lübeck
1629

As a result of that success, six years after Frederick had been driven from the Palatinate, this second or Danish period of the war was crowned by readjustments flowing from imperial ascendancy in northern Germany. By the Peace of Lübeck, Christian regained his lost territory in return for the abandonment of his allies and his promise to take no further part in German affairs. For his commanding services Wallenstein became the first subject of the empire, with grants of lands, among which the dominions of the dukes of Mecklenburg, now placed under the imperial ban, were included. Finally the great Edict of Restitution put into effect the terms of the so-called "ecclesiastical reservations," which had been left undecided by the Peace of Augsburg. Under this arrangement all the ecclesiastical estates whose rulers had turned Protestant since the Peace of Passau three-quarters of a century before, were now restored to Catholic hands. By such means the archbishoprics of Bremen and Magdeburg, a dozen bishoprics, and ten times that number of monastic domains were wrested from the reformed communions. Moreover, only Lutherans were recognized. All others were left to the mercy of their enemies; and how scant that mercy was the ravages of Wallenstein's followers and those of the League soon witnessed. Dark as the prospect had seemed six years before, when Frederick had been driven from Bohemia and the Palatinate, the Protestant outlook now seemed darker still; for as the Imperial Catholic designs to crush the reformed communions were reinforced by Wallenstein's ambitions and abilities, the case seemed all but desperate to their opponents.

And the
Edict of
Restitution

The dis-
agreements
among the
Catholics

But from apparently certain destruction the Protestants were preserved by discords among their enemies. Scarcely had the great Edict been issued when the Diet of Regensburg revealed how widely the views of the Emperor differed from

those of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Catholic League. Had it been possible for Ferdinand to accomplish the old Hapsburg design of making the imperial power supreme in a united Germany, the fate of the reformed communions would have been sealed. But in the minds of the Catholic princes the fear of a powerful centralized monarchy vested in the house of Hapsburg was stronger than the dislike of the Protestants; and in the antagonism between the imperial and the princely policies and ambitions their opponents found, if not security, at least a breathing-space. The Bavarian Elector and his adherents of the Catholic League demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of his forces on the well-grounded charge of the destruction which his licensed freebooters were inflicting upon Germany. The Emperor was driven to consent; and, with the loss of the great general and his army, the imperial authority, deprived of its chief support, gradually relaxed, while the miserable inhabitants of northern Germany were relieved from the more imminent pressure of the sufferings which the war had brought upon them. 1630

In such fashion ended the second stage of the great conflict, after twelve years of unexampled destruction. Measured by its immediate results, it had but carried out the promise of the earlier period. To all external appearance German Protestantism seemed doomed. Stripped of Bohemia, the Palatinate, and great parts of northern Germany, divided against itself, and with its Danish and Transylvanian champions driven from the field, its own armies destroyed, and its ablest generals dead, only some miracle of outside support to aid its stubborn but thus far ineffectual resistance offered even a hope of its persistence in German polity. When the conflict had been at its height some years before it had been declared with bitter satire that the Netherlands would send a hundred thousand kits of herring, the Danes a hundred thousand tubs of butter, and the English king a hundred thousand ambassadors to the aid of their co-religionists in Germany. Now it seemed that even this mythical assistance was out of the question.

The other
states of
Europe
—Spain

This triumph of the reactionary element was emphasized by events elsewhere in Europe. While the Danes had made their futile effort to preserve the German Protestants and improve their own position, the rest of Europe had seen profound changes. In Italy the long pontificate of Urban VIII, however disturbed by German and Italian wars, had done much to revive Papal authority. In Spain the rise of a great minister, Olivarez, had begun to galvanize the state into a fierce if feverish activity, which gave it, for the time being, the semblance of its old greatness. Once more the nation appeared in the front rank of military powers; once more armadas were prepared to crush the Dutch, and armies raised for new projects in Italy. It was, indeed, the last flicker of the burned-out candle; and the ambitious policy was destined only to lessen the remaining vigor of the state. But for the moment it served its purpose in the elevation of the Catholic power in the European world.

France
under
Richelieu

1625-

Beyond the Pyrenees, meanwhile, the greatest of all French statesmen-ecclesiastics, Richelieu, rose to the height of an authority scarcely equaled on the continent, and, with his ascendancy, set his nation upon a path which led to predominance in European councils. He had become chief minister in the same year that Christian IV planned his descent on Germany, and his rise to unquestioned supremacy in French councils had been coincident with the Danish period of the great war. In that conflict he and his nation for the time took no part. As the struggle was joined across the Rhine, the Huguenots rose in rebellion against the crown, and Richelieu's energies were directed to the suppression of the powerful faction which threatened the very integrity of France. His efforts were successful. In spite of their strength throughout the land, in spite of their desperate resistance, and the all but impregnable position of the chief city of La Rochelle, in spite of English attempts to succor the last stronghold of Protestantism in France, the Huguenot capital was compelled to submit. At the very moment that the Danish king was driven back to his own land, La Rochelle fell into the hands of the French government. Thence the

1628

great minister led his victorious forces against the Spaniards in Italy, and brought back fresh honors for his nation. The nobles rebelled in vain against his growing ascendancy and that of the crown. The Queen Mother found her efforts to check his rising authority no less ineffectual; and, as the Danish period of the German war came to an end, the Cardinal-minister stood out as a force to be reckoned with thenceforth in European politics.

This reviving French ascendancy was the more pronounced in that England had meanwhile fallen on evil days. James I's reign had ended with bitter animosities in church and state; nor did his son Charles, on coming to the throne, abate the popular discontent. He joined, indeed, with Holland to subsidize Christian IV's invasion of Germany, which coincided with his accession to the throne. He sent three expeditions to aid the Rochellois in their resistance to Richelieu. But his efforts to assist the continental Protestants failed ignominiously, owing in no small degree to the incompetence of his favorites, especially the arrogant and incapable Duke of Buckingham, who virtually directed English affairs. At home Charles further embroiled the crown with Parliament. He was denounced for alleged innovations in church and state, for illegalities in raising revenue, for the employment of favorites; and when he retorted by imprisoning the popular leaders, the antagonism between the king and Commons came to open breach. The Petition of Right, which summed up the people's grievances and so became one of the great landmarks of English constitutional history, completed the estrangement. Four years after his accession, at the same moment that the Edict of Restitution was promulgated in Germany, and the Peace of Alais brought the conflict between the crown and Huguenots to an end in France, Charles dissolved his Parliament, made peace with France and Spain, and began a long and perilous experiment in absolute government which finally alienated his people from the crown, and was destined to end in civil war.

England
under
Charles
1625-

1629

Thus as the third decade of the seventeenth century came to an end, the European world found itself confronted with

the apparent triumph of Catholicism and absolute royal power. England and Denmark were withdrawn from further interference in Germany. Mansfeld and Bethlen Gabor were dead; and the Protestant states were left to endure the Catholic Imperial ascendancy as best they could. The Calvinists, in particular, were compelled to bear the brunt of the conflict alone, as the great Edict went into force. Huguenot resistance was crushed in France; Parliamentary government at an end in England.

Holland
under
Frederick
Henry
1625-47

One power remained in western Europe. In the same twelvemonth that Charles I came to the English throne, and Richelieu to the head of French affairs, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau succeeded his brother Maurice as Stadtholder of the United Provinces. With his accession the fortunes of the state he came to rule revealed a strength which rivaled or surpassed those of far more populous nations, and did much to redress the balance thus weighted against the Protestant peoples of the continent.

The second quarter of the seventeenth century was in every way the golden age of Holland. In arts and arms, in colonies and commerce, in intellect and achievement, she enjoyed a primacy out of all proportion to her resources or her size; while in wealth and general prosperity her people surpassed all other nations of the continent. Thanks to her policy of toleration which insured freedom of speech and residence to all, her own sturdy stock was reinforced by men of learning and ability from many other states, who sought within her borders the privileges denied to them at home. Her world-wide commerce and political interests served to broaden her horizon. Her social system and her polity, which afforded to thought and speech a license elsewhere unknown, combined to make her the most enlightened power in Europe, pre-eminent in almost every field of human endeavor of the time. Home of the greatest living philosopher, Descartes; of the historian and the founder of international law, Grotius; her brilliant group of scholars and scientists, Scaliger, the Vossii, Lipsius, Heinsius, and their colleagues, had made that child of the Revolution, the University of

Leyden, the most famous seat of learning of its time. The United Netherlands were no less remarkable in other fields, with "statesmen of letters" like Huyghens, Hooft, and Cats. Her artists like Wouverman and Cuyp, Rembrandt and Hals, and their many contemporaries by their genius made Holland the art center of the European world, her only rival her cousin, the Flemish Netherlands. With great commanders on land and sea, like Willekens and Heinsius and Frederick Henry himself; with diplomats like Aerssens, Lord of Sommeldijk, whom Richelieu declared one of the three greatest men he ever met; the United Provinces now became what Italy had been a century before to art and science, what England had been more recently to letters and sea-power, what France was to become in war and diplomacy,—the leading nation of the European world. Yet with all her eminence in so many fields, it was not from the Netherlands that there came any direct relief to German Protestants. That service was rendered by a very different hand.

At the same moment that Holland achieved this ascendancy in the west, the Baltic lands emerged into that same circle of interests, though under different auspices and in different fashion from their Dutch co-religionists. While Germany had been filled with the contentions of Catholic and Protestant, Imperialists and princes, the northern powers had been absorbed in another and to them a no less decisive conflict. In the twelvemonth that the Elector Palatine, fleeing from before the Imperialists, had abandoned his short-lived Bohemian sovereignty, Poland had been attacked by Sweden and the Turks. The latter, despite their early success, were soon brought to terms of peace; but the struggle between Poland and Sweden had run parallel with the war in Germany. Under the leadership of Gustavus the Swedes took Riga and Mitau, invaded Lithuania, and conquered Livonia. Thereafter, amid alternate victories and defeats, the Swedish king pushed his forces along the Baltic shores, taking Elbing and Marienburg and blocking Danzig, till he was checked by Polish successes. At the moment that Denmark and the Empire signed the Peace of Lübeck and the

Sweden
under
Gustavus
Adolphus

1620

1629

Edict of Restitution was issued, Sweden and Poland came to terms in the so-called truce of Altmark. Thence Gustavus turned his eyes toward Germany, where he feared the collapse of Protestantism only less than the threat of Wallenstein's successes in the north against Swedish ambitions in the Baltic. At that moment, too, France was relieved from the Huguenot danger; and the far-seeing statesmanship of Richelieu, marking its opportunity to enlist the Swedish power in a deadly thrust against the Hapsburg house, proffered Gustavus a subsidy for an attack on Germany.

France and
Sweden

Perhaps no single act in this momentous period revealed more clearly the altering character of events than this; for the same hand which had struck down the Protestants of France was thus held out to save their German brethren from destruction,—and that hand belonged to a prince of the Catholic church. It was the symbol of a new era in the great war. With the entry of Sweden and France into that struggle, its religious character, already complicated by the antagonism of the imperial and the princely ambitions, became a part of the long-standing Franco-Hapsburg rivalry.

Of all those kaleidoscopic changes which make the Thirty Years' War one of the great dramatic episodes of history, few are more remarkable than the sudden reversal of parts which overtook the combatants midway between the outbreak of hostilities and the first steps toward peace. After a dozen years of almost continuous conflict, the enforcement of the Edict of Restitution marked the nadir of Protestant fortunes. The war had weakened the power and reduced the area of the reformed communions, the Edict threatened their very existence. And as the troops of Wallenstein and the Catholic League were summoned to enforce a settlement which would have set back the hands of the clock more than three-quarters of a century, it almost seemed that the labors of Luther and Calvin had been in vain, so far as Germany was concerned.

The crisis
of the
Thirty
Years'
War

On the face of affairs nothing appeared more probable than that the triumph of the Imperial and Catholic authority, despite their differences, was only a matter of time, and no long time; nothing seemed less likely than that any combina-

tion of circumstances could shake their ultimate supremacy. But the very success of the divergent elements among the Imperialist Catholics set the impossible on its way to accomplishment. However much the Emperor and the Catholic League found themselves indebted to Wallenstein; however they had profited by his abilities, they now began to fear the ambitions of their savior more than they dreaded the dangers from which he had preserved them. That feeling was further embittered by the pillage and cruelties practised by his army, which lived on free quarters; and, at the height of the Catholic-Imperial success, the Emperor was compelled to dismiss the great commander and disband a great part of his forces. Wallenstein thereupon retired to his Bohemian estates, which had been part of the reward of his great services. There he rivalled the imperial court in ostentatious luxury and meditated those far-reaching plans which had roused the envy and fear of those who dreaded the power of the uncrowned "dictator of Germany."

Yet it was not alone the withdrawal of the great partisan which gave such dramatic emphasis to the summer of 1630 in Germany. It could not be supposed that a conflict involving the fortunes of the rival communions and threatening the political balance of the continent should not affect the neighboring powers. France, however Catholic, had reason to fear Hapsburg ascendancy. The rising power of Protestant Sweden looked with jealous eye not only on the triumph of Catholicism, but on the conquests of Wallenstein which trenched on the sphere of her own territorial ambitions. Thus, at the height of the Imperialist success, France and Sweden alike prepared to dispute the further advance of Ferdinand and his great general.

The Baltic power was the first to move. During those same days of June that Wallenstein was retired from his command, in a remote corner of the Empire a new Protestant champion was busy disembarking that army which, in a twelvemonth, was to alter the face of German, and, indeed, of European politics. At the same moment those Protestant princes who had been little moved by purely religious issues

The arrival of the Swedes 1630

began to draw together in defense of their title to lands now threatened by the Edict; while the masses of Lutherans and Calvinists, driven to desperation by the well-grounded fear of annihilation, and preparing for a last stand against the Catholic Imperialists, were nerved to fresh resistance by the prospect of deliverance.

The story goes that when the news of the landing of an army in Pomerania came to Vienna the courtiers hastened to inquire where lay the lands of this invader who now challenged the imperial supremacy,—“the snow-king and his body-guard.” Yet the name of Gustavus Adolphus, “King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, grand prince of Finland, duke of Esthonia,” was not unknown in Europe. Russia and Poland had felt the weight of his power in the preceding twenty years. Wallenstein, who had sworn to take Stralsund “though it were attached by chains to Heaven,” had seen his prey snatched from him by that hand. And the far-seeing Richelieu, who furnished the subsidy for this great adventure, had recognized in this “Star of the North” a weapon by which the house of Hapsburg might be dealt a mortal blow. For the Swedish king, backed by his veteran army, had already proved himself one of the great captains of history, not inferior to the only worthy antagonist which Europe then held, the Duke of Friedland, Wallenstein.

The rise
of Sweden

Gustavus' advent in Germany was the climax of a long period of Swedish development. The eastern half of the great Scandinavian peninsula, Sweden, seemed destined to rule the Baltic. Her hardy inhabitants, with their kinsmen of Denmark and Norway, had been almost the last converts to Christianity. Long after western Europe had come under the influence of Rome, as the fierce heathen Norsemen and Danes carved principalities for themselves in England and France, and settled the islands of the north and west, the Swedes had founded dukedoms in Russia and carried their arms as far south as Byzantium. With Christianity came a long era of uneasy peace. The land, divided only less than Norway by its mountains into small lordships, resisted attempts of the ruling dynasty to bring its independent spirits

under royal yoke. At the close of the fourteenth century the Union of Calmar united the three Scandinavian kingdoms under the Danish crown. But the efforts to crush the Swedish nobles' power, after a hundred years and more of strife, collapsed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has already been related how, while Luther led the Protestant Revolt and Cortez conquered Mexico, a Swedish nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, under romantic circumstances, had headed a successful rebellion against Danish authority, and had begun that stormy career which was to set his country in the first rank of European powers for an eventful century.

The history of Sweden's greatness was that of the Vasa family. Its founder adopted the Lutheran doctrines, which became the faith of the state; but the conflict between the old communion and the new was, like the coincident struggle in England, long indecisive. It was not finally determined till the close of the sixteenth century. Then the king's brother compelled his nephew, the legal heir, Sigismund, the Catholic king of Poland, to renounce the Swedish crown, which he himself assumed, as Charles IX. His design of making Sweden the dominant northern power and himself the head of a great Protestant league, led him, naturally, into conflict with his neighbors; and his son, the young Gustavus, inherited the wars and the ambitions of his father. When he invaded Germany he had been king of Sweden nearly twenty years, and most of them had been spent in arms. His struggle with Denmark had been indecisive. That with Russia had given him command of most of the eastern shore of the Baltic; while the conflict with Poland, which had just ended in a truce, provided him a foothold in northeastern Germany.

From these wars he drew the experience which made him so formidable an enemy, and the well-equipped, well-disciplined, veteran troops the finest fighting force in Europe. By means of war he had diverted the restless nobility from further attack upon the crown authority. By the reorganization of his government into a bureaucracy, the encouragement of commerce, and the building of towns, he had at once enlisted the support of the middle classes and united all national

1397

The Vasas
and
Gustavus
Adolphus

elements in the common pursuit of glory and of gain. His diplomacy was not less successful. His assembly protested against the German adventure on the ground of danger and expense. But the French subsidy made their refusal of supplies ineffectual to prevent the undertaking; and the fear that the Emperor might secure the coveted southern Baltic ports gave the last impetus to his decision.

Gustavus'
advance

1631

Yet his advent at first seemed unpropitious. Much as they hated and feared the Catholic Imperialists, the Protestant princes, even Gustavus' brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, looked with little favor on the intervention of a foreigner. The people in general, with the horrors of war still upon them, feared a repetition of Wallenstein's marauding policy. But both elements were gradually reassured. The Swedish discipline prevented pillage. The king's cautious advance through Pomerania into Brandenburg, securing his position as he went, gave neither his enemies nor the neutral princes an opportunity to crush or betray him. His treaty with Pomerania guarded at once its interests and his own; and when the imperial forces under Tilly captured the Protestant stronghold of Magdeburg, massacred its inhabitants, and burned the town, a sudden revulsion of sentiment and interest brought allies to the Swedish king. Joined by John George of Saxony, he advanced to Leipzig, and there, on the field of Breitenfeld, fifteen months after his landing, the Imperialists were defeated. Thence he advanced to southern Germany, despatching his Saxon ally to Bohemia. Through Thuringia and Franconia to the Danube and the Rhine, defeating Tilly again at Rain, taking Augsburg and Munich, besieging Maximilian in Ingolstadt, and finally establishing themselves in camp near Nuremberg, the Swedes became the dominant power in the Empire.

Wallen-
stein

Against them the Emperor and the League had proved helpless and, in this crisis, all eyes turned to Wallenstein. He was at first obdurate to the imperial appeals, consenting, only after long supplication, to raise a force but refusing its command. The magic of his name called to his standard fifty thousand men. His genius formed them into an army,

dependent on himself. Still he refused command till, in despair, the Emperor yielded all. Wallenstein was created commander-in-chief, not only of the Emperor's forces and those of the Archdukes, but of the Spanish troops. An Austrian hereditary territory was to be given him. He was empowered to confiscate estates, grant pardons and reliefs, and have sovereign jurisdiction over conquered lands. No such powers have ever been conferred by any sovereign, before or since, as these which, were he successful, would have made this great adventurer the master of Germany.

The end seemed to justify the means. Almost at once Wallenstein drove the Saxons from Prague; and, with the Elector of Bavaria, he advanced to form a camp over against that of the Swedes at Nuremberg. Thence he turned to cut Gustavus' communications and overpower Saxony, and, to check this, the Swedes hastened by forced marches to forestall him. At Lützen, near the scene of the first great Swedish victory, the forces met, with results disastrous to both sides. The Imperialists were defeated decisively, with the loss of their greatest cavalry leader, Pappenheim. But the Swedish triumph was dearly bought; for, at the moment of victory, their king met his death. His fall may have saved Germany from partition and Swedish dominance but it was the greatest loss his party could have sustained, and for the time it seemed irreparable. But though none of his generals possessed his ability, the Swedes did not lack competent commanders trained in his school; and in the chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, they found a statesman-diplomatist not unequal to Gustavus himself. Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Baner, and Horn assumed command of the army. The chancellor took direction of foreign affairs; and a league was formed between the Swedes and the German circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine provinces, while France continued to support their cause.

Lützen
and the
death of
Gustavus

1632

Even so, the Protestant allies might well have feared the Catholic-Imperialist-Spanish forces commanded by the genius of Wallenstein. But in this crisis, as before, that alliance again collapsed. The scarcely veiled ambitions of the Imperialist general, whose ability had raised him to the position

The dis-
grace and
death of
Wallen-
stein

1634

The Peace
of Prague
1635

of an all but independent power in Europe, provoked suspicion as well as jealousy. The Spanish party, in particular, was fearful of his schemes. Their fear was not without foundation. After Gustavus' death, Wallenstein had done little to offend the Swedes; he had negotiated with them, the Saxons, and the French; and, apart from what wider dreams he had of winning for himself a kingdom in Germany, he had determined to overthrow the Spanish influence in the Empire. The consequences were not long delayed. Fifteen months, almost to a day, from the battle of Lützen an imperial proclamation removed him from his command; and a week later he was assassinated by some of his own officers whom the Emperor richly rewarded for their treachery.

Hard on the crowning tragedy of this momentous period, the Imperialist victory over the Swedes at Nördlingen apparently put the game again in the hands of the Emperor, and when, in the following year, the Peace of Prague was signed between him and the Elector of Saxony, the conflict seemed inclining to a termination favorable to the Imperial and Catholic interests. That peace, accepted by most of the Protestant estates, including Brandenburg, gave to the possessors of estates confiscated before the convention of Passau perpetual ownership. All others were to remain as they were in November, 1627, for forty years, and, barring a new arrangement before the end of that period, forever thereafter. With this, with amnesty for the Bohemian-Palatinate disturbances, with toleration for the Lutherans, and an agreement to make common cause against the Swedes the third phase of the German conflict came to an end.

The entry
of France

But if any of the diplomats who drew up this treaty believed the end of struggle was at hand, or even brought nearer by its terms, they were soon undeceived. It was far from the plans of the outside powers to allow Germany to settle her own affairs. Where Gustavus left off Richelieu began. It had been the policy and the subsidies of France which had called in the Swedes against the Empire and maintained their armies after their king's death. It had been the Spanish party and the League which had pushed on the

dismissal of Wallenstein; and it was his death which had checked his deep designs looking toward the expulsion of Spanish influence and the enforcement of imperial peace, together with what personal aggrandizement he had dreamed of in a reformed Empire. It was the Peace of Prague, with its Lutheran concessions, which left Sweden and France the chief opponents of the Emperor and his Spanish supporters as the conflict declined into a phase of the long-standing Bourbon-Hapsburg rivalry.

The seven years which followed the Peace of Prague, therefore, saw rather a shifting of interests than any cessation in conflict. For four years France confined her efforts to the support of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who strove to conquer a new state for himself in place of that duchy of Franconia which the battle of Nördlingen had cost him. After his death French generals and French troops as well as French subsidies were poured into Germany to retain what their ally had won. Meanwhile the Swedes under Baner had won the battle of Wittstock over the Saxons and the Imperialists, and secured themselves in northern Germany as France had established her power along the Rhine with the capture of Breisach.

The
Swedish-
French
period
1635-48

But already the actors in the drama were changing. The long-enduring Ferdinand II was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III, who, above all things, was desirous of peace. Three years thereafter George William of Brandenburg was followed by that Frederick William, to whom a later generation gave the title of the Great Elector. The ducal house of Pomerania became extinct; and Baner's death brought Torstenson to the command of the Swedish armies. Of these changes only the last had no effect upon the situation of affairs, for Sweden's military ascendancy remained unimpaired. Within a year after his succession to command Torstenson defeated the Imperialists at Leipzig and laid the hereditary estates of the Emperor open to invasion. The effect of his continued success was twofold. On the one hand, the imperial authorities were the more inclined to peace; and, even before his last victory, preliminary steps toward a con-

1636

1638

1642

gress had been held at Hamburg, which the advance of Swedish arms had accelerated. Meanwhile the Danes, jealous of Swedish ascendancy, had seized the opportunity to fall upon their rivals in the rear. But Christian's forces were overwhelmed by Torstenson, whose rapid advance carried him across Holstein and Schleswig to Jutland and compelled the Danish king to sue for peace at the same moment that the Austrians and Bavarians checked the successes of the French in the south.

Thenceforth the contest resolved itself into a series of efforts on the part of either side to influence the negotiations begun at Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia, and the remaining operations of the Swedish-Danish war. These last, however destructive and however expressive of national and dynastic forces, were of small importance to any interests save those of the ambitious rulers who sought the advantage of their respective governments at the expense of Europe generally. Far more significant were the circumstances in the British Isles, where, in these years, the differences between the people and the crown, and the concurrent controversy between the church and the dissenters, had gradually tended toward armed conflict. There, in the same year that Sweden and France had finally established themselves in northern and western Germany, the trial of an English squire for refusing to pay his assessment of ship-money, and the outbreak against the use of the English liturgy in Scotland, brought the crisis to a head. And there, in the same months that the diplomats assembled for the great congress which was to end the German war, the English king took arms against his people and so precipitated a conflict of no less importance to Europe than the one now entering its final stage.

1643

England

1637

1642

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE AND COLONIES. 1621-1642

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND; THE DUTCH EMPIRE AND THE DECLINE OF SPAIN

BESIDE the earth-compelling conflict in Germany, the rise of Sweden and Holland to the rank of first-rate powers, and the emergence of France again into international importance, the concerns of the extra-European world during the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century may well seem of minor importance. Yet, it has been observed, those concerns, even in their earlier stages, were by no means insignificant, in relation to the fortunes of the continent. During the period now being considered they yield little in importance even to Protestantism's fight for life, or to the revival of royal authority in France and its decline in England. For the conflicts between rival communions and opposing schools of political thought were scarcely less evident in the struggle for sea-power between Spain and the Netherlands and in the colonizing of North America than they were in Germany and England, nor destined to less ultimate consequence. If these needed proof of their importance it might be found in the attitude of the greatest statesman of the time toward extra-European enterprises and affairs.

Europe
beyond
the sea

The great French minister, Richelieu, had early perceived his opportunity in the Atlantic no less than in central Europe; and, as Coligni more than half a century before had seen in America a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists, so now the Cardinal dreamed of a great empire oversea. Amid the manifold concerns which filled the early years of his administration, none was of greater interest to him than the

France

formation of a naval force able to contend with Huguenot resistance, protect French coasts and commerce, and give his country a place in what he recognized as the new world politics. He created, and himself assumed, the post of "grand master and superintendent of navigation," doubled the Mediterranean fleet, and built a navy for the high seas, among whose vessels the *Couronne*, of two thousand tons burden, marked a fresh advance in naval construction. "For no kingdom," he declared, "is so well situated nor so rich in all the necessary means of being mistress of the seas as France."

1627

He was no less concerned with trade and colonies. Scarcely was he in power when he projected the so-called Company of Morbihan, to trade with America; and when that design was defeated by the refusal of the Breton parlement to sanction what it regarded as an infringement of its people's rights, he revived the Company of New France as the Company of the Hundred Associates, in which Champlain became a leading figure. The Company of St. Christopher and that strangely named *Compagnie de la Nocelle de St. Pierre Fleurdelisée* were set up; and with these he proposed to extend French trade and power in the New World.

1629

These far-reaching plans broke on the rock of foreign policy. England, seeking to aid the Huguenots, despatched a squadron to Quebec, carried its settlers away, and for a time balked Richelieu's designs. And though the African pirates were repressed, though commerce was revived with northwest Africa, and the Company of St. Christopher occupied the island which gave it name, the effort to plant a settlement in the Caribbean failed in the face of Spanish and English hostility. Thus French trade, like French colonization, for the moment felt no fresh impulse. To all intents it seemed that its prospects were scarcely more promising than the plans of Sweden, which had secured the services of the founder of the Dutch West India Company, Usselinex, to plant a settlement in Australia. But this was due neither to Richelieu's lack of interest nor to the insignificance of the prize he sought. Rather it was the inevitable consequence of

the situation in which he found himself, and of forces beyond even his control.

Meanwhile England, amid her disturbances at home and her disappointments abroad, fared somewhat better. The English East India Company, indeed, had fallen on evil days. It was hampered by royal shortsightedness, which refused to look upon the eastern trade as a national concern. It was disinclined to send its ablest men abroad, and it was disturbed by English interlopers no less than by the Dutch. Not until nearly a decade after Amboyna, when the establishment of a new dynasty in Golconda and the extension of Mogul power over Gujerat gave it the support of native authority which its system of trade required, did it begin to recover from the injuries which the Dutch had wrought. For it had prospered meanwhile scarcely more than the Danish company whose posts, neglected by a monarch absorbed in German wars, only endured by sufferance of the Dutch.

England
—in the
East

1632

But in the West Englishmen found compensation for their failure in the East. Among the claims which James I's reign has to remembrance, perhaps the chief is that it was the time when his subjects established themselves in America. Their efforts were not confined to Virginia and New England. English settlements were projected north and south of these original colonies; and it is probable that these contributed to her first plantations more than they or their successors realized.

—in
America

The year following the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth, an ambitious Scotchman, Sir William Alexander, secured a patent for Acadia, re-named Nova Scotia. Upon Charles' accession that shadowy sovereignty was divided into baronies and efforts made to find settlers. At the same time, George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, bent on that "ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world," had secured a charter for the so-called province of Avalon, in Newfoundland, and sent colonists thither. Already, too, James had conferred the island of St. Kitts upon William Warren. Now, what was of far more consequence, the fertile island of Barbados, abandoned by Spain, visited and claimed by Englishmen many years before, became a center of colonizing

1621

1625-6

1625

activity. Granted first to the Earl of Marlborough; settled by a London merchant-prince, Courteen; re-granted to Lord Carlisle; and finally re-colonized by the Society of London Merchants, it was at last reduced to order, amid conflicts of rival interests and settlers, and entered the circle of British colonies at the same time that the Dutch settled the coast opposite.

1619

While England thus confirmed her occupation of the West Indies and the St. Lawrence mouth with these outposts of her middle colonies, those older settlements underwent alternate vicissitudes and success. The introduction into Virginia of the contradictory elements of slavery and self-government, during the second year of the German war, with the rapid development of tobacco-planting, had given the colony at once new character and new prosperity. To these were quickly added other elements. The communal system gave way to freehold farms; young women were brought over and sold to the settlers as wives; free trade with the mother country was established; and the new constitution went into effect.

1621

The provisions of this notable instrument marked as great an advance in colonial administration as the New Laws of Charles V. They were of even more enduring importance. By them power was vested in a governor, a council, and a general assembly of burgesses, and while the acts of this first of colonial legislatures might be vetoed by the governor or the company at home, the latter's ordinances, in turn, were void without the sanction of the House of Burgesses. For the first time the local authority of a colony was thus put on measurable equality with that of its directors. Thus equipped, with an increase of immigrants, which presently gave it the largest European population of any single settlement outside of the old world, Virginia became the model for English colonial administration, the first and most powerful self-governing European society oversea.

It was not free from the two enemies of such an experiment, the natives and the crown. Its prosperity was hindered scarcely more by Indian attacks than by the Company's quarrel with a king who claimed the right to nominate its

officers, and resented the frank discussion of his policies in what he called its "seminary to a seditious Parliament." Yet, though hundreds of lives were lost in the Indian war, though the assembly was suspended, and Charles I issued patents which invaded the provincial privileges, Virginia was too firmly rooted to be thus destroyed. Its population increased to five thousand souls. Its tobacco exports grew to more than half a million pounds a year; and when Calvert and his followers, seeking a more hospitable location for settlement than their Newfoundland Avalon, came to the Chesapeake, they found a sturdy, prosperous, self-contained society, ready to resist not only savage incursions but any invasion of its land and privileges by the crown or its grantees. 1632-4

Yet with all the extension of England's power on the north and south, and the success of Virginia, it was in New England that the principal energies of her colonizing elements were expended in this period. Those elements were chiefly found among the Puritans who were opposing the crown so bitterly at home. Their first experiment had not greatly flourished in a material way, and it was many years before New Plymouth showed any such prosperity as Jamestown. Its early settlers were ill-prepared to face the hardships they encountered. Suffering alike from the hostility of the natives and the climate, ill-found and ill-supported, and with no such profitable staple as tobacco to reward their industry, they increased so slowly that after ten strenuous years they numbered scarcely three hundred souls. New England

But the colony was important beyond its size. Like Virginia, it had been driven to abandon the communal principle. With the withdrawal of some of its disappointed London backers, the rest consented to dissolve the partnership; and a new group, chiefly composed of the colonists, assumed the obligations of the enterprise. The settlers became stockholders. The land and cattle were distributed among them; and the little community was thus transformed into an independent freehold society. It exhibited amazing vitality. It resisted Indian attack; rescued an ill-starred settlement 1627

at Weymouth; and repressed its unruly neighbors at Merry Mount. It extended its own outposts to Buzzard's Bay, and northward to Naumkeag or Salem; secured claims in the Kennebec region; and, treating and trading with the natives and with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, it revealed a strength wholly out of proportion to its numbers.

But while it was thus engaged, the world of English politics had changed, and the colonial movement followed in its train. During the first year of the Plymouth settlement, a Council for New England had been incorporated, as the successor of the old North Virginia Company. With this there began a twofold movement of vital importance, as rival schools of colonizing theory sought to put in practice their widely varying plans. The one held to a policy of palatine jurisdiction, not unlike that which had established the county palatine of Durham as an incident of the Norman conquest of England, and still divided it from the rest of English administration. Under the scheme the grantee held all rights within his province, like the head of a Portuguese captaincy, a French seigneurie, or a Dutch patroonship. On the other hand, a group contended for a form of grant and government more like that of Virginia or New Plymouth, looking toward the establishment of self-governing communities. In such fashion, in this distant corner of the world, the great political problem of the time took on fresh form and fashion, with far-reaching consequence.

Directed by the Council of New England, the northern territory was now apportioned and settled; and, amid quarrels over its fishing rights, and attacks in Parliament on its monopoly, the charter of this corporation became the basis of New England grants. Its chief activities were those of a land company. North of the original New Plymouth settlement, between Salem and the Merrimac, a Hampshire gentleman, John Mason, acquired a province, first known as Mariana. Between the Merrimac and the Kennebec he and Sir Ferdinando Gorges held another district, named Laconia, which was later divided between them under the names of Maine and New Hampshire. Beyond these great palati-

nates Plymouth and her neighbors had secured concessions on the Kennebec, while minor patents conferred lesser territories on other adventurers. To secure their claims further, the districts which they held were re-patented to the Plymouth settlers. They, in turn, re-granted lands along the southern coast to the Earl of Warwick, a Puritan nobleman who headed the party opposed to the palatine doctrines of Gorges and Mason. Thus were the rival schools given means to carry out their theories.

Meanwhile companies were formed and colonizing schemes were set on foot. The ambitious Salem settlement established a branch farther south at Charlestown; and the Salem Company, chartered directly by the crown and increased by new associates, was transformed into a corporation called the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," from the great inlet whose shores it proposed to exploit. Unlike the palatine jurisdiction of the Mason-Gorges lands, its patent was modeled upon manorial grants, as found in the royal manors of Windsor and Greenwich, and there was thus introduced another element into the province. Administration was vested in a governor and assistants; and, with the despatch of a strong band of emigrants to the Charlestown settlement, the English company's council agreed to transfer charter and government alike to the colony itself. The powers of the appointed officers were allowed to lapse. A new governor, John Winthrop, was elected; a fresh settlement was begun at Shawmut, or Trimountain, renamed Boston, where the first "General Court of Massachusetts Bay" was held; and under such conditions began the history of a new form of colonial society, even more self-contained than Virginia.

To this was added another enterprise. At the moment that Boston was founded, the Plymouth council had granted the Earl of Warwick a strip of the southern New England coast, between their claims and those of the Dutch. This he transferred to a Puritan group, headed by Lord Brook, Viscount Say and Seal; and at once the question of settling the Connecticut valley was opened. Within three years the men of Plymouth set up a house in this land debatable,

Massachu-
setts

1629

1630

Connecti-
cut and
Rhode
Island

1632-5

despite the opposition of the Dutch, who had earlier built a fort in that region. Two years later, emigrants from Massachusetts Bay settled along the Connecticut, and the post of Saybrook was built at its mouth to secure the English claims. At almost the same time the region lying between the new colony and the old, the Narragansett district, was colonized by Roger Williams, fleeing from his persecutors in Salem; and shortly thereafter Rhode Island took its place beside his settlement of Providence, completing the occupation of the New England coast.

1636-8

The character and importance of English colonization

Such, in the mid-period of the Thirty Years' War, was the beginning of European settlement in a new region of the world, and of a new chapter in the history of self-governing communities. Save for the Providence colony, it did not, indeed, make for that toleration which came to be associated with these communities. For the most part, its settlers adhered to the principle of conformity to their own doctrines as the price of political rights, or even residence within their borders. Franchise and faith alike were determined by men bent not so much upon freedom of belief in general as on securing their own liberty undisturbed by royal interference and the intrusion of other opinions. It was the natural outcome of an age of dogma and force, the logical result of generations of the persecution of dissent by orthodox authority, and of the determination of all parties in the religious conflict to impose their own beliefs upon all men so far as possible.

Yet it differed from the despotism of the Catholic rulers of the continent as from the absolutist tendencies of the English kings, in that it held a popular element. With all its theological intolerance, with all its petty jealousies, New England, like Virginia, represented the spirit which was to survive. And the settlement of America by the English made it apparent that the tendency toward popular independence in church and state was not to be overpowered by the reactionary forces in the old world, since there was now open a refuge in the western hemisphere.

To the final solution of the questions then at issue the German war had thus far contributed one element—the probable

persistence of the reformed communions in certain regions. France under Richelieu had contributed another—the dissociation of religious and political issues in international affairs. The great results which flowed from the Anglo-Dutch attack upon the Spanish monopoly had contributed a third—the determining influence of sea-power in the world's affairs. At the same time science and philosophy tended to undermine the whole fabric of the older conceptions of truth upon which the new communions scarcely less than the old based their theology.

The settlement of America by the English added another factor. Not merely as a refuge for the persecuted of Europe, but as an experimental ground for beliefs and practices difficult or impossible of realization in the more rigid and more complex society of the old world, America took on another aspect than it had shown under Spanish and Portuguese influence. There, for the first time largely relieved of that royal and ecclesiastical influence which had characterized the efforts of the Romance nations, Europeans began to found a society endowed with the experience of the old and largely influenced by it. Little hampered by tradition and system derived from the past, they were permitted, even compelled, to develop new ideas and new functions. Such an opportunity, given permanence, would almost certainly become a powerful factor in the evolution of Europe. The coincidence of the foundation of Massachusetts Bay, the Edict of Restitution, 1629 the dissolution of the English Parliament, and the final suppression of the political power of the Huguenots, is one of those curious circumstances in history which lends emphasis to this consideration. For, at the very moment that religious and political liberty in England, France, and Germany seemed to have reached a point where their extinction was but a matter of time, the New World prepared a field for their development in ways hitherto unknown to European experience.

But the progress of English colonization by no means exhausted European energies beyond the sea during this period, nor was it the force which reacted most directly on

Its result

1629

Holland
and Spain

old world affairs. That reaction came rather from the Dutch attack upon the Spanish empire; and its strength was not lessened by the fact that it was bound up with the material prosperity of the Netherlands. In this great period of her history her achievements oversea not merely made her rich; they lent powerful aid to her struggle for independence. They influenced the German war by weakening the Emperor's chief ally, Spain; and they ultimately contributed to the emergence of Portugal from the long burden of her Sixty Years' Captivity. For while Protestantism lost and won in Germany, while France and Sweden took their place in the first rank of European states, while England came into antagonism with her rulers at home and secured her hold on North America, Holland completed the destruction of Spain's sea-power, and extended her colonial empire throughout the world.

The reign of Frederick Henry, indeed, began inauspiciously, since his tolerant policy was strained by the rivalry of Arminian and Gomarist; while the capture of Breda by the Spaniards drove the Provinces to seek French aid on the hard terms of lending a squadron to help in the reduction of their co-religionists of La Rochelle. And it was only when, in that eventful year of 1629, they retook the fortress of Hertogenbosch with French aid, and death removed their greatest enemy, Spinola, that the Dutch were relieved from their fear of re-conquest.

The West
India
Company

Meanwhile the activities of the West India Company had given them new power and new wealth. Its predecessor, the East India Company, having secured its foothold in Asia and Africa, was now directed by men opposed to farther conquest, and no longer took the lead in expansion. But the western company, born of the war with Spain, subsidized by the government, and operating in the Atlantic, where its every blow reacted directly on Europe, became not merely an agent of commercial enterprise, but an aggressive factor in the conflict with Spain, and a considerable element in European affairs.

Scarcely had it been chartered when it had despatched

emigrants to the Hudson River region, to the Amazon, and to that Essequibo district which was to become Dutch Guiana; while, following the example of the English a generation earlier, it sent a squadron to harass the western ports of South America on the way to India. Meanwhile a greater enterprise was prepared. Nearest and richest of the Spanish-Portuguese possessions in the western world was San Salvador, better known from its spacious harbor as Bahia. What Nombre de Dios and Cartagena had been to the English, this post became to the Dutch; and what Drake had been to Spain, the "sea terror of Delfshaven," Pieter Pieterzoon Heinsius, more generally called Piet Hein, now became.

His exploits began the year that the Palatinate was lost to Protestantism and Amboyna to the English. Sailing as second in command of a fleet of thirty vessels and three thousand men, under Willekens, Hein's desperate courage drove his ships against Bahia's batteries, and led his men clambering with boat hooks up the fortress walls, with irresistible audacity. The place was retaken by a Spanish-Portuguese fleet, but its plunder enabled the Dutch to fit out another squadron, which, under Hein's command, seized the Spanish *Flota*, and poured eleven million florins into the coffers of the Company. Not in a generation had Spain felt such a staggering blow as this which at once impoverished her own treasury and added its resources to those of her enemy. Hein's untimely death seemed likely to relieve the Spanish power. But his achievements had done their work. They had shown the way to divert Spain's strength, in part at least, from its attack upon the Provinces, and inspired his countrymen to dreams of dominion in America, which became the next goal of their ambition.

Its most immediate effect was seen along the Hudson River, where traders, following Hudson's track, had begun their labors. There, in the year that Hein's great exploits began, the West India Company's agents built Fort Orange far up the stream. Three years thereafter, Peter Minuit bought from the natives the island of Manhattan at the river's mouth, and founded the settlement of New Amsterdam. With the

Piet Hein

1623

1628

The New
Nether-
lands

1626

best port of the north Atlantic coast at their command, it would seem that their fast widening trade through the interior would soon have made their Hudson River colony one of the strongest European settlements in the New World. Efforts were made to provide a basis of population proportionate to its possibilities. The lands along the river were divided into so-called patroonships, petty principalities of the wilderness, each with its river frontage, not unlike the Portuguese captaincies in Brazil, and the French seigneuries on the St. Lawrence. Colonists were despatched to occupy the territory thus brought under Dutch control. But the more profitable enterprises elsewhere in the world, throughout the East, and in Brazil, together with the great demand for men at home, made large emigration impossible. The company was compelled to depend largely on Walloons and Huguenots: and what might have been, under less favorable conditions elsewhere, a great and successful colonizing movement which should plant a powerful Dutch population in the western hemisphere, was hampered by the very forces which brought them such rewards in commerce and in war.

The East

1624

To some extent their fortunes in the East languished from the same cause; for, like Portugal before them, they had not men to equal their ambitions and their abilities. While the forces of the West India Company fell upon Bahia, the Dutch East India Company had despatched a squadron to seize Formosa as an *entrepôt* for trade with China and Japan, in silks and the new commodity of tea, but lately introduced to north European tastes. Under Caen's successor, Carpentier, whose name the Gulf of Carpentaria still perpetuates, and still more by the somewhat later discoveries of Abel Tasman, under Van Diemen's administration, a great part of the Australian continent, re-named New Holland, was explored. But no such wide conquering advance as had marked their entry into the East was achieved, or was now possible.

Meanwhile they grew rich. From these new posts, from their factories throughout the Isles of Spice and still farther east, from India and Persia and Ceylon, from an infinity of vessels scouring the coasts of Africa and America, from

the fur trade of the New Netherlands, with the carrying trade of half Europe, a huge and growing stream of commerce poured through the ports of the United Provinces, leaving its sediment of profit to enrich their people. The income of the East India Company, despite its expenses in war, the inroads of interlopers, cumbrous bookkeeping, and dishonest agents, ran into many millions; and those of the western company, though they were promptly sunk, as they were chiefly gained, in warlike enterprise, were scarcely less.

The Dutch had learned their lesson well. In their hands war not merely supported itself; from the plunder of their enemies they drew the means to destroy those they spoiled. Strengthened and inspired by their profits and success, nothing seemed impossible to them, and they ventured to oppose all other colonial and commercial powers at once. Beating off Spain, attacking the Portuguese, blocking up the English in their feeble and scattered posts, rivaling the French in the fur trade and the English in their colonial experiments, the courage of this tiny state, thus challenging the domination of the commercial world, while it clung with difficulty to even the little patch of European ground it held, was equaled only by its huge audacity.

Yet, as in so many other cases, its success was due, in no small measure, to favoring conditions. Not only was Germany removed from any possible rivalry. The Flemish Netherlands was ruined by Spain; and England, like France, was preoccupied with other affairs. The six strenuous years which Richelieu employed in bringing peace to his native land had aided Holland as much by his co-operation against the common enemy, Spain, as by the slackening of French rivalry. And the diversion of Spanish strength to Germany, and to Italy—where France and Savoy joined to break her hold upon the Valtelline and the imperial claims to Mantua—served Dutch purposes no less than the dissensions between the English crown and Parliament.

Above all, Spain's own policy, her devotion to lost causes and impossible loyalties, became Holland's most powerful ally. From the fury of her soldiers had fled those Flemish

Dutch
ambitions

1623-9

Spain

refugees, who founded, in their adopted country, the West India Company and the Company of the North, which, with the East India Company, divided the oceanic world between them. No less, Spain's support of the Catholic cause in Germany, on which she spent so much of her strength and treasure, went far toward costing her American supremacy. For the Spanish government, amid all its misfortunes, had apparently learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the great days of Charles V. Not even the tragic disillusionment of Philip III had been sufficient to produce a change under his successor, Philip IV.

The old pretensions to direct the fortunes of all Europe were maintained, though every year they grew more shadowy. The fatal economic and ecclesiastical policy stood unchanged; the system of favorites persisted. Lerma fell, but his place was taken by Olivarez; and though the new minister's talents were far beyond those of his predecessor, they scarcely compensated for the mistakes and arrogance by which they were brought to naught. Spain's trade and manufactures were now well-nigh destroyed; her agriculture ruined by deforestation and the drain of men for foreign wars. Her popular liberties were absorbed by church and crown, her economic strength weakened beyond the possibility of wringing sufficient taxes to support her vain and wasteful policies. The sober maxims of retrenchment, reform, and the encouragement of industry were cast aside, while her Quixotic rulers pursued impossible adventures in war and diplomacy, until, beneath their weight, the collapse of her position as a first-rate power was, in this disastrous decade, finally assured. She had, in fact, expanded beyond her capacity to organize and assimilate her gains; and, like a tree which has long stood as the monarch of the forest, she had begun to decay at the root.

Spanish
colonies

In this collapse such of her colonies as were not involved in her foreign policy, and were not easily accessible to outside attack, had as yet no share, and, for the most part, flourished. The stream of bullion which they poured into her treasury, and which had become the chief support of her

declining power, had shrunk from what it had been in the preceding century, but it still remained considerable. Though Mexico had suffered a clash between the civil and ecclesiastical powers which involved an attempt to limit terms of service and exactions from the natives, the result was not unfavorable to Spain and the Indians, since the latter were relieved somewhat from their oppression, and the former's efforts to increase its revenue were not without result. And even at the height of the struggle with the Dutch, in the face of a world of enemies, Spain's colonies advanced their borders.

To protect them she embarked upon a policy, half European, half colonial, as a defense against the privateers who harassed her coasts, preyed upon her commerce, and disturbed her revenue, in the Spanish Main, whose islands and ports had long been her chief concern. The depopulation of its shores and the withdrawal into the interior had begun. Even Cuba was said at this time to contain no more than twenty thousand souls, and its whole western coast boasted only a few poor native villages. Already English, French, and Dutch had begun to occupy the abandoned islands, as 1624-30 St. Christopher, Barbados, and the lesser haunts of pirates and smugglers fell from Spanish hands. Meanwhile, to keep a safe entry for her fleets, great fortifications had been begun, first at Porto Bello, then at Havana, finally on the Pacific ports, to guard the progress of her treasure ships.

Following Hein's exploits, she took another step. A fleet was prepared, which, two years after the Dutch sea-king's death, swept through the Caribbean archipelago, and with its capture of prisoners, guns, and plunder, revealed at once the profits of the pirates and the smugglers, and the strength of that traffic. Thus, while the rich trade of Portugal was filched from her in the East, Spain secured the wealth of mines and herds and plantations in America, behind an impenetrable wilderness. Its few entries were controlled by impregnable fortresses; and so, "like a huge turtle basking in the sun, protected by its shell, and showing only here and there a tooth or claw," she lay before the onslaughts of her foes.

The
Portuguese
Empire

But while she thus secured her colonies abroad, she faced new dangers at home. The subject kingdom of Portugal, now languishing for nearly sixty years under the hated control of her oldest enemy, had grown more and more restive till the discontent had become acute. Portugal had been dragged in the wake of Spanish misfortunes, sharing the worst evils of a policy in which she had no voice. Her losses and her enemies had increased with every conflict in which Spain had been engaged; and she was taxed to support wars where she had nothing to gain and everything to lose. Under the fury of the Dutch attack the last vestige of her colonial strength in the East had all but disappeared. The viceroy's authority, long since reduced to little more than the direction of military expeditions and the supervision of the ports of Malabar, had become a shadow of its former greatness. The royal efforts to check the corruption of the governors had degenerated into a costly farce, since it seemed almost a virtue to rob the hated authorities of the alien king.

Its
decay

War, poverty, and misgovernment combined to impede reform. The army grew, but not by European additions, since recruiting in Portugal finally proved impossible; and the natives, improperly armed, equipped, and officered, were useless. No less, corruption in the service increased till not even the heroic step of melting the copper coinage into cannon could replace the loss by theft and capture of that once dreaded artillery. Meanwhile her strength by sea came to an end. The navy, weakened by Dutch and English attack, declined in numbers, discipline, and skill. The shipwreck of Menezes' fleet in the fifth year of Philip IV's ill-fated reign, marked the beginning of the end; and when, a dozen years thereafter, the Dutch destroyed a Portuguese armada off Pernambuco, sea-power disappeared. Of that great navy which had held the seaway to the East the Tagus sheltered less than a dozen little vessels. In place of those great fleets which once bore the wealth of Asia from Goa to Lisbon, English ships were hired to transport what remained of that fast-fading commerce. As, a hundred years before, the wharves of Venice and Genoa had been deserted for those

1626

1638

of Lisbon, so now the latter were replaced by those of Amsterdam and her neighbors. Batavia supplanted Goa as the European capital of the East; Dutch factor took the place of Portuguese governor; and of her far-flung empire the unfortunate kingdom, now a mere province, still retained only the Atlantic islands and Brazil in any semblance of their former strength.

Powerless to resist the English, French, and Dutch encroachments in the years following the Armada, these were saved from conquest partly by bending to the storm and partly by their relative insignificance, as the attack swept by to richer prizes. Portugal's subjection to the Spanish yoke, indeed, worked them some benefit. Through hatred of their Spanish rulers, many Portuguese sought refuge in the colonies. The Azores, aided by France, had kept out Philip II's squadrons for three years after he became king of Portugal; and Portuguese exiles made up a large proportion of the emigrants who established about Maranhão in Brazil what became one of the most intelligent and prosperous of the new world colonies.

The
Atlantic
posses-
sions

Few periods of European history are more notable than the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, whether we consider the epoch-making events in Europe itself or the no less spectacular circumstances under which the northern powers established themselves in regions oversea. It was a time of great and far-reaching activities, of heroic characters and dramatic occurrences, of sweeping changes and romantic episodes, within and without Europe. From the direct consequences of the continental struggle South America was notably free save for the Dutch attempts on northern Brazil; and in so far the history of the Spanish colonies, whether in comparison with the events taking place elsewhere in the world, or in comparison with their own past, was relatively tranquil. Yet, while the great issues were being fought out in the old world, South America revealed three movements, of much consequence to its development, and of a quality as romantic and extraordinary as that of any concurrent European circumstance. The first of these was the

The
Jesuits
and
Paraguay

rise of a new and unique state in the heart of the southern continent, which was no less noteworthy in that it seemed the echo of an age already passing. Of all the activities by which the Europeans spread their faith and culture none is more remarkable than that by which, in this mid-period of the Thirty Years' War, the Jesuits extended their influence in South America. It yields nothing to the labors of Xavier in the East nor to those of his order in the northern continent; and its results are still apparent among those peoples now brought under its authority. These were the Guaranis, whose tribes dwelt between the Andes and the Atlantic. A peaceful, agricultural race, they lent themselves as readily to conversion as they had to conquest by their fiercer neighbors; and in them the Jesuits found a fertile field for their endeavors.

The
"theoc-
racy"

From the northern ports, the successors of Nobrega had early made their way to the interior; but it was in the south that his order met its most conspicuous success. There, following the Parana and the Uruguay, they had established missionary posts about the beginning of the sixteenth century. From these they soon began to weave the fabric of a theocracy. The Indians were grouped in villages, each with its church and priest, and native officials under Jesuit tutelage. A communal system abolished private property; and the surplus, shipped out at Buenos Ayres, provided money for taxes, for manufactures beyond the capacity of these farming groups to make for themselves, and for church ornaments. To protect their charge from outside attack, whether native, Spanish, or Portuguese, the fathers armed and drilled a militia. And to preserve the natives from the contaminating influence of European life, the whole community was made virtually a hermit state. Such was the remarkable society founded in the heart of eastern South America, which for a hundred and fifty years remained the unique product of missionary enterprise.

The
Paulistas

If its principles and practices had been more common, the history of the Spanish empire in the western hemisphere might have been spared some of its darker chapters. But

even while this curious experiment was taking form two forces of a widely different character were making themselves felt at opposite ends of the continent. The first was due to the activities of the so-called Paulistas, the warlike inhabitants of the province of São Paulo in southern Brazil, who held the lands stretching westward from Rio Janeiro to the Jesuit settlements of Paraguay. A mixed people who combined the vigor of the pioneer with the pursuits of planting and slave-hunting, they formed the most aggressive element of Portuguese empire-builders in the New World. Their bands ranged the wild interior in search of slaves, their prospectors sought for gold in the mountainous country to the north, while their outposts harassed the Spanish and the Jesuit settlements to the west. Half-settlers, half-brigands, they spread at once their power and the terror of their wild exploits over a wide area which they made a bulwark against the Spaniards of La Plata and the Argentine, destined to preserve the Portuguese supremacy in Brazil.

Of different composition but like methods was the second force which threatened Spain's authority at the other end of her empire, the Caribbean lands. There, following the English attack upon Spanish monopoly, an adventurous element had found a foothold in the half-abandoned islands, beginning with San Domingo. Chiefly Dutch, French, and English, these broken or desperate men, wild spirits, or criminals fleeing from justice, found refuge here. They early learned from the natives the art of smoking and preserving meat, so-called "boucanning," whence they derived their name of buccaneers. Every planting settlement was a market for this useful commodity, every island afforded a supply of cattle, and the industry spread rapidly. But their presence in the forbidden lands, and the disposal of their produce, brought them in conflict with Spanish authorities, and the result was inevitable. From hunting and butchering cattle they advanced to piracy, and in no long time Spain found a new and annoying warfare on her hands. Time after time her vessels swept the islands, but, the danger

and the
Buccaneers

past, the buccaneers, emerging from their hiding-places, took up their old activities.

1623-30

Such a force was not to be overlooked by states at war with Spain. In the year that Christian of Denmark had prepared his German expedition, England and France began to colonize St. Kitts. In turn Spain sent a fleet which scattered but could not crush the settlement. Five years later the buccaneers moved to Tortuga, and again, after an interval, Spain fell upon the settlement and massacred all its inhabitants. With that began a long, fiercely contested conflict which enlisted thousands of recruits from Europe, and endured for three-quarters of a century. Its great period was to come. Yet the extraordinary and romantic interest which it developed scarcely surpassed the serious importance of the curious episode by which, in this epoch of Spain's declining powers, another wound was opened in the side of her empire.

Brazil

But the Paulistas and the buccaneers were not the whole of her tale of enemies. At the same time she was called on to face another and a far more formidable foe, that threatened her very existence in Brazil. There, with the development of African slave labor, and the consequent increase of the chief export, sugar, the imperial colony had become one of the most valuable possessions in the world. But its very prosperity brought dangers in its train, for Spain's chief enemy had scarcely secured control of the spice trade when she cast desirous eyes on this new source of wealth. For its acquisition Holland had already organized her West India Company, and established her power on the northern coast. Thence she had turned to naval war, and was now prepared to strike for land empire.

The successes of Willekens and Hein had whetted Dutch ambition in the western world; and Prince Frederick Henry was not slow to follow the lead thus given. Encouraged by the capture of the Spanish treasure fleet, and enriched by its spoil, the year following that exploit there had been despatched a powerful expedition to secure a foothold in Brazil. More than sixty vessels, carrying twelve hundred guns and

twelve thousand men, were launched against Pernambuco in this new struggle for the mastery of the colonial world. The conflict was stubborn in the extreme. Pernambuco's port, Recife, impregnable from the sea, was taken in the rear by land forces; the raw Portuguese levies were crushed; the city fell; the intrepid governor, Matheus de Albuquerque, reduced to the interior lines, threatened the invaders from his intrenchments and cut them off from further advance. Thus the conflict resolved itself into a contest of endurance. Both sides sent out relieving fleets. The squadrons under Pater and Oquendo met in a fierce though indecisive battle off Recife; but the Spaniards, hopeless of dislodging the Dutch, sailed off to the West Indies, leaving their rivals the masters of the sea. Albuquerque's resistance thereupon collapsed and Dutch power spread rapidly between the San Francisco and the Amazon, leaving but half the old captaincies to their original possessors. So, at the crisis of the Thirty Years' War, Protestantism, defeated in Germany, promised to win for itself a new empire beyond the sea.

But Spain, reduced to the region between Bahia and Rio Janeiro, was little disposed, with all her weakness and her entanglements elsewhere, to endure the loss of half her Portuguese territories in America without attempting to regain them. Thus the years which saw Gustavus' great campaign in Germany and the settlement of New England, were filled with her efforts to avenge herself upon the Dutch. Her first attempt was most unfortunate. A fleet, gathered at Antwerp, tried in vain to land its troops in Zealand, and was finally ignominiously crushed by a Dutch squadron scarcely a third its size. Hard on its failure Frederick Henry took Maestricht, which controlled the eastern frontier of the Provinces, and held it against Spanish and imperial attack. Thereafter when the death of the Infanta Isabella, the regent of the Flemish provinces, brought the Netherlands under the direct rule of Spain, the Dutch, rejecting Spanish overtures for peace, seized Dunkirk, with the aid of France, and further secured their borders and their trade.

At the same time Prince John Maurice of Nassau was sent

to rule Brazil, and his administration marked the high tide of Dutch power in America. The capital, renamed Mauritsstad, flourished anew with the development of the provinces. Trade and planting increased under Dutch management; and it appeared in this fiftieth anniversary of the Invincible Armada, that Holland, now secure at home, was about to take the place of Spain upon the sea, and absorb Portugal's colonial power in the West as she had already engrossed her commerce with the East.

The New
Armada
1639

In this crisis Olivarez rallied every energy of the Spanish government for a supreme effort to destroy its too successful enemy. At home a new armada was prepared, comparable to the ill-fated armament of a half century before; and eighty ships and twenty-four thousand men were intrusted to the experienced Oquendo, who was commissioned to crush the power of the Dutch in the narrow seas. At the same time another force was to engage the enemy in the western world; and a scarcely less powerful Hispano-Portuguese fleet was collected at Bahia. There ninety vessels and twelve thousand men under the Count de Torre were to be thrown against Dutch ascendancy in northern Brazil. To meet this pressing danger all the strength of Holland and her colony was summoned. Thousands of volunteers enlisted; ships of all sorts were brought together; and the command was entrusted to the greatest of Dutch admirals, Martin van Tromp.

The crisis was not long delayed. Worsting the new Armada in preliminary encounters, Van Tromp met the Spanish in a last decisive battle in the English Downs. At the head of more than a hundred ships, manned by the flower of the Protestant Netherlands, he inflicted on the unfortunate Spanish fleet a defeat no less crushing than that which had overtaken the older Armada almost exactly half a century before at Gravelines. With the loss of more than half its men and nearly all its ships, the shattered fragments of the Spanish fleet sought refuge from the fury of the Dutch in friendly or neutral harbors; and with its downfall Spain was eliminated as a naval power from the European seas. Nor was this all. Three months thereafter, a running four days'

21 Oct.
1639

fight off Itamaraca gave to the vastly overmatched squadron of John Maurice a scarcely less decisive victory over the fleet of de Torre, and secured Holland's supremacy in Brazilian waters with undisputed possession of the mainland provinces which she held.

These disasters were but a part of Spain's misfortunes during this period. In the same year that saw the destruction of her last navy, the hatred of Spanish rule, which had already led the Portuguese to one revolt, came to a head with the proposal to abolish the Cortes of Portugal and incorporate the kingdom formally among the Spanish provinces. Never was such a plan worse timed. Taking advantage of her disasters on the sea, and of a revolt in Catalonia, supported by France, the Portuguese rebelled. Three hours of fighting in Lisbon overthrew the Spanish forces there, and made John of Braganza king of Portugal. That country, in the weakened and disordered situation of the Spanish government, was able to maintain the independence it had won by its daring stroke. Within two years, the favorite Olivarez, who, with all his industry and ability, had led his nation to irretrievable disaster, was finally dismissed, and Spain collapsed as a great power. Shorn of half her colonial empire, ruined by the proud futility of her foreign policy, her suicidal economic attitude, and the incompetence of her rulers, she ceased to be a leading factor in the world's affairs, and the pre-eminence she once held in European councils was usurped by her great rival, France.

The
revolt of
Portugal

1640

Thus, in the mid-period of the German war and the English experiment in unparliamentary government was the extra-European world revolutionized. In the same twelve-month that the first steps toward peace were taken in Germany, and England turned at last to civil war, Richelieu died and Olivarez fell from power. With that remarkable concurrence of events, Europe at home and oversea entered upon another phase of her eventful history, altered in nearly every particular from her status a generation earlier. The Dutch were now the masters of the East. They held no inconsiderable portion of South America, and divided the coast

1642

line of North America with the English and the French. There the experiment of popular colonial government had begun. There the English people, removed from continental politics, revealed a spirit and an energy in their domestic as in their colonial affairs, which were to be determining factors in history. Under such circumstances did the initiative pass from Spanish and Catholic hands to those of northern Protestants. And in their hands was again made manifest the truth of that great axiom of world politics, "The dominion of the sea is the epitome of monopoly."

CHAPTER XXI

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. 1610-1642

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

FROM the standpoint of that history which concerns itself with conflicts for supremacy between rival religious doctrines or princely ambitions, rather than with the new forces coming into the world with each generation, any account of social and intellectual progress during the period of the Thirty Years' War must seem even more of a digression from the main current of affairs than the description of those processes by which a new European balance was established beyond the sea. Yet if history is to be considered as the chronicle of the advance of the human race in all those elements which go to make up the world of to-day, it is apparent that the first third of the seventeenth century is of greater significance to us as the period in which the foundations were laid for present conditions and capabilities than as the age of the last great religious war.

It is no doubt true that had Protestantism been finally eliminated from central Europe, that portion of the continent would have been profoundly affected in civilization no less than in faith. But such a result is almost inconceivable, and, had it been attained, it would scarcely have brought about the extinction of that form of belief in the rest of the world. On the other hand, had Spanish efforts to control the sea been successful, or had the reactionary forces of Europe been able to check the development of those doctrines of liberty in thought and practice which had achieved the discoveries of science and the beginnings of popular government, together with the establishment of new societies in America, the present status of the world would have been far different from what

it is. For, by the time of the great trial of strength between the two communions, Protestantism had accomplished its task of making freedom of religious opinion a factor in European thought, and its great services to the cause of intellectual liberty were reinforced by other forces which were, by this time, becoming competent to carry on the work of emancipation.

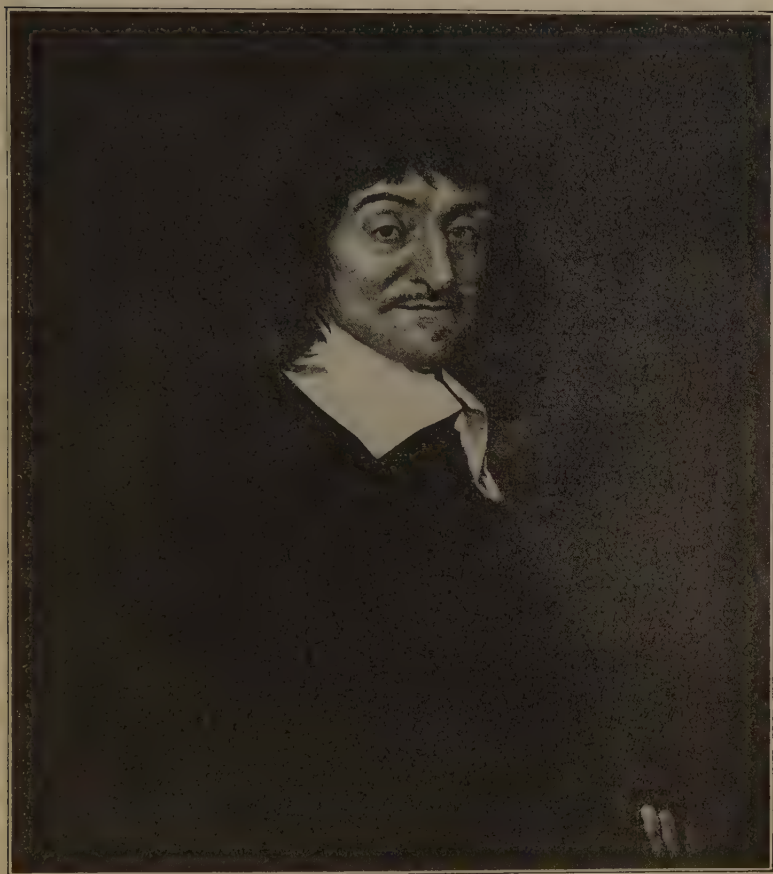
The transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century

Among these two were most conspicuous. The one was science, whose triumphs during the generation which witnessed the Thirty Years' War had added enormously to the knowledge and capacity of mankind. The other was that spirit of liberty, which, expressed no less in literature and in commerce than in science, and now invading politics, found in every field of human progress new outlet for its adventurous energy, increasing at once the scope and content of life, and giving opportunity to the individual.

Nor were these the only factors which went to re-create the European world in this eventful third of a century. Great as were the political and intellectual changes during this period, they were no more remarkable, whatever their greater ultimate importance, than the material phenomena which accompanied them. Beside the more spectacular developments in war and politics, the more subtle alterations in knowledge as in thought, there came a change in everyday affairs, in the habits and practices, even in the appearance of European peoples, not unworthy of note even amid world-shaking activities and policies.

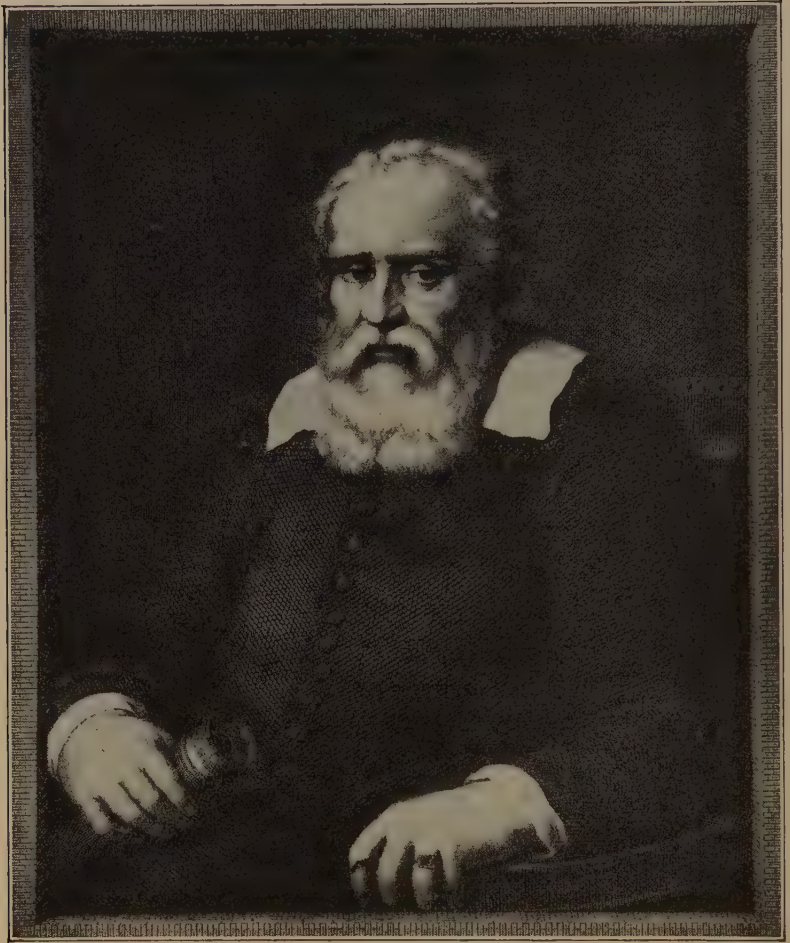
Weapons

Perhaps the circumstance which seemed of greatest importance to the men of action was the development of weapons and means of protection. It was inevitable that the great conflict in Europe during the earlier part of the seventeenth century should produce an effect in land warfare comparable to the changes which had modified naval affairs in the preceding fifty years. With the invention of small arms during the previous century, the long-bow and cross-bow had disappeared, and the musketeer took his place beside the pikeman in the new armies. Meanwhile his weapon was improved. The cumbrous and uncertain slow-match by which he once



DESCARTES.

After the painting by Franz Hals.



GALILEO.

After a 17th century engraving, a fine example of the excellence which that art achieved in this period.

set fire to his charge in the old-fashioned arquebus, had been first replaced by the wheel-lock, which struck sparks upon the powder in the pan; while the weapon was lightened from a form but little less cumbrous than the still older hand-cannon from which it had been evolved. In the early years of the seventeenth century came the invention of the so-called Schnapphahn, or snaphaunce, an early form of the flintlock, which was to be the prevailing model of the musket till the introduction of the percussion-cap, two centuries later.

Meanwhile, a large variety of weapons based on the musket principle were evolved—fusils, calivers, musketoon, and, smallest of them all, the pistol or hand musket. Artillery followed a not dissimilar course. But, save for heavy siege work, it scarcely kept pace with the development of small arms, its greatest achievements being the Swedish invention of light and mobile field-pieces, and the use of a crude form of shell by the English. Before such weapons armor declined. A head-piece, breast- and back-pieces replaced the full suit of mail, as the old battle-ax and mace, shield and spear gave way to sword and pike. Thus in defensive as in offensive weapons the whole tendency was toward lightness and ease of movement.

Such changes were accompanied by others, more or less Dress related to military affairs, or the trades affected by them. Not the least of these was dress. If one circumstance distinguishes the first half of the seventeenth century from its predecessors in external characteristics, it is the extraordinary change in the appearance of European men. This was effected chiefly by the evolution of the doublet and hose, with which, in a variety of forms, they had arrayed themselves during the preceding centuries. Such a change was due to two causes; first, the invention and development of knitting which evolved those garments known as stockings; and perhaps still more to the disappearance of armor, which had necessitated the adaptation of male costume to its use. With its departure the doublet shrank into a waistcoat, the robe into a coat. The long hose were divided during the sixteenth century into "upper" and "nether stocks," so to knee-

breeches and stockings. The extraordinary foot-coverings of an earlier age diminished into the more sober, if not more commonplace, buckled shoe. As armor shrank to back- and breast-piece, the suit of buff, or soft leather, declined to the buff-coat. Jack-boots protected the horseman's legs against the dirt, a cloak or riding-coat shielded him against the weather, a hat replaced the older and more picturesque soft cap of varying shape. And, after an era of wearing his hair in long curls, or cutting it short—as his nationality, his religion, his political beliefs, or his taste dictated—the wig was devised to cover man's natural hair or conceal its lack. Such, apart from the varying fashion which replaced the smooth or full-whiskered countenance of an earlier day with the Spanish or Vandyke beard, and that, in turn, as the century advanced, with smooth face again, were the changes which marked the transition between mediæval and modern dress and appearance,—neither a reformation nor a renaissance, but a true revolution in costume.

It would be a bold man who ventured to follow the variations of feminine dress in any period, much less to account for its vagaries. But, in the main, so far as the unskilled eye can determine, it would appear that toward the end of the fifteenth century the long flowing robes and the huge, picturesque head-dress which had chiefly distinguished the mediæval lady, finally gave way to that form of costume which would be reckoned as modern,—the skirt and corseted waist,—and, toward the end of the sixteenth century, the temporary fashion of the huge starched neck-ruff. That striking and characteristic feature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century styles was not confined to women. It formed a conspicuous element of men's dress as well. But it was soon cast aside by both sexes, and a long succession of lace collars, stocks, and neck-dresses ultimately evolved into the more conventionalized collar of the present day. And, apart from the merely curious interest which attaches to this alteration in external appearance during this period, these changing fashions are notable for two elements of more serious significance. The one is the fact that these new cos-

tunes were not only more practical, but that they tended to become, in a sense, more democratic, since, with all the infinite variety of taste and cost, men, at least, came gradually to look more and more alike, and those wide differences of rank and wealth which had once been so clearly marked, slowly gave way to greater uniformity. The other was the effect which these alterations produced upon industry.

It was to be expected that such changes would be accompanied by the development of handicrafts to supply materials for the changing fashions, and this became a principal characteristic of the early years of the seventeenth century. From the hands of the lace-makers of Italy proceeded those filmy marvels of patient skill like *point de Venise*; and thence transferred to the Low Countries, Brussels and Mechlin, with lesser centers of manufacture, began to rival their southern teachers. Silk production made its way to France, and in due course even to England, with other arts and crafts driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish Fury. Other forms of manufactures accompanied them. The steel which had made Toledo and Milan famous found rivals in the north, as English, French, and German metal-workers developed their resources. Spanish leather, Italian goldsmiths' work, with pottery and glass-making, and china-ware, became the material of industry no less than of commerce in many parts of the continent. To these were added contributions from many other activities. The introduction of tobacco brought with it the art or "mystery" of making pipes from clay, which developed from the potters' craft. The discoveries of the physicists brought into existence the art of the optician, with his telescopes and spectacles, his reading-glasses, and, finally, his microscopes. Moreover there came an improvement of watches, which, in this period, with the invention of the escapement, took on more likeness to their modern form. Finally the beginnings of the idea of "patents" or monopolies to inventors provided an appropriate stimulus to this activity.

Industry

Strangely enough, these were accompanied by altering tastes and habits with consequent developments in widely

Tastes and habits

different fields, especially relating to those which a considerable section of later generations reckoned as vices. Whatever obscure relation there may be among the manifold activities of any given period, it is a curious fact that the age which saw the introduction of a new form of costume took up the habit of smoking tobacco, began to use snuff, and invented the game of billiards. Nor is it without significance, among the minor facts of life, that the peculiar conduct of billiard balls, under stress of the impulse of the cue, is still known as "English." The introduction of tea, coffee, and cocoa or chocolate to general use, among the northern peoples especially, marks another change, of wide consequence not only to social habits, but, through them, to far-reaching streams of commerce and industry. The introduction of new plants, like the gladiolus, the tulip, and the tuberose, marked an advance in horticulture as part of the luxury of life. At the same time the use of one of the great food staples of mankind, the potato, spread through Europe. Introduced from America by the Spaniards, it found its way thence to the Low Countries, and, by the reputed agency of Raleigh, into the British Isles. It slowly but surely was improved and commended itself to the taste of Europe, especially to the people from whom, among the English, it took its name—the Irish. Above all, perhaps, the discovery of cinchona, or Jesuits' bark, whence quinine is derived, and its marvelous effect upon fevers, is one of the most important results of this era. For it soon became a factor not only in therapeutics, but in the exploitation of those malarial districts of the world otherwise incapable of European settlement.

Intoxicants Amid this manifold activity which revolutionized the whole fabric of every-day life one feature is even more conspicuous. This was the development in the use of intoxicants. During the middle ages,—after some centuries of mead,—the brewing of ale and beer from grains, and the products of the grape, had provided Europe with its stimulants. With the development of commerce, especially after the beginning of expansion, sack and sherry from Xeres, Canary and Madeira from the islands of that name; port from Oporto, claret

and Bordeaux from the Gironde; Burgundy, Moselle, and the various Rhine wines, had approved themselves to European taste and commemorated their origin in their names. It had early occurred to men to prepare stronger drinks by some process of distillation; and it is probable that we owe brandy and alcohol to the Arabs. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century their manufacture and use seem to have been fairly common everywhere in Europe. To these were added usquebaugh, or whiskey, prepared from grain by the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland, and adopted by the English; while in the last quarter of the century was added the French discovery of champagne.

At about the same time the Dutch developed another drink apparently originating in France, spirits flavored with juniper—so-called Geneva or gin. And, as if these were not enough to tempt the taste and virtue of mankind, another spirituous product, rum, distilled from sugar or sugar-cane, made its way from the West Indies to divide the doubtful honors with these other powerful stimulants. Thus in the generation of the great religious wars the long rule of the milder beverages was at once reinforced by tea, coffee, and cocoa, and challenged by a group, nearly if not quite half alcohol, whose rapidly spreading use set Europeans on another and less temperate stage of their devious career. It seems probable that the general diffusion of these beverages throughout Europe in this period is connected not only with the development of commerce but still more with the progress of those almost incessant wars which for a century and more had plagued the continent with a horde of soldiers of fortune, drawn from every land and carrying with them the peculiar tastes and vices of their own countries to every quarter of Europe. To this wandering class of free-lances and free-booters must certainly be attributed the spread of disease and pestilence as well as of that destruction which accompanied their presence. Thus, whatever their contribution to religious freedom and political advance, the German wars unquestionably played a great part in the moral as well as

the material degeneration of Europe in their thirty disastrous years.

Baths

Beside these changes in taste and customs one other alteration in European habits is no less noticeable as the sixteenth century merged into the seventeenth,—the fashion of resorting to certain places possessed of springs yielding warm or mineral waters reckoned of advantage in the treatment of many diseases. That custom, known to the Romans, and leaving its traces in place names wherever their power spread, from the German Aachen to the British *Aquæ Solis*—now Bath—had never wholly died out in the middle ages. But with the greater attention to medicine, to sanitation and hygiene, which affected the upper classes during the sixteenth century, and perhaps not unconnected with the revived attention to nature which accompanied man's relative separation from it as city dwelling gradually replaced outdoor life among larger numbers, these natural resources were again summoned to his aid. The town of Spa in the Netherlands,—which as time went on owed some part of its fame to the visits of great personages like Henry of Navarre and gave its name to many such places; the English town of Bath; the various springs in France and the Rhine region, and others of less note elsewhere in Europe, became the resort of those seeking health, by drinking and bathing in their life-renewing waters. The custom became general, and, within a century and a half, had grown to be a fixed habit in the lives of the upper classes, affecting society, so-called in its narrower sense, only less than health.

Such matters as the changing appearance, tastes, and habits of every-day life are scarcely consonant with the “dignity of history,” as it is generally understood, however vital they are to the progress of what we call society, and however closely they are bound up with the most intimate affairs of our existence. Had these been the only changes which overtook Europe during this era, her social and intellectual history would, indeed, seem trivial enough. But this was not the case. At few other periods in her long development was she so altered from her old estate in the deeper concerns

of life. Beside the infinite petty mutations in these more personal concerns, there came far-reaching changes in the most fundamental influences which move mankind.

It was now two hundred years since Poggio's discoveries of long-lost classical manuscripts and Prince Henry's conquests in northern Africa had given Europe that impulse to intellectual and territorial expansion which had produced such great results by the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had been a hundred years since Luther and Calvin, Magellan, Cortez, and Pizarro, building on the work of Wyclif and Huss, Columbus and Da Gama, had called into existence new worlds, religious and political, to alter the balance of the old. It had been scarcely more than half that period since the Calvinistic doctrines had begun to produce new forms of political and of ecclesiastical philosophy and practice; and the Teutonic North Sea powers had overthrown the Iberian supremacy in the oceanic world. The expansion of Europe, intellectual, political, artistic, religious, economic, was now fully under way; its line of progress determined; some of its results were already evident, and many elements of its future well assured.

Results of
expansion

The products of the East now flowed freely into Europe through at least three channels. The shore-lines of four continents; far-stretching areas of the western world and of northern Asia; vantage-points in Africa and North America; most of the Atlantic islands—and not a few in the Pacific—were now ruled, exploited, or occupied by European peoples. Two great systems of colonial society had been established oversea; three more had made beginnings; and the areas controlled by them had more than trebled the extent of Europe's original territory. Her influence and her wealth had grown in like proportion; her people had become the great aggressive element in the world, and the chief factor in its politics. She had in her hands unlimited wealth of lands fitted for settlement. She had become the focus toward which was being drawn much of the store of precious metals in the world, to augment a circulating medium which enabled her to replace natural with money economy, to enrich the

fields of industry, and to extend the scope and character of her commercial ventures. All the power of Spain and Portugal combined had not availed to maintain a single narrow channel for the entry of goods from the other continents into Europe, nor prevent the settlement of other powers in the extra-European world, much less ensure to their own use the flood of bullion from the East and West. Now as the exclusive age of territorial and commercial exploitation was replaced by an era of capital and competition, world-politics followed in the wake of world-commerce, and questions of polity were increasingly determined by elements once scarcely recognized as part of the old "mysteries of state."

Intellectual
advance

But the progress of Europe had not been limited to material, nor even to spiritual activities. No less in matters of the intellect than in commerce and politics, the European at the beginning of the seventeenth century had found outlets for his energies beyond his reach a hundred years before. Classical scholarship had now uncovered a new world of thought and achievement, where the mind was freed from the mediæval bonds of scholasticism and theology. Art had attained unparalleled eminence. Great national literatures had sprung up, blossomed, and borne immortal fruit; new systems of religious and secular thought and practice had arisen. New handicrafts had been invented or improved; and science had revealed a whole new universe. As a result, Europe's intellectual resources had increased no less than its wealth, its power, or its political influence. The new spirit had begun to penetrate philosophy; it was about to invade politics, and ultimately it was to affect religion, as the search for truth, "daughter of time, not of authority," prepared a fresh advance.

Its most conspicuous result was to increase the dignity of man and the importance of terrestrial affairs, at the expense of mystical and supernatural elements in life and thought. It was no accident that from the canvases of the great painters of the period now begun—Rembrandt and Hals, Rubens, Velasquez and Vandyke—look out not so much the Saints and Holy

Families of the earlier schools, as statesmen, merchants, and men of affairs; that landscape and the business of life took a conspicuous place among the concerns of art. Holbein, not Raphael, was the prophet of the new era. Nor was it chance which led the statesman, Bacon, and the soldier, Descartes, to interest themselves in science and philosophy. Least of all was it a mere coincidence that the last of the great religious wars took place concurrently with the first successful revolt of popular liberties against royal prerogative, the rise of great commercial states, the foundation of international law and modern philosophy, and the actual transfer of European society to lands overseas. Its results

Of all these results which flowed from the increasing knowledge of the two preceding centuries, none was more important than the revival of man's confidence in himself. Though still surrounded by the unknown, his conquests in the intellectual as in the physical world had begun to lighten the fear which had so long oppressed him that the secrets of the universe were unknowable. He no longer felt that he must die to learn, that all his prospects lay in a future state of which in the nature of things he could know nothing, whatever he might believe. The supernatural had begun to give way to a natural conception of the universe. Of all the gifts of science to mankind, of all the differences between the European and the non-European races, between the middle ages and more modern times, this emancipation of the intellect and the consequent unfettering of the spirit, this substitution of investigation and experiment for faith and authority, even for pure reason, was the most far-reaching and profound. It provided new material for the intellect which had fed too long upon itself. It replaced the superstition of blind belief, simple dependence on authority, barren logic, mere learning, empirical philosophy, with discovery and conquest. Beginning with the unearthing of the ancient world, continuing with the exploration of the earth, strengthened by the protest against outworn ecclesiastical doctrines and practice, the new spirit, though it could not solve the riddle of the universe, was at least able to relate man to his

surroundings, and enable him in some degree to "think God's thoughts after Him."

The new
spirit

Expressed in so many varying forms, a spirit of fierce energy, infusing every fiber of European life, had laid foundations of the new amid the ruins of the old. As always, the more spectacular operations of the destructive forces, which were devastating central Europe with fire and sword, overshadowed the constructive agencies. As always, the differences in form obscured the likeness of essence in these widely varying phenomena; for there seems small relation between the Thirty Years' War and the philosophy of Descartes, the Dutch attack on Brazil, and the Puritan movement in England. Yet in politics as in religion there was the same element of denial or distrust of authority; in commerce and philosophy the same reliance on personal judgment and initiative; in law and science the same respect for reason and investigation. Each of these felt a powerful impulse of secularization, not seldom verging on mere materialism, which was no less apparent in art and literature than in affairs.

This growing sense of the present and the material, of the worth and dignity of man's achievements in his world, appeared in education, which had long since begun to prepare its pupils for mundane rather than celestial activities. It was no less evident in commerce. There the reaction against the communistic element of the middle ages had been expressed in the substitution of great commercial firms and companies for the old guilds, as in the increasing absorption of common lands by individual proprietors. It was apparent in politics where the protest against the exercise of traditional and unlimited authority from above, which had inspired much of the religious revolt, was no less strong. The German Thirty Years' War owed nearly as much of its impulse to the desire to decentralize and decrease imperial power as to religious motives. The English Puritan Revolution was directed no less against royal and aristocratic privilege than against divine right in church and crown. For the tendency of the times in almost every field was in favor of the ascendancy of local, lower class, and individual interests.

The pursuit of wealth and power, like that of truth, in this new dispensation, was to be no longer the prerogative of the few but the privilege of the many.

However great the connection between economics and politics, there would seem small relation between them and the development of new theories of the universe and God; yet they were now co-ordinate if not consequent phenomena. The generation which fought the Thirty Years' War and revolutionized colonial affairs made far-reaching conquests in the world of science and philosophy. While Italian statesmen were absorbed in the fierce rivalry for the Valtelline, among their compatriots, Borelli led the rising school of iatro-physicists toward a new theory of the human organism. Torricelli advanced physical knowledge and invented the barometer; and Gassendi gave the final blow to that Aristotelian philosophy which had so long hampered the advance of European thought. While Germany was rent with carnage, among a multitude of less well-known investigators Glauber made his discovery of nitric and hydrochloric acids and contributed to pharmacy curative agencies among which the sodium sulphate salt still commemorates his name. While James I quarreled with his Parliaments, Horrocks first observed the transit of Venus, Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood, and Bacon pointed the way to intellectual advance in his *Novum Organum*. And in the very years that Holland fought for her freedom and her life, the French-born philosopher, Descartes, returned from his experiences in camp and field to pursue his studies under her protection. Thus with all the shifting of rulers and of policies which altered the complexion of public affairs, the developments in fields remote from statecraft presaged a change in human affairs more profound and far-reaching than any effected by the activities of war and diplomacy.

Of the various influences which were destined to mold the future of mankind, the progress of science, now taking on new form and content, was vital to the next advance of European thought; and the generation now coming on the stage was to experience a revolution in its knowledge and its

The
progress
of science
1610-48

intellectual power scarcely surpassed even by the tremendous changes of the preceding century. It has been observed that among the differences between a modern European and the non-European peoples or his own progenitors, none is more marked than his capacity to discover and adapt the forces of nature to the benefit of man. In that process the seventeenth century, from its earliest years, played a decisive part. Not even the discovery of the western hemisphere and the seaway to the East, the classical revival, the renaissance of art, nor the religious revolution, were more important to the development of intellect—on which European existence depended—than the rise of scientific method and the increase of scientific knowledge which caused or accompanied these more spectacular events and helped insure their permanent value to mankind. Before it all the dominance of logic and authority, which had led European intellectual processes into blind alleys, gave way to that combination of reason and experiment which enabled men to set themselves upon new ways to wider truth. It did far more than increase knowledge, though its contribution in that field was of incalculable importance; it pre-eminently increased the intellectual capacity of man. Freed from the dead weight of precedent and authority, as scholasticism gave way to humanistic scholarship, natural science had gradually become a principal factor in European knowledge and thought. Now, after a century of experiment and theory, it prepared to enter on its rightful inheritance.

Chemistry

First in time, if not in importance, was the basic science of chemistry. It had been largely divorced from alchemy by the so-called “spagyrist” of the sixteenth century, pursuing Paracelsus’ dictum that its true use was “not to make gold but to prepare medicines.” Thus it had gradually turned from its search for the philosopher’s stone, which would transmute baser to precious metals, to devote itself to the performance of the far more useful miracle of transforming sickness into health. With all their errors and ignorance its followers pressed on to that “iatro-chemistry” or therapeutics which marked a great advance in this fundamental science. The six-

teenth century had seen the introduction and use of an extraordinary number of chemical preparations of antimony, lead, sulphur, iron, arsenic, and above all mercury. This last, especially in the treatment of syphilitic diseases, became one of the cornerstones of medical practice for two centuries. And it was of the greater importance because this terrible scourge—which seems not to have been widely known before—had spread through Europe during the sixteenth century, and added another terror to life.

To this development many elements contributed, among them, especially, the universities and printing. The earliest considerable text-book of chemistry, that of the German Libavius, which appeared in the last decade of the sixteenth century, bears witness at once to the enormous increase of chemical knowledge which the preceding hundred years had produced and to the tendency toward the establishment of laboratories. This, after the dissecting rooms and clinics, marked the next advance in science. Under such influences the old doctrine of “elements” broke down before the discovery of acids and alkalis, and the re-discovery of the types and properties of liquids as exemplified in water. Men like the iatro-chemist, Van Helmont,—who first described bodies resembling air as “gas,”—proved that metals continued to exist in their compounds and salts. Thus they introduced the idea of the unchangeableness of matter and contributed to a new conception of chemistry and matter alike. Men like Tachenius, who first defined the term “salt” and introduced quantitative analysis; Agricola, who founded metallurgy; Palissy, who developed ceramics; von Hilden, who, besides his contributions to pure science, invented the tourniquet; and Glauber, who contributed alike to therapeutics and to technical chemistry, widened the bounds of knowledge and added to the resources of mankind. At the same time they illustrated the connection between the groups of sciences which on the one side facilitated all industrial processes from mining to dyeing, and on the other reinforced the efforts of the men of medicine.

The latter, whether as scientists or as exponents of the art Medicine

of healing, had, indeed, still far to go. The earliest efforts to "discover man" had been, naturally, directed toward anatomy or structure. Throughout the sixteenth century there had been slowly revealed the complicated system of the human frame and its organs; and surgery rather than medicine proper had made corresponding strides. Curative agencies were still largely empirical; and though the development of watches and clocks and the increasing skill of the practitioners made the observation of the pulse and temperature possible, it was scarcely before the seventeenth century was well advanced that these invaluable aids to diagnosis were in any sense well understood, much less used. Nevertheless, with the progress of anatomy and therapeutics, assisted by chemistry, advances had been made in what was to be the next stage of development, the determination of function, or physiology. This was, in no small degree, hampered by theory. The Galenic doctrine of "humors," or fluids which entered into the composition of the body, blood and phlegm, choler, or yellow bile, melancholy, or black bile,—whence we derive our terms of temperament, sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholy,—still existed, with its cures. These, by cupping or drugs, were supposed to reduce the amount of the particular humor and so restore the patient to health. Sanitation was scarcely known; and though the Black Death had virtually disappeared in the more advanced parts of the continent, fearful epidemics or plagues still persisted in the form of typhoid and smallpox for which there was as yet no adequate remedy.

It was perhaps inevitable that the discoveries in physics, and the consequent progress of the mechanistic doctrine of the universe, should have their effect upon medical theory; and there arose, in consequence, in opposition to the iatro-chemists what came to be known as the iatro-mathematical or iatro-physical school. As one of the curious results of the work of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and the founders of modern astronomical knowledge, the principles of physics were imported into physiology. Under the lead of the Italian, Borelli, and his co-workers, a powerful group of

thinkers, among whom the great philosopher, Descartes, was conspicuous, asserted that physiological processes were not chemical but the result of the laws of physics upon the human organism.

In some measure, perhaps, this conception of man as a Harvey mechanism was strengthened by the labors of the great English physiologist, William Harvey, with whom the "science of man" set forth on another stage of its pilgrimage. For, from his studies in Italy, and still more from a long series of investigations after his return, he developed his theory of the circulation of the blood, and the passage of the whole blood of the body from the heart through the lungs, where it was purified. That discovery revolutionized every conception of the human body, and brought to an end the errors of Galen which had blinded men to the truth for fourteen centuries. And whether, as Harvey believed, this heart action was a purely muscular or mechanical process; or whether, as Borelli asserted, it was neurogenic, or of nervous origin, the demonstration of Harvey's discovery in his *Anatomical Exercise of the Movement of the Heart and Blood*, which appeared in the tenth year of the German war, marks an epoch in science as great as the appearance of Copernicus' volume on the solar system three-quarters of a century before. 1628

Stimulated by such work, no less than by the development Biology of the microscope, and the consequent progress of the science of embryology, with the study of micro-organisms, the whole field of biology took on new life and form. As a century earlier the exploration of the unknown world had reinforced the uncovering of the classical civilization, so now the discovery of the earth and the heavens was compelled to share interest with the revelation of the physical side of man and the study of animal creation. For Harvey's work did not stand alone. To the labors of the compilers of the natural histories of the preceding century—the "encyclopedists," like Aldrovandi and Jonston—of Gesner, and of Harvey's teacher, Fabricius, who began the study of animal development, there had succeeded the problem of the origin and development of

life. To this Harvey himself added the study of the chick within the egg, which was to prove so fruitful a source of investigation for centuries. To this, in particular, was added the work of the microscopists of the ensuing generation, Grew, Hooke, Malpighi, and the two great Dutchmen, Swammerdam and Leeuwenhock. Men still believed, for the most part, in the ancient doctrine of spontaneous generation, and it was to be a century more before that ancient fallacy was overthrown. But in Harvey's dictum, *omne vivum ex ovo*, "all life comes from an egg," was voiced that principle which in time led to the proper realization of the beginning and development of living organisms.

1542-1618 From such work flowed results of great practical as well as of purely intellectual benefit to the human race. For with the rational study of organism and its physiological function, joined to the progress of chemistry and *materia medica*, modern medicine may be said to begin. While it was still possible to prescribe messes compounded of viper's flesh, crab's eyes, human perspiration, wood-lice, and almost every conceivable product of almost every conceivable animal, real and imaginary, men began to doubt their efficacy, and to suspect the empiricism of medicine no less than the dogmatism of theology. European therapy, in consequence, began to include a great variety of mineral and botanical products of known properties, more familiar to modern practice and "pharmacopeias" began to appear.

How great an effect this medical renaissance had upon men is demonstrated by one remarkable circumstance. The seventeenth century was not only the age *par excellence* of the publication of anatomical tables of scientific accuracy and great technical value. For the first time the surgeon and the doctor became subjects for the painter's brush. Probably no other period of European art counts among its productions so many relating to the labors of these professions. It is no mere accident that the greatest artist of the generation, Rembrandt, should find in a clinical demonstration the subject of one of his most wonderful pictures. It was the symbol of a changing world that his masterpiece was but one

of scores devoted to the delineation of an art once scarcely less mysterious than astrology, but now taking on the form and spirit of science, and so relating itself to actualities.

Beside the discovery of man, meanwhile, went on the exploration of the universe. Great as were the advances in those sciences which had to do with the human body, those in physics, mathematics, and astronomy, which revealed the secrets of nature and its laws, were still more spectacular. Already men were coming to perceive the influence of one of the greatest forces which later generations were to subdue to their service. For the last year of the sixteenth century had seen the publication of Gilbert's volume on magnetism, the earliest landmark in the study of electricity. In this remarkable work he not merely differentiated between electricity and magnetism, established the terms "attraction" and "emanation" as the fundamentals of the new science, but propounded the possibility of communicating this force, and even conceived the earth as a great magnet.

At the same time physical and astronomical science was developed in another direction,—the extension of man's faculty of sight. Centuries earlier Roger Bacon had declared the principle of the telescope, and his discovery had been more recently confirmed by three Englishmen, Harriott, Dee, and Diggs. Now, in this generation, almost simultaneously, three Dutch opticians, working independently, constructed a rude form of so-called "perspective glasses," or telescope, whose use spread rapidly throughout the continent. Coming to the hand of the Italian physicist, Galileo, it was perfected and applied to the uses of astronomy. Not even the discovery of the western hemisphere had more profound effect upon the European mind than this sudden extension of vision which brought knowledge of new worlds to man's intelligence. The mountainous surface of the moon; the composition of the Milky Way, which had so long perplexed astronomers and philosophers; the satellites of Jupiter; the peculiar form of Saturn; the phases of Venus; the solar spots; rewarded its discovery. European thought was revolutionized. The relationship between the earth and other planets

Physics

1600

The
telescope

was revealed; the Copernican hypothesis confirmed. The old doctrines of Aristotle concerning the divine essence and incorruptibility of planets, which had so long confused mankind, perished in a night, with all the misleading mysteries to which they had given rise, and the way was prepared for new and rational conceptions of the universe and man's place therein.

Tycho
Brahe and
Kepler

While man's physical capacity was thus extended in the field of sight as Galileo revealed the wonders of the heavens, two mathematical astronomers, both in the service of the "astrologer-Emperor," Rudolf II, Tycho Brahe and his greater pupil, Kepler, following the footsteps of Copernicus, extended the intellectual vision to even wider range and so pushed the bounds of human knowledge further still. The one, among other notable achievements, began that study of the comets which was to dispel mankind's long enduring fear of those monsters of the skies. In addition he determined some eight hundred fixed stars, and compiled observations of the planets, which, in his successor's hands, "furnished materials to construct the edifice of the universe." The other enunciated the two fundamental laws of planetary bodies,—that their orbits were elliptical and their distance from the sun bore direct relation to their revolutions. With this Kepler not merely opened the way to the general acceptance of the Copernican hypothesis but established the basic principles of solar astronomy, which were to overturn the older conceptions of both science and theology.

Napier's
logarithms
1614

His great labors were made possible by a new invention, which he further adapted to the uses of astronomy. This was the logarithmic system, which had been devised by Napier to facilitate those endless computations on which the new science of the stars was founded. "Reducing to a few days the labour of many months, doubling the life of the astronomer and sparing him the errors and disgust inseparable from long calculations" . . . the human mind has the more reason to be proud of this invention as it was derived exclusively from its own resources. It did more than to render astronomy "supportable to human patience and industry,"

or give to mathematical processes "incomparable precision and accuracy." It provided new powers and new methods of human intelligence, by which nature's secrets might be unraveled, and added unlimited capacities to the extension of the mathematical processes of the human mind. Finally there was developed, though more slowly, the compound microscope, which presently revealed the infinitely little to European eyes, as the telescope had revealed the infinitely great, and thus extended man's capacity in another direction.

At the same time that the celestial universe was thus unfolded to telescope and calculation, Galileo was engaged in founding the science of mechanics. With the determination of the laws of falling bodies, the composition of motions, and the equality and opposition of action and reaction, he established the basis for the three laws of motion. Moreover, his demonstrations added no less to statics than to dynamics; while his practical inventions of the thermometer and hydrometer, with his theory of "virtual velocities" and his study of molecular cohesion, witnessed at once the universality of his genius and the scope and content of a new school of physical knowledge.

Galileo and
mechanics

Unlike the scholasticism and the dogmatic theology which it was to replace, that knowledge was based not on mere thought but on experiment. It was not restricted to the resources of the human mind working upon itself, nor did it depend on the contemplation of unknown and unknowable spiritual mysteries. If the discoverer of America a century before revealed a new world to European eyes, the scientists now unrolled a new universe. Their work reacted powerfully in other fields. The rapid development of the learned academies and societies; even the investigation of the so-called "mysteries of state," by inquiry into politics and government and the origin of authority itself, gave history and philosophy an impetus which was to revolutionize European thought and practice in the ensuing centuries. However slowly this new learning made its way among ignorant and uneducated masses, however little it improved the facilities

of every-day life, its spirit and results profoundly affected every field of intellectual endeavor.

The new
philosophy

Two elements this movement lacked. The first was a system of intellectual processes which should finally replace the formal logic of Aristotle with a true scientific method. The second was a system of philosophy which should take account of the advance in knowledge, and, by crystallizing its achievements and co-ordinating them with what remained of the older faith, provide men with a new intellectual and spiritual basis of existence. It is a striking fact that neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation produced a great thinker nor a new philosophy. Scholarship, religious experience, knowledge, and organization they had, with a revival of what, for want of a better word, we call piety. But it remained, strangely enough, for science to stimulate the faculties of thought to new achievements in the effort to determine something of man's nature and relationship as a creature of spirit and intellect. The need was soon supplied, and, characteristically, the prophets of the new era arose, not from among the theologians but from the ranks of men of affairs. Among the forces which Maximilian of Bavaria led to the conquest of the Palatinate in the early years of the Thirty Years' War, a young officer, René Descartes, French-born, and sometime a soldier under Maurice of Nassau, improved his leisure in reflections which led to the development of that philosophic system which revolutionized European thought and gave him a place in intellectual development scarcely second to those great Greek thinkers who had so long dominated the European intellect. Among the courtier-statesmen who adorned the age of Elizabeth and her successor, James I, Francis Bacon, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, brought from long classical and scientific study that summons to the search for causes of natural phenomena which became the next step of scientific advance. And, while these new elements were injected into the intellectual processes of Europe, they were reinforced by the labors of a Dutch jurist-diplomatist, Hugo Grotius, who drew from his long experience in public affairs, and his knowledge of law

and of history, the material for a new theory of international relationships, destined to no less consequence in the world of political and even religious speculation than the labors of his great contemporaries.

Of these none better represents this many-sided period of transition than Descartes. He approached his great task of explaining the universe and man not from the standpoint of dogmatic theory, but by way of science and worldly experience, by reason rather than revelation, by mechanism rather than by morals. He was a child of the past but a prophet of the future. He accepted the Copernican hypothesis and the doctrine of the infinity of space, yet he was capable of pilgrimage to saintly shrines. He was dependent on royal bounty for his livelihood, yet he lived in Holland to breathe there the freer air of independence. And while he proclaimed the dualism of mind and matter he explained the connection of body and soul by a divine relation—or the pineal gland!

Descartes
1596-1650

Philosophy he entered by way of mathematics, and he remained "a geometrician with a taste for metaphysics rather than a philosopher with a leaning toward geometry and algebra." Perceiving, as he said, "those long chains of reasoning which geometers are wont to employ in the accomplishment of their most difficult demonstrations, led me to think that everything which might fall under the cognizance of the human mind might be connected together in the same manner, and that, provided only one should take care not to receive anything as true which was not so, and if one were always careful to preserve the order necessary for deducing one truth from another, there could be none so remote at which he might not arrive at last, nor so concealed which he might not discover." In such mathematical and mechanistic spirit did this new prophet approach the riddle of man, the universe and God.

To this he added such knowledge of anatomy and physiology as his age possessed; and with this equipment he attempted to deduce from an infinity of axioms and definitions, observations and reflections, a system of belief, rational and

irrefutable. In opposition to the doctrine of the schoolmen, "I believe, that I may know," he set up that dictum which might well be taken for the motto of all scientific advance, "I doubt, that I may know." His still more famous phrase, "*Cogito, ergo sum*," "I think, therefore I am," was the kernel of a belief utterly at variance with the older faith. His explanation of the universe and man as mechanism, and his rejection of all authority save that of reason, led him to adherence to a rule of conduct rather than of faith as the true test of morality. He assumed the existence of three realities as having been proved, God, the individual body and spirit of man, and the material world or universe. And in his great work, the *Discours de la Méthode*, he both systematized thought and replaced the older theological bases of philosophy with those of science. He gave the world new glimpses of truth, and, what was still more important, a new method of approach to the riddle of the universe. This, rather than his establishment of modern analytical geometry, his proposal of the vortex theory of matter, and his enunciation of the laws of refraction, important as they were, remains his chief contribution to the advance of human intellect.

Bacon
1561-1626

Before Descartes had begun his philosophical career Bacon had brought powerful and much needed aid to the agencies in which the French philosopher had found the inspiration for his work. What Descartes was to modern thought, Bacon was to modern science. What the *Discours de la Méthode* was to philosophy the *Novum Organum Scientiarum*, written as part of a larger work, the *Instauratio Magna*, or new basis of knowledge, was to scientific processes. Each, indeed, was based in some degree upon the fallacy that a method could be devised to arrive at truth by an infallible system of reason and experiment, enabling mediocrity to achieve the same results as genius by industriously applying its method to the problems of nature and thought. That fallacy has not yet been wholly eliminated from either field. But Bacon's contribution, like that of Descartes, was far deeper than this. If the French philosopher laid emphasis on deduction, the English scientific thinker laid equal stress upon inductive

processes, and so clearly marked the point at which modern thought divorced itself from mediæval scholasticism. He enforced the doctrine of selection among the mass of observed phenomena, and thus fused reason into experiment. While he accorded theology the first place among the sciences, he declared the search for first causes no part of science proper. By this means he avoided the still powerful enmity of ecclesiastical influences, and laid down the line to which that branch of intellectual activity has since confined itself.

He was at once the exponent of the critical spirit and the prophet of the school which sought the sources of knowledge in nature and its progress through investigation. He "excepted against those who presumed to dogmatize on nature," as against those who asserted that "nothing whatever can be known"; and no less against those who "by only employing the power of the understanding . . . have laid their whole stress upon meditation and a perpetual agitation of the mind." "Our only hope and salvation," he declared, "is to begin the whole labor of the mind again and attain our end, as it were, by mechanical aid." "We must first by every kind of experiment elicit the discovery of causes and true axioms, recognize nature as man's true heritage, and seek not only phenomena but causes." Doubt, he declared with Descartes, was the only true test of truth; and the *primum mobile*, that vague, omnipotent "first cause," the only hypothesis to be advanced in explanation of the origin and conduct of creation to which he and most men give the name of God. Unlike the tendency toward the abstract reasoning which attracted the continental mind, English philosophy, beginning with Bacon, clung to the concrete and allied itself with science. It opposed equally the old schoolmen and the new metaphysicians, and founded its reasoning upon the surer basis of observation and induction. Thus, of all the schools of philosophy, it contributed most to the advance of the so-called "positive" sciences whose development was so rapid in these years. For to Bacon, and to most of his Anglo-Saxon successors, final causes were "barren virgins," and the line between science and theology, knowledge and

faith, reason and revelation was clear and distinct. And "finding it impossible to write a history of what men knew, he wrote one of what they had to learn."

Finally in his incomparable *Essays*, in his *Advancement of Learning*, the first prose work on a secular subject written in English, as in his *Novum Organum*, the clear, convincing style, infused with wisdom and mellowed by experience, spread the influence of the doctrines with an eloquence which reached far wider than the actual contribution which he made to science itself. Thenceforth the instrument whose use he championed found no opponents in the scientific world. And though his actual experiments fell far short of Galileo's, though his philosophy found more powerful expression in Descartes, Bacon remained the herald and the champion of the new scientific host. For "he moved the intellects that moved the world."

The
modern
spirit

From the day of Bacon and Descartes, though to most men, perhaps, the human race remained the center of the theological universe, and its affairs the chief concern of God, it was increasingly evident that neither the earth nor man held the position in the material universe that had once been believed. Still less was it conceivable, to a small but increasing element of thinkers, that any nation, class, or individual, whatever its relation to non-European peoples, held a divine authority to control the actions, much less the thought, of its fellow-Europeans. Unequal, unrelated as its progress was; while even Bacon knew little of Galileo and could not accept Copernicus; while Roman curia and most Protestant divines rejected the new learning of science, which filtered slowly through the masses of the continent; while at the same time that English royal power was overthrown the doctrine of the divine right of kings flourished and continental monarchs increased their power; the modern spirit maintained itself and made headway. It was, indeed, still possible for theologians to declare that "the opinion of the earth's motion is of all heresies most abominable"; but among the more enlightened laity the geocentric theory of the universe was fast disappearing before that of a heliocentric solar system.

The telescope had revealed the heavens, not as the abode of blessed spirits, but as the more substantial and no less marvelous realm of planets and fixed stars. In the light of physical and mathematical discoveries it was increasingly apparent that, whatever the ultimate ruling power, the material universe was under the immediate dominion, not of an inscrutable and arbitrary Providence, but of natural laws, immutable, doubtless divine, but discoverable and comprehensible by men. For, rightly or wrongly, the mechanical theory of the universe had begun definitely to replace the theological, in the mind of Europe.

While Bacon and Descartes thus laid foundations for a modern world in the great fields of science and philosophy, while Galileo and his fellow-scientists advanced the bounds of knowledge in every direction, another powerful intellect invaded the realms of law and politics. This was Hugo Grotius, sometime historiographer of the Revolt of the Netherlands, advocate-general of the United Provinces, and author of a famous doctrine, the *Mare Liberum*, designed to controvert the Portuguese contention that the eastern seas were their private possession. Grotius was involved in the disturbances which cost Oldenbarneveldt his life, condemned to life imprisonment by Maurice of Nassau, escaped to France, and there published his great work, *De jure belli et pacis*. From his long experience in public affairs and as an advocate, from his wide reading, and his unrivaled knowledge of historical precedent, he drew materials for this first and greatest manual of international law. It was based upon principles of right and justice in government and society, derived not from the Bible but from morality. Written amid the distractions of a great religious war, it proclaimed the doctrine of a deep underlying "law of nature" in human relations, independent of religious beliefs and practices, and no less immutable than those great axioms of science then being revealed by his co-workers in far different fields. This revolutionary doctrine—whose ultimate consequence upon theology he hesitated to express—was supplemented by his contributions to the study of religion, a statement of the evidence for the truth

Grotius
1583-1645

of Christianity, stripped of doctrinal argument, and infused with principles of piety common to all communions, but overshadowed or totally eclipsed by the contentions of controversial dogmatists.

Bruno
1548-1600

Bacon, Descartes, and Grotius were not solitary thinkers, nor were theirs the only contributions made to the scientific and metaphysical spirit then making way in European thought. Before any of them had begun his labors the Italian, Giordano Bruno, first of the sixteenth century metaphysicians to accept the heliocentric system of Copernicus, had attacked the Aristotelian theory of the spheres and enunciated the doctrine of the infinity and the continuity of space. No barriers, he declared, separated our world from that reserved for angels and the supreme being. Heaven was nothing more than the infinite universe, God the soul of that universe, immanent, omnipresent, the eternal cause and active principle, the soul a vital principle emerging from and returning to the infinite. Philosophy was to him the search for unity; and—so far was he removed from the ecclesiastical influence—he derided the mysteries of the faith, and classed the Jewish traditions with Greek myths. It is small wonder that he became anathema to the church or that, returning into its domains from long residence in England and Germany, he was seized by the authorities of the Inquisition and by them imprisoned and burned.

Campanella
1568-1639

To the teachings of Bruno were added those of another Italian, Campanella. Basing his philosophy upon the Greek skeptics, he held that all knowledge was founded on experience and reasoning; that power, will, and knowledge were the principles of being, which he regarded not as absolute but as relative; God alone being absolute, from whom all beings proceed and to whom they return. Like Bruno, but unlike such philosophers as Descartes, Campanella extended his speculations to the realm of politics, and his *City of the Sun*, in which he embodied his theories, became, after More's *Utopia*, the next considerable attempt to delineate an ideal society. Unlike More's great work, it based itself largely upon Plato. It lacked that touch of life and reality

which makes the English theory at once more sympathetic and more practical; and it falls far short of Campanella's own description of the Spanish monarchy of his own time, against which he rebelled, and by which he was punished with nearly thirty years of imprisonment.

Thus in the hands of the philosophers was revolutionized the thought of Europe with its method of intellectual approach at the same moment that the experimental scientists provided more and more material for its use. And if there is one characteristic of this early seventeenth century more striking than another, it is the gradual penetration of the scientific and rational method into every department of human activity which related itself to the intellect. Its most marked result was naturally in theology. But it was beginning, in the hands of Grotius and Bruno and Campanella, still more in the work of the Englishman Hobbes, to relate itself to politics. There, in no long time, it was to play an active part in those practical concerns of human government which were presently to reshape the world of affairs no less than the realms of thought. Such were the movements which remolded the habits of mind of more than half the continent.

If, then, we consider the periods in which, as in our own, the whole fabric of society has been altered by changes in tastes, habits, and the contribution of science, arts, and crafts, we shall find few to compare with the first decades of the seventeenth century. To a man who witnessed the Spanish Armada in his youth and the disturbances in Germany and England in his age—and there were many such—it must have seemed that in his later years he confronted a new world. He would have seen naval supremacy pass from Spain, and England share with Holland the mastery of the sea. He would have seen but little political liberty, still less equality, and no religious tolerance, but he would have witnessed the conflicts from which in some measure all three were to spring. Had he been an Englishman, he would have seen or read *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*, read Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Bacon's *Essays*, and perhaps the *Novum Organum*. A Spaniard, he would have seen Lope de Vega's

The early
seven-
teenth cen-
tury—the
beginning
of the
modern
world

plays and chuckled over Don Quixote; an Italian, he would have been enraptured with Tasso, seen Bruno burned at the stake and Galileo recant those doctrines which struck the final blow to the old cosmogony. He might even have observed with him those

Imagined lands and regions in the Moon,
which

Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesolé.

At Rome he would have seen the splendor of the completed St. Peter's, and listened to Palestrina's music in the Vatican. In Venice he would have heard the earliest of European opera. In the Netherlands he would have been absorbed in the great commerce which poured through her ports, listened to her scholars, looked with admiration on the masterpieces from the brushes of Rembrandt and Hals, and read for the first time of the doctrine of the freedom of the sea and the principles of international relationships. He might well have heard from the lips of Descartes those doctrines of the mechanism of the universe and man, and of the dualism of spirit and matter, which had begun to revolutionize man's concepts of himself and the world in which he lived. In whatever land, he might have learned for the first time that the blood circulated in his body; that the earth revolved about the sun, and formed part of a vast universal system of planets and starry worlds beyond. And in whatever tongue he might have read Montaigne. Meanwhile, he would have observed the appearance and habits of his fellows change before his eyes. He would have had to learn to wear knee-breeches and perhaps to smoke, to play billiards and muddle his brains more expeditiously with stronger drinks, to like or dislike the taste of tea and coffee, to cure his ague with quinine,—in brief, he would have come to think and do the things which mark him as a modern man.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. 1642-1648

“If an amnesty universally sincere and without condition is not conceded, and their rights not fully restored to the States, and the Treaty of Prague and the Edict of Restitution not fully set aside, if everything is not restored to the state of things which existed in 1618 before the war, all treaties of peace will be in vain—and everything will be in confusion, disillusionment, and dismemberment in the whole Empire.” Thus wrote the Brandenburg agent in the first months of 1641, as his opinion of the situation into which affairs had come as the result of the long German conflict. It was, in brief, a confession of the failure of the whole struggle to affect the religious question in any particular, and it represented, virtually, the conclusion at which no small part of the German people had arrived after more than twenty years of bitter experience. But it was more than a confession; it was, in some sort, a prophecy; and its utterance reveals that the beginning of the end was now at hand.

The Thirty Years' War, which had now spread desolation over central Europe for nearly a quarter of a century, bade fair to exceed in duration and destruction, in the number and variety of contestants engaged, the interests represented, and the dramatic circumstances of the conflict, any such contest waged on European soil since the destruction of the western Roman Empire. Thus far the efforts to bring it to an end had hardly sufficed to produce even a temporary truce. The feeling that the Swedes would be unable to maintain themselves in Germany after Gustavus' death, the lessening resources of the Hapsburgs, and the death of Wallenstein, had combined to produce the Peace of Prague. This, though it

The dawn
of peace

1635

restored no Protestant ruler who had been dispossessed since the Swedes landed in Pomerania, and no church lands acquired by Protestants virtually since the death of Mansfeld at Lutter; though it afforded no protection to the reformed communions in Catholic states, nor to Calvinists anywhere, had been largely accepted by Protestant rulers.

Prelimi-
naries of
West-
phalia

1641

But that treaty, as events soon proved, was far from ending the war. The persistence of the Swedes and the ambition of France made it of as little avail to determine the controversy as the ensuing conferences of Hamburg and Cologne, or the efforts of Pope and Emperor to ensure peace. None the less, most parties were inclined to treat, either to make sure their gains or to preserve the remnants of their power. Thus when, a year before the death of Richelieu, it was proposed to hold a new congress, most of the warring elements consented. The adjacent towns of Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia were designated as a meeting-place. The district was neutralized; and though the spring of the year 1642, which was set for the assembling of the diplomats, went by without action, little by little the preliminary negotiations by which all parties sought to improve their positions before entering on formal engagements were consummated. Two years after the time set for the first session, the quiet Westphalian towns were crowded with the agents and ambassadors of the respective powers. There, under the direction of the imperial plenipotentiary, von Trautmannsdorff, the huge, unwieldy mass of claims and counter-claims began to shape itself into the beginnings of a final settlement.

The prog-
ress of the
war
1642-8

Meanwhile, beyond the long, tortuous negotiations of the diplomats, the war went on, though more and more haltingly. Frenchmen and Swedes, Bavarians and Imperialists, Danes and north-Germans, in the general mêlée, strove to maintain or to improve their status in the council by triumphs in the field; and the fortunes of states contending in diplomacy rose and fell with news of each engagement. But even while continental eyes were fixed upon these last convulsive struggles of the European war, while the most imposing array of diplomats yet assembled in European council sought, through

the longest negotiation in European history, to find the *via media* which led to peace, beyond the view of the ambassadors and the sound of German conflict there arose a new struggle, first of politics and principles, then of arms, which was destined to be of no less importance to the development of Europe than the greater war now drawing to an end. This was the conflict between the English crown and Parliament, which, at the very moment set for the assembling of the ambassadors in Westphalia, had reached its crisis in the royal appeal to arms.

It came as the climax of a long and bitter rivalry. What Germany had been to Europe in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, England was now about to become, the focus of a struggle between rival doctrines and practices, on which depended the future of politics and thought. In the eventful year which saw the removal of Richelieu and Olivarez from affairs and the first steps toward peace in Germany, the smoldering antagonism between the English king and his subjects burst into open war. The causes of the conflict were twofold. The quarrel had begun with the efforts of James and Charles to crystallize the Tudor "absolutism by popular consent" into legal form, and to force the more advanced Protestants, the so-called Puritans, into conformity to the Anglican establishment. To that end James had striven to make the crown in fact and name the sole arbiter of church and state. His son had followed in his steps, with greater obstinacy and still less tact; till in the year of the Peace of Lübeck between the Emperor and the Danish king, he had dismissed his Parliament and sent the leaders of the opposition to the Tower. His arbitrary measures had been accompanied by the protest of the Commons against taxation without consent of Parliament, against the "innovations" by which the so-called High Church Anglicans were endeavoring to force the Puritans into more formal observance of doctrines and practices which seemed to the extreme Protestants to smack too much of Rome.

With this, as the conflict progressed in Germany, England entered upon eleven years of unparliamentary government,

The Eng-
lish Civil
War

1642

1629

Its origin
1629-42

without a parallel in English history. Driven to curtail expenditure, the king made peace with France and Spain, and England ceased to play a part in international politics. Driven to raise revenue in default of parliamentary grant, he resorted to taxes long obsolete, and stretched his authority to the uttermost by levying so-called "ship-money" on the inland counties to equip a fleet. At the same time, under the High Church archbishop, Laud, conformity was enforced. The communion-table of the Puritan congregations was removed from its place in the body of the church, set in its old position in the chancel and again enrailed as an altar. The Anglican form of worship was rigidly enjoined; and Puritan sensibilities were still further wounded by the re-issue of the "declaration of sports" which authorized the use of the Sabbath, on which they set such store, for games and amusements. Not content with this, the king commissioned the royal governor of Ireland, Wentworth, to raise an army there; and permitted Laud to attempt the introduction of the Anglican prayer-book into Presbyterian Scotland.

Its
outbreak
1637

1638

1639

1640

The Long
Parliament
1640-

The result was an explosion. The refusal of a country squire, John Hampden, to pay ship-money threw the popular cause into the law courts, whose subservient judges decided for the crown. The effort to use the prayer-book in Edinburgh produced a riot. The oppression of the Puritans drove thirty thousand emigrants to New England, and fatally antagonized those who remained. The raising of an Irish army roused a not ungrounded fear of absolutism by royal *coup d'état*. When the Scotch drew up their new National Covenant to defend their faith and abolished episcopacy and the new liturgy, the storm began to break. It was in vain Charles summoned an army to march against the northern rebels, to whose assistance Scotch volunteers hurried from Gustavus' old force in Germany. The English king found himself as impotent to fight as he had been to govern, and he was driven to summon a short-lived Parliament, which offered supplies only in return for the redress of grievances. Upon its dismissal the crisis approached. After an ignominious defeat by the Scotch forces, and a futile assembly

of the peers, Charles was compelled to call another Parliament, his fifth, and, as it proved, his last. At once the long-cherished projects of reform appeared, with an attack on the prerogative. Wentworth and Laud were sent to prison and thence to the scaffold. The continuance of Parliament was assured; the old courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were destroyed and with them the chief danger to church and individuals from the crown. Hard on these reforms the news of a massacre of Irish Protestants roused England to fury; and, as the quarrel deepened, the Commons issued a Grand Remonstrance, or summary of their grievances which prompted the king to an unwise revenge. Backed by his guards and courtiers he came in person to the House to seize five opposition leaders; then, foiled of his prey, he left London, and presently raised his standard at Nottingham, at the same moment that, on the continent, the preliminaries of a great congress to end the war received the sanction of the Emperor. Thus there began, on English soil, a struggle between the crown and Parliament which was to play a part in the development of political liberty comparable to that which the German conflict had earlier played in the field of religious thought and practice.

1641

1642

The six years which followed the beginnings of peace negotiations in Westphalia and the simultaneous outbreak of war in the British Isles, form a peculiarly destructive period of European history. While diplomats sought a basis of settlement in the protected district of Münster and Osnabrück which was set apart for their deliberations, the tide of battle rolled unchecked back and forth across the rest of Germany, turning its fertile fields into a wilderness. From that conflict religious elements had long since disappeared, and with them whatever vital interest the struggle held. What remained was the selfish political designs of the combatants. On the one side the Emperor and his allies, headed by Bavaria, struggled to maintain the power they once held; on the other the Swedes and French strove to reduce that power and exalt their own. Spain, still faithful to the Hapsburg interest and her own, waged separate war with

Europe
1642-8

France. The smaller powers were no less involved. The Transylvanian adventurer, Ragoesky, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Bethlen Gabor, brought like diversion against the Emperor on the side of Hungary, and with no more permanent result. Finally Denmark, reversing her former rôle in the face of Sweden's threatened supremacy, again entered the war on the imperial side only to suffer the vengeance of her Scandinavian rival.

The Thirty
Years'
War—
final stage

That power alone maintained its long ascendancy in arms still unimpaired. Baner followed Gustavus; Torstenson, Baner; and Wrangel succeeded Torstenson, as commander-in-chief, with little change in Swedish success against the Imperialists. Had France found a worthy successor to Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, whose army she inherited on his death, the fate of the Hapsburgs might have been sealed. But her generals, save the young Turenne, exhibited few of the qualities which made their great partisan predecessor only second to Wallenstein; and the new Emperor, Ferdinand III, on his part, found no commander to ensure him the peace he so much coveted. Thus the conflict declined into a long and dreary chronicle of march and counter-march, defeat and victory, with their wastage of life and property, in pursuit of what advantage there was to be gained in the approaching peace.

1643

Meanwhile France invaded Spain; Spain, France; with little more result, save that, in the battle of Rocroy, the genius of the young Condé was revealed and a death-blow dealt to the ascendancy of those great Spanish squares of infantry which in a hundred years had found their only rival in the Swedes. And, as if it were not enough that all the west and north should feel the weight of war, Italy endured a conflict between the Papacy and its confederated enemies, while the Turk, rousing from his long lethargy, fell once more upon Venice, and, landing upon Crete, took up again his task of wresting the islands of the eastern Mediterranean from Christian hands.

1645

England
1642-8

Thus, everywhere in Europe, as the mid-seventeenth century approached, her people stood arrayed in conflicts, which

for the most part were of importance to the future of the world only because of the shifting of lands or authority from one hand to another. In England the case was different. The struggle there begun involved the greatest problem which had divided European minds since the religious schism between Catholic and Protestant—the problem of popular share in government. It was, indeed, a long-standing issue. Since the fall of the Roman Republic, save in a few and scattered instances, like the so-called republics of the north Italian city-states, some Swiss cantons, and the trading communities of northern Germany, political power had remained all but unquestioned in the hands of kings and aristocracies. The feudal régime had divided men into two castes, noble and non-noble, with an ever-increasing rigidity of class. When national kingship conquered the growing anarchy of feudal privilege, it had checked the right of private war, set the king's justice in place of feudal courts, reduced the aristocracy to dependence on itself, and substituted its central authority for the divergent interests of the great independent lords of the land. But in so doing it had neither destroyed that class nor raised the lower elements to equality. Society remained, therefore, an aristocracy.

In one direction, none the less, conditions had greatly altered in the preceding three centuries. This was in the development of a wealthy middle class. The growth of commerce, the arts, and industries had vastly increased the resources of the commercial groups which, under the improved economy by which national kingship secured to them the fruits of their labors, now formed an important element in nearly every state. But that importance was not political. While the middle classes welcomed absolutism as a cure for anarchy, they had too often gained peace at the expense of privilege. In Spain the absolutism of Ferdinand the Catholic had united the scattered territories of his far-spreading kingdom, but it had suppressed the old popular assembly of the Cortes. In France the early years of Louis XIII had seen the last meeting of the States General. Even in Holland the Orange ascendancy had tended to subordinate the most

The middle
class

powerful commercial middle class in Europe to the Stadt-holderate. Thus, while throughout the more progressive nations of western and northern Europe economic evolution had elevated serfs to free tenants and made burghers equal in wealth to the landed class, it had given to neither a greater voice in government.

The Par-
liament

Even England, which retained more of the earlier and freer Teutonic institutions than any European state, had, for a time, threatened to follow a like course with France and Spain. The Wars of the Roses had destroyed her ancient baronage, and Tudor rulers had surrounded the throne with a nobility created by the crown, dependent on it and devoted to its interests. Unable to do away with Parliament, even had they wished, they had sought to keep it under their control by creating new boroughs. From these they drew a body of representatives to support the cause of the crown in the Commons, and so continued to manage what they could no longer dominate. There the resemblance to the continent had ceased. The Parliament was neither destroyed nor rendered impotent. Through the convulsions of the sixteenth century it had acted as the ally no less than as the agent of the crown. Its more advanced element would have pushed the Reformation beyond the bounds determined by the Elizabethan government. But it was not until the first Stuart kings endeavored to make that settlement absolute by the oppression of the Puritans, and the transformation of the personal arbitrariness of the Tudors into a legal despotism, that there came a test of strength.

The
opposing
elements

When, therefore, on that stormy day of August, 1642, Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham, there began one of the decisive struggles of European history. On the one side were ranged the forces of ancient privilege and authority, the clergy and most of the nobility, a great part of the gentry and their followers, drawn to defend the old establishment, the altar, and the throne. Against them were arrayed a heterogeneous company, the so-called Puritans, a few of the greater nobility, many of the lesser gentry, and the overwhelming majority of the trading communities, or

moneyed class. Though these last included many Anglicans, they were, for the most part, of the more liberal, so-called Presbyterian element; while the mass of the rebellious party was made up of Nonconformists or sectarians, advanced Protestants opposed alike to the hierarchy and the liturgy of an episcopal establishment. Without exception the remaining English Catholics were on the side of royalty. Yet neither party was to be classified on purely religious grounds, least of all the so-called Puritans. Their chief importance was political, for, whatever their religious beliefs, they were united in opposing unparliamentary government; and the great issue was less a matter of creed than a question as to whether the crown or the people was the final authority in church and state.

The conflict which ensued partook of the peculiar character of the parties engaged. At the outset many on either side distrusted too great success for their own cause. Most Royalists would have bitterly opposed the destruction of Parliament; few Parliamentarians dreamed of destroying the crown; nor was either result at first conceivable. In consequence war and negotiation went continually hand in hand, till compromise was seen to be impossible. The military operations, as well, were what might have been expected from a warlike but unmilitary nation which had been at peace for more than a generation. Neither in numbers nor in skill was the earlier stage of the English Civil War comparable to the concurrent struggles on the continent, however it surpassed the last conflicts of the Thirty Years' War in the principles involved. From those conflicts, indeed, many hastened to take part in the great rebellion. The king's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, came from the Palatinate to his aid; Gustavus' old chief of staff, Leslie, to command the Scots. Soldiers like Monk from Condé's French Huguenot army and Vere's regiment in the Netherlands, so long a school of arms for English gentlemen, hurried home to take their part in the conflict. Some, like the first parliamentary commander, Essex, the royalist general, Hopton, and his opponent, Waller, had seen service in the Palatinate.

Character
of the war

But many others, like the greatest of them all, Cromwell and Blake, had left field and shop for the pursuit of arms. Thus England became in no long time a battle-ground not only of religious and political principles but of all the contemporary schools of warfare.

The early
engage-
ments
1642

But the development was slow. In the beginning what advantage there was lay with the royalist cavalry drawn from the hunting element fostered by the country gentlemen. At Edgehill, and again at Newbury, as in the king's attempt to seize London, only inexperienced commanders prevented a decision. Thus, with the second twelvemonth of the war, the Parliament, fearing for its existence, came to terms with the Scotch Presbyterians, signed the Solemn League and Covenant, committed England to that form of faith, and received, in turn, a Scotch army for its aid. At the same time a voluntary association of the eastern counties, in which a Huntingdonshire gentleman, one Oliver Cromwell, became conspicuous, organized a body of so-called Ironsides, picked men, well-drilled, severely disciplined cavalry, able to meet Prince Rupert's cavaliers on equal terms.

1643

The New
Model
1644

Under these conditions the crisis was not long delayed. The Scotch were, indeed, defeated by the king's army, but, in turn, the royal force was crushed at Marston Moor by Cromwell's Ironsides. Emphasized by a brilliant diversion of Montrose in the Highlands, and the defeat of parliamentary forces in the south, the lesson was decisive. The army was reorganized into a New Model, by Cromwell, who, with Fairfax, replaced its old commanders. At Naseby the last effective resistance of the king was beaten down, his papers were seized, and he himself fled to the Scotch army. By it he was surrendered to the Parliament, and by them held a prisoner.

1645

The Inde-
pendents

Such were the circumstances under which successful revolution broke royal power in the British Isles. But, at the very height of their success, the revolutionaries all but lost the fruits of their exertions, for they fell out among themselves. Parliament, still strongly Presbyterian, found itself opposed by an element which had come to control the army,

and had acquired no small influence in the nation at large. This was the group known as the sects, the advanced Protestant denominations, among which the so-called Independents took the lead. Strongly individualistic in their beliefs, as their name indicated, they were opposed to any set forms or prescribed doctrine and liturgy. Deeply devout, they were peculiarly tolerant of all forms of church government save the episcopal, which smacked too much of entrenched authority; while, with their liberal religious tendencies, they had strong leanings toward democracy in state as well as church.

Amid these warring elements the king still dreamed of finding an advantage for himself, and, in their discords, recovering his power. Thus he intrigued with each party in turn till he had forfeited what little confidence each had in his integrity, and the army became determined to temporize no longer with such evasion. The king was seized by their authority; and his negotiation with the Scotch brought as its chief result the renunciation of allegiance by his rebellious subjects. With this, events took on a darker tinge. Cromwell defeated a Scotch army of invasion at Preston Pans, and so relieved all danger from that side. The Parliament was purged of its recalcitrant Presbyterians, and the army, through its adherents of the so-called Rump and its Council of Officers, became the sole arbiter of English destinies.

Such was the situation of affairs, as the long war in Germany drew to a close. The months that saw the great conflict determined, with the fate of English monarchy, were, indeed, heavy with import to the European world. While from his Newport prison Charles I was making his last effort to come to terms with Parliament, great events were stirring elsewhere. In Bohemia the French and Swedes pushed on a final, desperate attempt to wrest from their exhausted enemies that part of Prague still in Imperialist hands. In Poland the Cossacks of the Ukraine began a great revolt, while the Crimean khan led the most terrible foray in Russian history against the Muscovites and Poles. France saw the outbreak of that amazing civil "war of the women," the so-called

Their
triumph

1646-7

1648

The end
of the
German
war
1648

Fronde, and the eastern Mediterranean beheld the Turkish fleet advancing to the siege of Candia which was to endure for twenty years.

Besides these, in Europe itself as in her far-flung possessions oversea, a multitude of events of less conspicuous quality contributed, at this juncture, to the great transformation of the European world. George Fox began that preaching career which added the Quakers to the ranks of the Protestant denominations. In America a twofold conflict among the New England colonies and between them and their Dutch neighbors began to make itself felt in the affairs of that continent. Beyond them still, a struggle between the most powerful of the native tribes, the Iroquois, and their native enemies, aided by the French, added a bloody chapter to colonial history, and a new martyrology to the Jesuits. Far to the south, meanwhile, the genius of the Madeiran, Vieyra, which three years before had inspired revolt against the Dutch in Brazil, now organized, from Portugal, a company like that by which Holland had gained her ascendancy. Thence he despatched a fleet which was to turn the tide of victory to his followers and wreck Dutch aspirations in that quarter of the world. At the same moment, on the other side of the earth, the Christian faith was driven from Japan; and that nation was removed from European influence for two hundred years.

Other
European
activities

1648-9

The signa-
ture of the
Peace of
West-
phalia
Oct. 24,
1648

Such were a few of the diverse activities, which, standing out from the dull warp of commonplace affairs, gave color and form to the great and varied fabric which from day to day fell from the loom of European life. Among them all, one now became the central figure of the great design. This was signature of the tremendous document which brought to an end the European war by the Peace of Westphalia. Few instruments in history have been of such long gestation, few have brought to an end so long a conflict, none more clearly marks a great dividing line in human affairs. From the deliberations of six years, while the whole European world shook with the thunder of contending armies, there emerged a settlement which, however inadequate to

insure continued peace, shifted the whole balance of future conflict and gave to devastated Germany a needed breathing-space.

The terms of the various agreements which made up the Peace of Westphalia were as voluminous and nearly as complex as the issues which they professed to meet. But from the mass of verbiage emerged three leading facts. The first was the supremacy of Sweden in the north; the second was the securing of French frontiers at the expense of the Empire; the third was recognition of the independence of the republics of Switzerland and the United Netherlands. The last involved no transfers of territory; but the first two revolutionized the map of central Europe. Its terms

In brief, the principal changes centered in the gains of Sweden and of France. With the lands which stretched along the north German coast from Stettin to Denmark; with Verden, the bishopric of Bremen, and Weimar in their grasp, the Swedes came close to that absolute control of the Baltic to which they had so long aspired. With three votes in the Imperial Diet, by virtue of her new possessions in Germany, Sweden added to her position as the mistress of the north that of the most powerful feudatory of the Empire. Such was the "satisfaction" of Sweden.

Nor was the victory of France much less. For the first time she now held in fee simple the great bulwark triangle of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which controlled the main passage between herself and Germany. To these she added Breisach, the invaluable outpost of the upper Rhine, and Pinerolo, "the gateway to Italy." Besides these, still, the landgravate of all Alsace, the government of ten imperial cities, and the right to garrison Philippsburg gave her control of all that coveted area, save Strassburg. This, with an agreement that no fortresses were to be built on the Rhine from Basle to Philippsburg, made her secure upon her eastern front against her most persistent enemy, and thus completed her "satisfaction." France

This was not all the loss to the imperial power, for readjustments such as these brought with them the necessity of The German states

compensation to the German states affected by them or by the recent war. Brandenburg, in consequence, received as indemnity for its losses in Pomerania the bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt, and Camin, as secular principalities, and the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Hesse-Cassel, besides a money indemnity, secured possession of lesser episcopal and abbey lands; Brunswick, a claim upon the bishopric of Osnabrück; and Mecklenburg, the bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Schwerin.

The
Empire

Such were the principal changes of boundaries and authority within the Empire; and these but slightly affected the imperial power. But this was not the case with the next group of the provisions which the peace imposed upon the house of Hapsburg, the so-called secular interests of the Empire. The proclamation of a general amnesty and restoration of the status before the war was modified by the retention of the electoral dignity in the Bavarian branch of the house of Wittelsbach, and the creation of an eighth electorate for the dispossessed Rudolfian branch of the Palatinate. Far more important was the so-called territorial superiority of the component parts of the Empire. This recognized the right of the whole body of estates to the control of their external affairs, the right to make treaties with each other and with foreign powers, if not directed against the imperial person or authority. With such a provision formally recognized, whatever sovereignty the Emperor had held dissolved into the shadowiest of suzerainties, and Germany became a mere congeries of petty states, like Italy. From the conflict which had begun a century and a half earlier with Maximilian's attempt to make imperial power a reality, Germany emerged a nation divided against itself. The principle of the *Fürstenstaat*, a state of princes, had triumphed over the doctrine of centralized power, and middle Europe turned definitely aside from the polity of the rest of the continent, save Italy.

The
religious
settlement

And what of those great religious issues for which the war had nominally been fought? The terms of the peace which ended it reflected the altered character of a conflict

which at its close found Catholic France allied with Protestant Sweden and a Protestant Hessian in command of the Catholic Imperialist army. Briefly, three great provisions determined the ecclesiastical status. The first was the recognition of equality between Protestant and Catholic estates in all affairs of the Empire, including the equal division of



the imperial court between the two communions. The second was the extension of the Peace of Augsburg and the Convention of Passau to include the Calvinists, thus placed on the same plane as Lutherans. The third was the adoption of 1624 as the "annus normalis," or date from which possession of ecclesiastical estates and form of religion should be reckoned. The territorial lords retained the so-called "right of reformation," but to their subjects was secured the right of emigration to escape their masters' possibly too zealous churchmanship. The subjugated Protestants of Austria and Bohemia were left to the mercies of their rulers, but the Rhenish states which, like Baden and the lower Palatinate, had found their Protestantism overborne by Catholic conquest, were permitted to resume the exercise of their former faith.

These, in brief, were the provisions of the greatest peace

General
results

Europe had seen thus far in her long history. By that extraordinary settlement the Empire became a European rather than a German institution and prolonged its existence by the sacrifice of its vitality. On the one side the Swedish empire, on the other the more homogeneous kingdom of France, challenged the supremacy once wielded by the house of Hapsburg. The old alliance of church and state as exemplified in the ascendancy of Empire and Papacy was forever at an end. Protestantism was secure in those lands which had accepted its doctrines, and what efforts Catholicism was to make for its suppression thenceforth were put forth through the national states and not through any general European agency—for “the mediæval order of the European world was over.”

Germany

Nor was this all. Seldom in history has any land suffered what Germany endured in the preceding thirty years. Between a fourth and a half of her total population had been destroyed, while in certain districts scarcely a fiftieth of the inhabitants remained. Towns by the score and villages by the hundred were wholly wiped out, with castles, farms, bridges, and country-houses innumerable, till the whole basis of ordered existence in great parts of the west and south seemed almost if not quite destroyed. This was accompanied by a shifting of classes and interests. The chief destruction had fallen on old Germany, the richest and most enlightened districts of the purest German blood which lay between the Rhine and the Elbe. In consequence the half-German absolutist powers of the east, Brandenburg and Austria in particular, gained relatively if not absolutely in strength.

The earliest and fiercest blows had been struck against the Protestantism of the south, and from that blow it never recovered. Bohemian lands were parceled out among a Catholic-Austrian nobility and Bohemia was dragooned into resumption of the older faith. In the Hapsburg possessions the same policy was put in force, and Austria now came to rival Spain as the bulwark of Catholicism. Yet from the long conflict Protestantism had emerged alive and vigorous. The unity of western Christendom under the mediæval

church of Rome was gone forever. Thenceforth came on the scene new doctrines and new policies, a balance of power, national interests, a unity in diversity, and that perpetual shifting of creeds and alliances which marks the unstable equilibrium of a modern world. The Peace of Westphalia became, in large measure, the basis of the public law of Europe and its fundamental principles remained in effect for nearly a century and a half. The doctrine of balance of power among Catholics, Lutherans, and Protestants, as between the Empire and its constituent parts, was, indeed, largely regulated by external forces, in particular those of Sweden and France, and made for the aggrandizement of the latter especially. But, indeterminate as any such settlement which rests upon the shifting sands of a continually altering society must be, the Peace of Westphalia remains, none the less, one of the great landmarks of European history. In a political sense it divided the old from the new, and like the Renaissance, the discoveries, and the Reformation, perhaps rather like the scientific renaissance, it marks the change from mediæval to modern methods and spirit.

It was almost at once supplemented by a movement which gave even more dramatic emphasis to the changes then taking place in the world of politics. The peace was signed on October 24, 1648. At that moment the imprisoned English king was deep in negotiation with his rebellious Parliament, and dreaming of a division among his enemies, of intervention from abroad, of an infinity of contingencies, which might enable him to rescue from the shipwreck of his fortunes that royal power which had slipped from his grasp. But his machinations were to prove as vain as his hopes. While the old Germany and the old system of European polity passed away, the old English monarchy came to an end. The tradition of royal inviolability was broken, the divinity which hedged in a king was shattered, and England turned to new courses at the same moment that European polity was revolutionized.

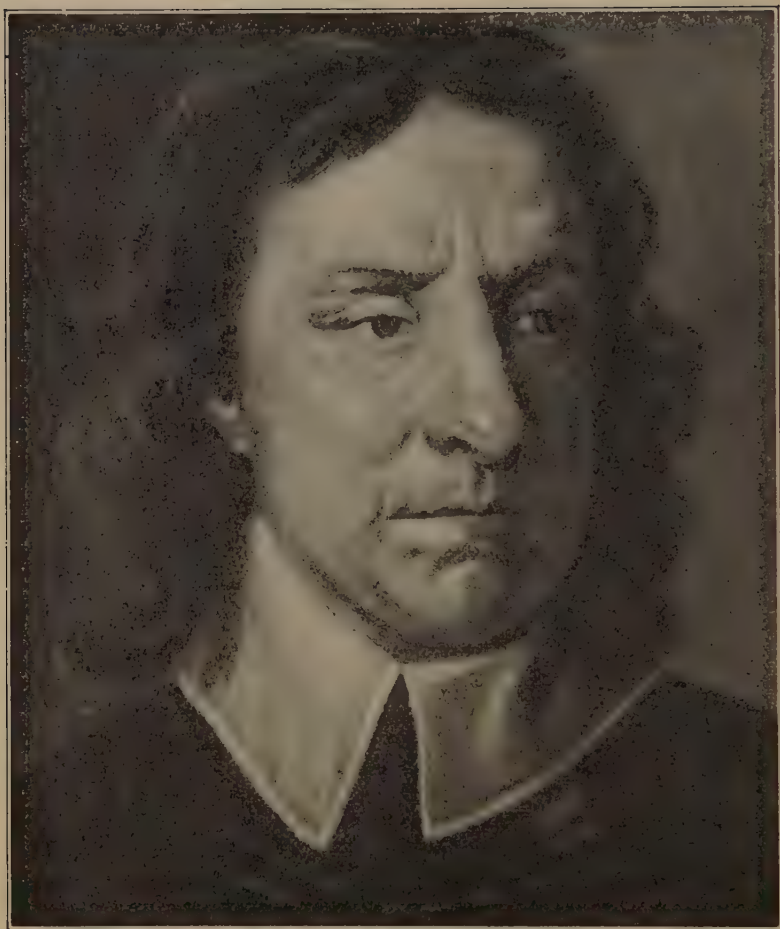
The fall
of the old
English
monarchy

Thus was a great chapter of history closed, and there began another which was to prove greater still. The era of

The
transition
to modern
polity

religious wars was over, that of the conflict for popular sovereignty had begun. And, as the world turned from the one struggle to the other, it was apparent that henceforth the issues and methods of political affairs, no less than the spiritual and intellectual bases of European life, which had endured in some form at least since the Reformation, were destined to profound and rapid change. As the secular interest had finally triumphed over the ecclesiastical, so popular privilege was about to assert itself effectively against royal prerogative, and individualism challenge authority. Two centuries earlier the concurrent fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of the English from France had marked the double crisis of Europe's affairs. Now the signature of the great peace and the collapse of English kingship indicated that Europe again confronted the reorganization of her principles and her practices.

END OF VOL. I



OLIVER CROMWELL.

Panel by Samuel Cooper at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

VOL. II





CHAPTER XXIII

THE AGE OF CROMWELL. 1642-1660

WHEN in the last months of 1648 was signed the great peace which brought to an end the Thirty Years' War and with it the mediæval polity which it finally destroyed; as the army of diplomats whose work it was dispersed to their respective governments, the awe-inspiring mass of documents which formed the fruit of their long labors might have led men to believe that Europe would hasten to enjoy the peace which she so needed and which her people for the most part so greatly desired. But whatever hopes of quiet were entertained, were already far on the way to disappointment; for the Europe to which the diplomats returned was even then altered or altering before their eyes and already shaping itself for new conflict. Scarcely a state of any consequence prepared to recruit its resources by the arts of peace; scarcely a royal house but faced a crisis in its fortunes; scarcely a people but was stirring in unrest or already engaged in revolution. So far from ushering in a period of peaceful progress the Westphalian treaties became the starting point for new and bloody rivalries.

In Germany itself, so long afflicted with the horrors of a war that depopulated whole districts and dealt a blow to her resources and prosperity which, augmented by later conflicts, weakened her position for two centuries, almost the last vestige of central authority had disappeared. The imperial power, with all its tradition of form and precedence, remained but an empty symbol of unity over the four hundred and more sovereign states and free cities among which the lands between the Rhine and the Oder were divided. The house of Hapsburg, still the strongest of central European dynasties—by virtue of its own personal dominions rather than by any

support it commanded from the states of the Empire or its hold on the imperial dignity—clung to its slight suzerainty over Germany, but found its solid compensations in its struggle with the Turks for the Balkan lands.

The
German
states

Among the German states which eluded its sovereignty, four, Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, remained of importance in the European world. Among these the first two had already sought expansion in the east, where Prussia and Poland offered them their opportunity. The principle of primogeniture, spreading from house to house, assured, indeed, a check on further extension of that subdivision which had done so much to bring Germany to infinite and absurd partition. But with their slender patrimonies the petty sovereigns held the more zealously to every prerogative of independence and absolutism. For there was as little tendency among them to increase the shadowy authority of Emperor or Diet as to share their rule with their own subjects. Imperial Chamber, Aulic Council, and the local divisions of the so-called *Circles*, which might otherwise have become the nucleus of a united Germany, remained as impotent as the dreams of liberty which were being roused by events outside the heart of Europe, as the last of the great religious wars came to an end.

The
northern
powers

The states of the north and east were in no better case than their Teutonic kinsmen. Under the guiding genius of Gustavus and Oxenstierna, Sweden had risen with unexampled rapidity to the position of a first-rate European power. But there were already signs of the decline of the Vasa supremacy in the Baltic regions. Scarcely had Oxenstierna brought the fruits of his diplomacy from Osnabrück when he fell in disgrace with his brilliant, erratic queen Christina, whose extravagances of conduct and expenditure then threatened the fortunes of her crown, her country, and her house. Denmark, which might have taken advantage of her old rival, was held back by the death of Christian IV, which threw the state into the hands of a triumphant aristocracy whose rule soon brought the nation close to civil war. Russia, meanwhile, under the sway of Alexis, son of that Michael Romanoff

who had established his dynasty in the preceding generation on the throne of Muscovy, was in a similar situation. Harassed by popular risings and disturbances engendered by reform of the Russian church liturgy which was destined to have far-reaching consequences, no less than by the restless ambitions of the Cossacks in the south, the Czar was driven to recognize the increasing power of the boyars or nobles in affairs of state. Amid these distractions he found little opportunity for foreign enterprise; and at the very moment of the peace, in which, though he took no direct share, he was involved by his alliances, he was confronted simultaneously by a revolt in his capital and a Cossack insurrection. 1654-6

This owed its importance to the fact that it was the last serious attempt for two centuries or more to found another eastern European state, and its strength to the ambitions and ability of its leader, Bogdan Khmelnitzki. Aided by their old enemies, the Tartar Khans, the wild steppe horsemen shook the unstable Polish monarchy to its base; while their final enforced acceptance of the Russian suzerainty, when their fierce attack broke on the resistance of the Polish chivalry, laid the foundations for the next advance of Muscovy toward the shores of the long-coveted Black Sea, and marked another stage in the ascendancy of Russia over Poland. 1648-9

The latter state was ill-prepared, indeed, to exercise her old authority over her far-flung, loosely woven provinces. Her new ruler, the Cardinal John Casimir Vasa, who came to power as the peace was being signed, found himself confronted not alone by Cossack rebels. Of scarcely less import was the schism between the Polish Roman Catholics and his Lithuanian subjects of the Greek communion. This was fraught with the more danger in that his Russian neighbors championed the cause of the Eastern Church. More threatening still was the claim of the turbulent Polish aristocracy to rights of confederation even against the crown itself. When this disintegrating process reached its culmination in the acceptance of that masterpiece of political fatuity, the "*liberum veto*" by which a single vote could block the action of the Diet, the state found itself close to anarchy. In the

The
Cossack
revolt

Poland

Polish situation appeared the climax of that general tendency of the eastern states toward allowing political power to slip from the hands of the crown to those of a lower class, which, in far different form, was the characteristic as well of the western states in this momentous period. In this era of disorganization, the Muscovite and the Turk were held back from enlarging their territories at Polish expense by their own difficulties at home, and this alone preserved the declining power of Poland from the effects of the political weakness which Swedish attack was shortly to reveal.

Western
Europe

1647

Under far different circumstances yet characterized by not dissimilar spirit, the western powers faced the outcome of the peace. Italy, divided still between the petty sovereignties, the Papacy, and the conflicting claims of foreign powers, endured, save for Venetian conflicts with the Turk over Crete, a brief interval of respite from hostilities. Meanwhile Savoy found fresh occasion to pursue that tortuous and adroit policy by which she had already begun to eat up the peninsula "as a man eats an artichoke, leaf by leaf." Only in the Spanish dominions there burst forth unparalleled disturbance. There, ten bloody days of insurrection brought the Amalfi fisherman, Masaniello, for the moment, into power, and his brief, tragic career was the wonder of western Europe in the year before the peace, as that of Khmelnitzki was soon to be to the east.

The
Fronde
1648-53

Of the greater western states Spain, shaken by the loss of Portugal, weakened and discredited by the great war, was compelled to recognize the independence of the Netherlands, yet, bankrupt in credit and resources, she still maintained her conflict with France, aided by the strangest circumstance in the long history of her ancient enemy. Against the French government, now in the hands of the Queen Dowager and the chief minister, the Cardinal Mazarin, began that amazing struggle known as the Fronde. Involved in an infinity of intrigue, the French nobility, even great generals like Condé and Turenne, gave themselves over to a nightmare of political and personal rivalries, a labyrinthine maze of plot and counterplot, whence reason and policy alike seemed to have

fled. Now fighting, now allied with their own government, with Spain, England, the Netherlands, and among themselves, it was a full dozen years before the discordant elements of French politics subsided again to an orderly and rational progress.

Yet with all this series of disturbances throughout the continent—aristocratic revolutions among the northern and eastern powers, Cossack insurrection, Neapolitan rising, and French civil war—England still remained the center of European interest. Beside the events in the British Isles, noble revolts and popular disturbance paled to insignificance. Above Khmelnitzki and Masaniello and Condé towered the heroic figure of the English Cromwell. In the six years that had elapsed since that stormy August day when the English king had set up his standard at Nottingham and summoned the forces of the crown against his Parliament, the royal power had sunk lower with successive misfortunes. The king himself was now a prisoner, his children exiles, his army destroyed, his followers proscribed, his enemies in the ascendant. At the moment of the peace events took another and decisive turn. The king's negotiations with the Presbyterian Parliament roused the resentment of the army, which had fallen into the hands of the sect of Independents that had grown rapidly in the course of the conflict. By order of the army leaders Parliament had been purged of the offending Presbyterians. Now the remnant or Rump composed of the more advanced Independents, despairing of accommodation with a monarch they had long ceased to trust and whom they felt it was impossible to bind by constitutional guarantees, established a High Court of Justice, by which the king was tried and convicted of high treason to the nation. The continent had scarcely received the news of the signing of the great peace, its signers had scarcely reported to their governments the results of their deliberations, when all Europe was shocked by the execution of the English king.

England

Jan. 30
1649

It was an event in European history of no less significance than the peace itself. In many respects it was of even more profound and far-reaching importance. Whatever the ulti-

The execu-
tion of
Charles I

mate merits of the case and its more technical illegalities, the fact remained that, in the face of the doctrine that monarchs ruled by divine right and were responsible to God alone, a popular party in the English state had raised an army, conquered its numerous enemies by virtue of its courage, discipline, and its leader's unrivaled military skill; overthrown the royal power; and, for the first time in European history, brought an anointed king to the executioner's block as if he were a common mortal. It was a portent whose significance was not lost upon the world at large. Whatever crimes were committed in the name of liberty, whatever reaction even then prepared against popular government on the continent, no single circumstance for generations so profoundly evidenced the wakening of new forces in political affairs as this. As the figure of the English revolutionary leader, Oliver Cromwell, rose from the welter of civil war to European view, it was apparent that there was a new force in the world to be reckoned with thenceforth in the calculations of those individuals and classes in whose hands political power had rested for centuries. For the headsman's ax became the entering wedge of democracy.

In the confused decade which followed the Peace of Westphalia the fortunes of Europe and her oversea possessions took color from the great events which had accompanied the conclusion of the great religious war. The generation of rulers chiefly concerned in that conflict had already passed. Denmark and Poland, Russia and England were not alone in feeling new hands upon the reins of government. The brief eventful rule of William II over the Netherlands had witnessed his attempt to centralize the power of the state in his own person, and put an end to the disunion which threatened the state. His untimely death demolished his projects and Holland became, in fact and name, the Republic of the United Netherlands. The long and important reign of the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, was already shaping those astute and far-sighted policies which were to lay the foundations of the kingdom of Prussia. The boy, Louis XIV, under the tutelage of his mother, Anne

1647-50

1640-88

1643-

of Austria, and Mazarin, was busy learning those lessons of governance which were to bear such fruit of war and diplomacy in the next generation. And two years after the peace there was born one who was to be his great antagonist, William of Orange. In his hands were to be gathered up so many of the threads then being spun. By him the triumph of the house of Nassau over its republican rivals was finally to be achieved, the overweening power of France checked, and the success of parliamentary government in England secured. 1650

Yet for the moment, save for the re-entry of England into continental affairs as Cromwell rose to supreme authority, there was little in the events of the dozen years which intervened between the peace and the almost simultaneous accession of Louis XIV to the French throne and the summons which brought his cousin Charles II back to England, that did not grow from the ancient rivalries. Into the confused struggle among the northern powers the slow, sure ambitions of the Great Elector insinuated the potent factor of Brandenburg's increasing influence. But Sweden remained none the less the dominant factor in that quarter of the European world. Six years after the peace the brilliant, erratic Christina surrendered the throne to her cousin, Charles X, who, denied the recognition of his title by his relative, John Casimir, followed the example of his uncle, Gustavus, invaded the continent, fell upon Poland, and precipitated the so-called Northern War. The North and East

Against him the Baltic powers combined with the Emperor to break the Swedish ascendancy once and for all. Through six years the brilliant generalship and fighting qualities of the Swedes maintained the unequal conflict, not without success, until the king's untimely death compelled them to the Peace of Oliva and Kardis. From that peace, thanks to his well-timed changes of front, the shrewd Elector of Brandenburg emerged the chief gainer, as the recognition of his sovereignty of the Duchy of Prussia by all the contending powers brought the house of Hohenzollern a long step nearer its ultimate goal. This, with the surrender of the southern The Peace of Oliva and Kardis 1660-1

Peace of
Copen-
hagen
1660

part of the Scandinavian peninsula by Denmark to Sweden, remained the tangible results of the fierce conflict, which left the question of Baltic supremacy still far from its final settlement, while it added new and powerful factors to the problem of the mastery of the north.

The
Franco-
Spanish
war

1658

The Peace
of the
Pyrenees
1659

Meanwhile the other side of the continent was no less disturbed by the continuation of the Franco-Spanish war which had survived the general pacification of Münster and Osnabrück. The five-year fantasy of the Fronde was concluded by the triumph of Mazarin and the Queen Regent. Despite the enlistment of the great Condé in Spanish service, the support of the Huguenots, and the assistance of Cromwell, France slowly gained ground. Following the decisive victory of the Battle of the Dunes, and the consequent advance of French forces on Brussels which threatened to give the Netherlands into their hands, Spain was deprived of the aid of the new Emperor, Leopold I. The adroit diplomacy of Mazarin made an ally of Cromwell, and forced her to the unfavorable Peace of the Pyrenees. By this treaty,—which, as the pendant to that of Westphalia, supplemented and concluded the settlement of western Europe for the time,—the French borders were rounded out by parts of Flanders, Hainault, and Luxembourg on the north and east, and secured by the dismantling of the fortresses of Lorraine and the acquisition of Roussillon. Alsace, abandoned by Spain, was left defenseless to French ambitions, and Portugal in turn was abandoned by France to the vengeance of the Spaniards. With these adjustments and the marriage of Louis XIV to the daughter of Philip IV of Spain, prophetic of future conflict, the affairs of the west reached a momentary equilibrium at almost the same moment that the balance of power was adjusted in the north and east. And, as a symbol of the altering times, Mazarin was replaced as head of French affairs by the young prince who as Louis XIV was to dominate the politics and the imagination of western Europe for the next half century.

1661

The
Puritans

The success of France and the discomfiture of Spain had not been wholly due either to the diplomacy of Mazarin or

to the total incapacity of his Spanish antagonists. The final decisive Battle of the Dunes had brought into high relief another and determining element in the affairs of Europe, and one that had been scarcely felt for two generations. When at the crisis of the battle the French commander launched the corps of heavy English cavalry, the so-called Ironsides lent his master by Cromwell, the thunder of their triumphant charge and no less the swelling chorus of the psalm which prefaced their attack, gave evidence of a new and strange element in the world of war and politics. Last heirs of the long enmity which since the accession of Elizabeth a hundred years before had thrown a great section of the English people into irreconcilable opposition to the champion of the Inquisition, the Puritans, now the controlling factor in English affairs, struck the last blow against the old supremacy of Spain as their Elizabethan progenitors had been the first to challenge it.

They were fit representatives of the power which had loaned them to France. In the ten years which followed the Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I, England had undergone a transformation in her fortunes and her policy beside which the other changes in European affairs seem almost insignificant. The final overthrow of the royalists and the purging of the Parliament had left the supreme authority virtually in the hands of the remodeled army whose leaders, for the most part, belonged to that sect of Independents which a decade of civil war had welded into a party. By long and victorious conflict, first with the royalists, then with the Presbyterians, there had been formed, under this Independent leadership, that political group commonly known as the Puritans. This had attracted to itself a various following by its unswerving policy of religious tolerance. It included beside the Independents the extremer elements of Protestantism, the Baptists, the millenarians or so-called Fifth Monarchists, and the newly formed sect of Quakers, combined with political enthusiasts, republicans, socialistic groups like the Diggers and the Levellers. This host of devoted enemies to the older forms of religion, politics,

Their rise
and mem-
bership

and society, now prepared to attempt the construction of a new earth if not a new heaven. They were inspired by the prophecies and revelations of the Bible, whose phraseology they imitated, whose more obscure and mystical passages they inclined to translate into a guide for their own actions. Filled with a fiery fanaticism, a courage, and a calculating idealism which brooked no opposition, they had gone forth like crusaders of a new faith and practice, conquering and to conquer. It was in vain that every force of the old order, royalist and Anglican, Catholic and presently Presbyterian, the strength of Scotland, Ireland, and the sympathetic powers of the continent combined against them. Their advent, and still more their success in maintaining the position which they won and kept by the sword, became a portent of the profoundest significance in European development, a challenge which could not be ignored. For they personified militant and triumphant individualism in the two great fields of religion and politics.

Their
position

It was but natural that the party which shocked every sentiment of loyalty to an established order and made compromise impossible by the execution of a king should find itself, at home, abroad, and in most of its colonies, confronted by a world of enemies. None the less it held its course, undaunted by what might have seemed to less determined or less devoted men a desperate situation. Protected from foreign interference no less by the possession of a reorganized and efficient navy than by the distracted state of the continent which left its sovereigns small inclination or opportunity for intervention, the new masters of England turned first to secure their power in the British Isles. To this task the Puritan army and its leader were more than equal. Six months after the execution of the king, Cromwell was on his way to Ireland, commissioned to put down royalist and Catholic rebellion against the usurped authority of the Parliament. Two months of vigorous effort gave into his hands the strongholds of the eastern coast, Drogheda and Wexford. Their defenders were put to the sword after the manner of the Old Testament, as a terrible warning to their fellows in arms.

Ireland
1649

Thereafter, every trace of Irish offensive strength was crushed, every spark of opposition was extinguished in blood, as the resistless army of the Commonwealth pursued its course of subjugation, till the unfortunate island and so many of its inhabitants as escaped the sword lay prostrate before its first real conquerors.

Scotland meanwhile endured a not dissimilar but far less terrible fate. For its conquest the genius of Cromwell was again invoked by Parliament, and a twelvemonth after his victories in Ireland, the Covenanting army was routed at Dunbar. The young prince Charles, who had been crowned King of Scotland at Scone, followed by a royalist force, made one last desperate attempt to invade England, only to be crushed at Worcester. With these "crowning mercies," the fate of kingship in England was, for the moment, sealed; and Parliament addressed itself to organizing its newly-won power and to the question of foreign affairs.

For the first time in history Ireland and Scotland had been effectively subdued and united to England almost if not quite as closely as Wales had been four centuries earlier. It remained to secure the conquest. Scotland, whose people were for the most part Protestant, and whose resistance had scarcely progressed beyond the campaigns which ended in Dunbar and Worcester, found itself, save for the presence of an English army of occupation, little changed in its relation to the English government. But the case of Ireland was far different and far worse. Her people were almost wholly Catholic; their resistance had been of the most stubborn and desperate character, fighting as they were not only for their political principles but for their faith, their homes, and their very existence. These it was determined to render not merely harmless but homeless and to secure English supremacy forever over the sister island by every means short of extermination. To that end, in three of the four great provinces of which Ireland was composed, Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, the land of the Irish was confiscated and allotted to adventurers who had advanced the money for the war, to officers and soldiers who had conquered it, and to supporters of the

Scotland

1650

1651

Their
reorgan-
ization

Puritan régime generally. To the English and Scotch contingents which had found a foothold in the island in the preceding two generations there was thus added a new and powerful English element, which, in so far as possible, strove to make Ireland, in fact as name, a dependency of England on the same lines and by means not unlike those which were meanwhile being used in the colonization of North America.

Holland

Scarcely was the process of transplanting the Irish from their inheritance to the wilder western lands of Connaught begun, scarcely had the new landlord conquerors entered on their rich possessions, when the Parliament which had decreed the colonization of the new dependency was called on to face another and more powerful enemy. Whatever else the Puritan triumph implied, it had invoked the rising influence of the mercantile element. Whatever else the Commonwealth typified, it stood for the assertion of English commercial rights; and now that this great interest had control of affairs, a leader, and the strength to assert itself, it was not slow to settle old scores of economic rivalry.

Chief of their grievances were those against the Dutch. Amid the ruins of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly, and the confusion and weakness which had rendered the English government all but impotent in foreign affairs for half a century, the commercial power of the Netherlands had become well-nigh supreme in every activity which was related to the sea. The Dutch ship-building interest centering in Zaandam and its neighbors had made them the chief ship-yards of the world. Amsterdam had succeeded Antwerp as the commercial and financial metropolis of those great concerns which were related to sea-going ventures and which were the chief source of wealth in Europe of that day. In the whale-fisheries of the Arctic, the cod-fishing grounds of Newfoundland, the herring-fisheries of the North Sea coasts, the Dutch had largely supplanted their rivals. Their traders had gradually absorbed the traffic of the Baltic and the north. Their adroit diplomacy had well-nigh driven the long-standing English commerce from Muscovy. It had persuaded Denmark, which held both shores of the Skagerak and the Kattegat guarding

the way into the Baltic, to relieve Dutch shipping from the so-called Sound Dues imposed on all vessels entering those waters. The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco gave Holland access to the riches of American forest and plantation. Their privateers rivaled the exploits of the Elizabethan heroes; their companies overshadowed those of their competitors in every quarter of the world. And as they had wrested Brazil from the Portuguese, so they had driven them and the English after them from any profitable share in the commerce of the East. In the Levant as in Persia, in Africa as in China and Japan, their commerce was all but supreme. Their home industries, reinforced by thousands of immigrants who brought them the arts and crafts of Europe in return for religious tolerance, made them formidable rivals in the manufacturing field. Finally their wealth, to which the whole world contributed, enabled them, through their control of ready capital, to undertake ventures difficult or impossible to their competitors. In brief, wherever Englishmen turned to exploit the resources of their own or any other country they found themselves anticipated by the Dutch.

England had not followed a course in the preceding two generations which enabled her to overcome this lead her rivals had attained. Though naturally the stronger power, she had been hampered by weak rulers, a feeble policy, and long-continued internal strife, and had thus struggled on with but indifferent success. It was not surprising that the Commonwealth found its chief support against the royal authority in that class which, apart from religious considerations, had been long antagonized by the opposition or the indifference of the crown to its interests. It is less surprising still that, now its opportunity had come, this class urged on its government to strike for England's share in the world's commerce.

The first blow was directed against the carrying monopoly. Coincident with the triumph over the Scots was passed the so-called Navigation Act, confining English trade to English ships. It was the first move which led to a great economic

England

The
Navigation
Act
1651

struggle, soon deepening to armed conflict, for it was evident that the Netherlands would not tamely submit to the curtailment of their hard-won commercial supremacy. Proud of their newly achieved independence, unwilling to submit to English rivalry, they were further irritated by the demand that they should expel the fugitive royalists, proscribe the house of Orange, and unite with England in a single Calvinistic state. Scarcely, therefore, had each side overthrown its dynasty, scarcely had DeWitt and Cromwell found themselves at the head of their respective commonwealths, when those commonwealths plunged into war.

1652

The
Anglo-
Dutch
War
1652-4

In this, the first of those colonial-commercial conflicts which, following a hundred years of religio-political strife, disturbed the peace of Europe and the world for a century and a half, the Dutch, despite their great resources and their recent triumphs, were ill-prepared to compete with antagonists emerging from civil war with trained forces, skilled commanders, and the impetus of success. The conflict, as became the character of the peoples concerned, was fierce and stubborn. Transferring their land generals to the sea, the Puritans slowly made head upon that element, till beside the names of Ruyter and van Tromp were set those of Blake and Monk on the naval roll of fame. The final advantage, indeed, lay with the English. But though the peace which gave them Pularoon, with damages for Amboyna, and mutually excluded the houses of Stuart and Orange from their thrones, was on the whole favorable to their contentions, it was far from satisfying their ambitions and it was evident that it marked rather a truce than the permanent cessation of hostility.

1654

The Pro-
tectorate
1653-9

But in the very crisis of the Dutch war the chief problem which confronted the Puritan party, once their position was assured, pressed for solution. This was the form of government which should take the place of the monarchy they had overthrown. Even in the face of foreign conflict the rivalry of the Parliament and the army which had succeeded the antagonism of Independent and Presbyterian was not stilled; and, amid the chaos of contending theories and rival schools

of political thought, it seemed for a time that the Puritans were likely to lose by their tongues what they had gained by their swords. At the height of the Dutch war, just as the Fronde came to an end and released French strength for other enterprises, the issue between the officers and the feeble but persistent remnant of the Rump became acute. Unable to unloose the Gordian knot by the ordinary methods of politics, the commander of the army cut it sheer through. His soldiers turned out the Parliament, he dissolved the Council of State, established a new council, and summoned a new Parliament. The *coup d'état* left him and his officers virtually supreme. Disguised under a multitude of forms, thenceforth the English government depended on the political and military skill of the man whom circumstances and his own pre-eminent ability had brought to the first place in the revolutionary party,—the Huntingdonshire gentleman, Oliver Cromwell. His ability had chiefly directed the organization of the army upon which the ultimate success of his party depended. His generalship had largely determined the result of the decisive victories of Marston Moor and Naseby over the royalists and had conquered the Irish and the Scotch; while his firmness, character, and insight marked him inevitably for the first place in the state. 1653

To him the new Parliament resigned its powers, and when in December, 1653, he took office as Lord Protector under the Instrument of Government, first of English, and, indeed, of European written constitutions, he became the leading figure in the European world. At home his government remained, as it had begun, with all the limitations imposed by public sentiment and formal documents, with all his own personal inclination to the contrary, little more than a revolutionary power dependent on his own unrivaled political sagacity and his generalship. The situation of the country, and the opposition to his rule, indeed, led to more drastic measures. The land was divided into ten districts each supervised by a major-general; and what was nominally a parliamentary government became to all intents and purposes a military dictatorship. It was, at best, not merely the government of

a minority, as its predecessors had been, but of a minority which hitherto had been largely excluded from political life. The result was as remarkable as it was unexpected. Among its fanatical religious elements, the ability of its leader preserved tolerance of all thought which did not concern itself too closely with politics. The Anglican establishment was suppressed, with the extremists of the other end of the religious scale, in the interests of civil peace; and, for the first time Europe beheld the spectacle of the virtual separation of church and state.

Cromwell

Extraordinary as was the position of England's domestic concerns, the change that came over her foreign situation was more remarkable and far more disturbing. For under Cromwell she attained, almost at once, a place she had not held certainly since the days of Elizabeth, scarcely since the time of Henry V. That a private gentleman should succeed to the place and more than the power of the Stuart kings was to seventeenth century minds little less than a miracle. That such a man, after half a lifetime of the pursuits of peace, should develop qualities of military leadership which put him in the front rank of the great captains of the world seemed even more incredible. But that when, brought to the head of the state by such means, he should discover a genius for statesmanship which restored England to a leading place in European politics, passed even the bounds of the miraculous; appearing to his supporters a direct evidence of the interposition of divine providence, and to his enemies arguing no less a compact with the powers of evil.

The
Puritan
policy

Yet with all this, Cromwell was but little versed in the real political and diplomatic forces then at work in the European world. His policy was in most respects the mere injection of Puritan ideas and ideals into a larger and an alien field. To him and to his party generally, Spain was what she had been to the England of Elizabeth, the chief champion of Catholicism against the reformed communions. With all his great ability, with all the force at his command, he pushed forward a combination of the outworn religious polity of the sixteenth century and an economic policy

directed against Holland. In this he but represented the element to which he belonged. The Puritans were the heirs of the Reformation, the representatives of the last phase of that great revolt against the Vatican. To them the antagonisms of the preceding century were still a living issue; to them the Spanish power was still what it had been. Like a second Gustavus, Cromwell stood forth to champion his oppressed brethren of the continent, like a second Elizabeth he struck at the Spanish Main. His wider dreams of a great Protestant federation, like his negotiations with the insurgent Condé and his encouragement of the restless Rochellois, were not destined to bear fruit, nor were his plans to transplant the seed of New England Puritanism to the West Indies more fortunate. Of all the European powers, though the folly of the Fronde and the diplomacy of Mazarin concealed it from him, England and Protestantism had most to fear from France, and among the triumphs of the Cardinal-minister one of the greatest must be reckoned his enlistment of the Puritans against the Spaniards. 1650-4

The relations of the Puritan régime with France were supplemented by its attitude toward Spain. Under the influence of a great tradition and an inspired diplomacy it struck the final blow against an outworn power. Following the example of a past generation no less than the demands of his own time the Protector despatched a fleet against the West Indies. This expedition under Venables and Penn added Jamaica to England's Caribbean possessions, and strengthened her claims on the Bahamas, which a later generation was to make good. The exploits of Blake echoed the triumphs of the Elizabethan sea-kings, and the capture of the Spanish treasure-ships off Cadiz in the third year of the Protectorate seemed almost to bring again to England the glory of Drake. And when, finally, Cromwell's protection, backed by the threat of the most dreaded army and fleet in Europe, was thrown over the Vaudois Protestants then being persecuted by their Catholic masters, not only the petty states of Italy but France herself heeded his admonition. 1655

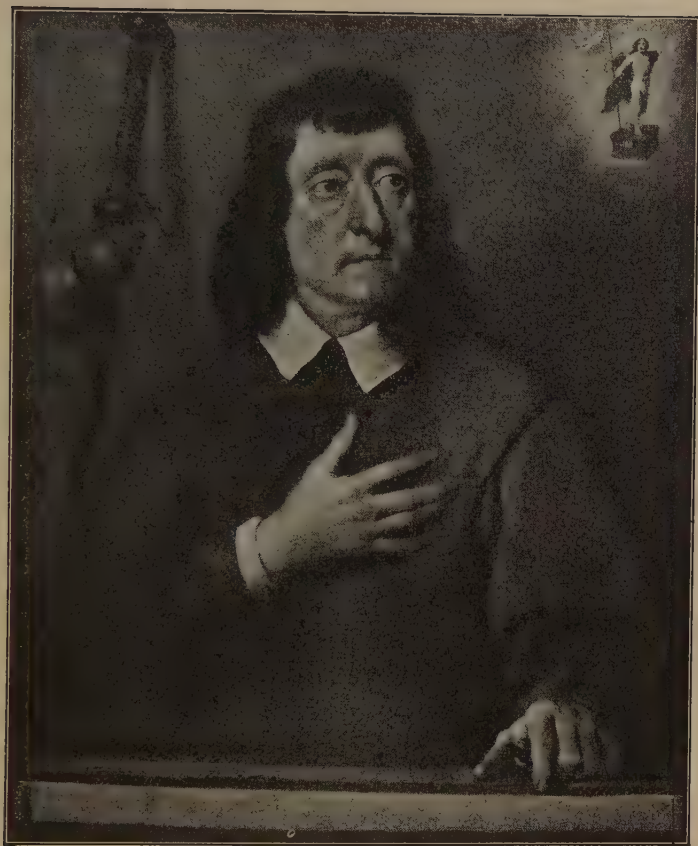
Yet if the Puritan régime looked backward to a past polity

it looked forward to a future economy. With all their religious fervor, with a theology as old as Augustine, a close adherence to Old Testament inspiration, and a belief in the intimate presence of a Deity vitally concerned with their doings in the most minute particular, the Puritans were true sons of Calvin in their devotion to commerce and finance. In their hands began the final emergence of the mercantile element in English politics. However much they stood for an extreme, militant, and triumphant Protestantism in their dealings with Spain, they represented no less the determination to make England supreme in sea-power and trade even against communions of their own kind. In that ambition they passed the Navigation Act. In that spirit they fought Holland and secured indemnity for Amboyna with a share of eastern trade. In that spirit they cemented England's long-standing political relations with Portugal by a great commercial treaty and launched Blake to spread the terror of the English flag among the pirates of northern Africa, to enforce respect for it and for their power throughout the Mediterranean states. In that spirit they made treaties with the Protestant states of Sweden and Denmark and gained freedom from the vexatious Sound Dues. In that spirit they placed commerce for the first time in the front rank of foreign politics, and set England in the path that led to colonial and commercial pre-eminence.

1655

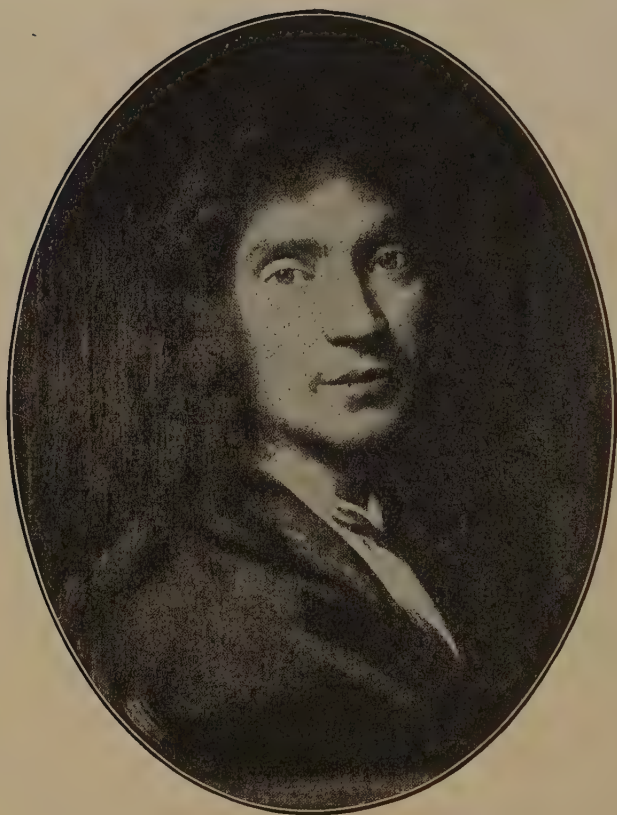
The
Puritan
contribu-
tion to
liberty

Such were the circumstances which made England the real center of European interest in the decade following the Peace of Westphalia. But it was not alone because the Puritans injected the spirit of a militant Protestantism into a continent whose interest in religious conflict was all but spent. Nor was it in their emphatic challenge of the mastery of the sea, though this brought them in touch with almost every phase of European activity, that there lay the ultimate importance of their advent on the European stage. Whatever their early Christian theology, their fantastic reversion to primitive church forms and phraseology, they did much to loosen the fetters of thought and speech by which men had been bound to the established order in church and state. "No man who



JOHN MILTON.

From the painting by P. Van der Plaas.



MOLIÈRE.

From a portrait by Pierre Mignard.

knows aught," wrote Milton, "can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free . . . and were, by privilege, born to command, and not to obey." And again, in his apostrophe to Cromwell, "In human society there is nothing more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, nothing fairer and more useful to the State than that the worthiest should bear rule."

There spoke the prophet of democracy. But even his splendid theory was not the sum of Puritan contribution to European progress. His fellows, as he said, were "men prepared not only to debate but to fight," and capable of enforcing their contention "that kings of England may be judged even by the laws of England." However the doctrines now openly advanced touched the thought of educated men, the Puritans rendered an even greater service to the cause of political liberty by their acts than by their controversial activities. They brought the issue down from the heights of theory to the dusty, blood-stained arena of practical affairs. By one fierce stroke they made manifest that kings may be held responsible to their subjects, whatever their relations to divinity. Far more significant than the blind struggle for supremacy among the northern powers, the long-drawn conflict between Spain and France, or even their own achievements by land and sea, this challenge of constituted authority was the chief contribution of the dozen years which followed the conclusion of the last great religious war. For with it Europe embarked on another stage of her long pilgrimage toward popular government.

That impetus was soon spent. On the 3rd of September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died; and the fabric of government which rested on his wit and sword began to disintegrate almost at once in the hands of his successors. The Council of Officers, the Parliament, and Cromwell's son, Richard, who followed him as Protector, found no support in the country, and promptly fell out among themselves. England was weary of Puritanism and its too great restrictions. Probably a considerable majority of Englishmen had never been in sympathy with the Cromwellian rule even at the height

The Res-
toration

of its triumphs; and with all its success abroad it had failed to produce any constructive work at home. The time was not ripe for true self-government, much less for the forms in which it presented itself at this moment. Royalist plots began to make themselves felt; the remnant of the Parliament and the army leaders came into sharp opposition; and a great majority of the English people began to look toward the restoration of the exiled heir to the throne as the chief of blessings which could befall them. The Puritan régime had exhausted its mandate. And when the commander of the Scotch forces, General Monk, made his way to London, declared for a free Parliament, and entered into negotiations with the exiled prince, the end was not long delayed. The navy went over to the royalists, and Charles was invited to return. That invitation he accepted with alacrity, and with his coming England entered upon another and a very different era of her history.

1659-60

The
changes
on the
continent
1659

Moreover, concurrently with events in England, the whole face of political affairs upon the continent was changed. The Peace of the Pyrenees ended the long Franco-Spanish rivalry, with France in possession of half a score of border towns and districts which further strengthened her frontiers, while the French heir became the husband of the Spanish Infanta. Scarcely was this accomplished when the treaties of Oliva, Copenhagen, and Kardis brought to an end the northern war which had filled the years of the Cromwellian rule in England. By them Sweden finally secured the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula, and remained the dominant power in the Baltic lands. The Polish Vasas gave up their claims to the Swedish throne; and Swedes and Poles alike renounced their suzerainty over Prussia, which thus came unencumbered into the hands of Brandenburg.

1660

1658

Meanwhile there came an extraordinary change in the rulers of the continent. A new Emperor, Leopold I, took up the long burden of his rule; the Ottoman Turks began to rouse themselves under the inspiration of a great Albanian family, the Kiuprilis, who, as grand viziers, again threatened Europe with something of the terror it had felt in the days of

Suleiman the Magnificent. After a chaos of personal and political rivalry among the leaders of the English Commonwealth, their power was overwhelmed by the wave of royalism which brought Charles II to his fathers' throne. A twelve-month later Mazarin was dead, and the young prince, Louis XIV, declared his majority and became king of France. With this the Age of Cromwell came to an end, and a new act of European history took its place upon the stage, prepared to develop in other hands and with far different motives another element in political affairs.

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THERE are few periods of European history which can be compared with the mid-decades of the seventeenth century for dramatic events in the world of politics. The attempt of the Cossack Khmelnitzki to establish a new state in eastern Europe; the effort of the Amalfi fishermen, Masaniello, to seize the ruling power in Naples; and the rise of the English country gentleman, Cromwell, to the headship of affairs in the British Isles and a commanding place in European politics, would alone make these years memorable. But beside these extraordinary events, the mad fantasy of the Fronde in France, and the tragic failure of William II to secure the power of the house of Orange in the Netherlands, with the consequent rise of a republic there under the guidance of another great exponent of the popular principle, John de Witt,—these circumstances combine to form an unparalleled chapter in Europe's history. Never in her whole career had she seen at one time so many and such diverse attempts to change the forms of government. Nor was the least significant feature of the situation the fact that most of these activities were connected with the progress of the middle and even the lower classes into a place in public affairs. Thenceforth the so-called bourgeois or middle class, which had long been dominant in the private concerns of commerce and finance, took an increasing part in those affairs of state, long monopolized by the aristocratic element.

Yet neither the conflicts within their own borders, nor the tumults which accompanied or resulted from them, nor the struggles between opposing principles and interests within their various states, exhausted the energies of Europeans in

this eventful period. Still less were they limited by the concerns of the spirit which had played so great a part in the preceding century. In two directions outside the immediate field of politics and religion, the mid-seventeenth century was an era of great significance. The one was Europe oversea, the other was the domain of intellect.

Of these the first was more spectacular if not of more immediate importance. It was but natural that the turmoil within Europe should send its ripples to the farthest edge of her possessions, even where these were not directly touched by events at home. It was no less natural that such great movements should stir the depths of thought. Above all was it inevitable that a crisis in English affairs, like that produced by the civil wars, should have an effect upon the societies which she had founded in America, in large measure from those same elements which furthered the revolt at home. Nor was it possible that the struggle between England and her continental antagonists should not be reflected throughout the extra-European world; or that the question of the mastery of the sea should not involve in some degree even those powers little moved by conflicts over European borders or discussions over popular rights.

Europe
oversea
1642-60

Nowhere was the impulse of European unrest during the Age of Cromwell felt more keenly than in North America. There New England had rejoiced in the triumph of her brethren at home, to whose aid many of her strongest spirits had hurried at the outbreak of war. There, on the other hand, the more royalist Virginians had been compelled only by force to submit to the authority of the Cromwellian régime; while the belligerent Barbados planters, proclaiming Charles II, had carried their principles so far that only the bombardment of their capital reduced them to submission. This accomplished, and Jamaica secured by Venables and Penn, the chief interest in that quarter of the world remained the steady progress of population, and the increasing if unsystematic efforts of the English to secure strategic points by conquest and colonization. These movements were strengthened by the course of events at home. As in the preceding decades the

North
America

1655

- northern colonies had been reinforced by the Great Emigration of the Puritans, so now the southern colonies received recruits from the ranks of royalists fleeing from the Puritan ascendancy. The effect was quickly apparent. Far to the southward of the parent colony, the Virginians began the settlement of the Albemarle region, known to later generations as the Carolinas. With it began another chapter in the slow and steady advance of the English occupation of the continent,—the first substantial result of Puritan domination as it related itself to the colonial world.
- 1654** **Holland** For England found rivals in her expansion during this period, and her activities were not the only factor in the affairs of the New World. Flushed with the triumph which set the seal of recognition on the achievement of Dutch independence, the men of New Amsterdam had been quick to signalize their country's triumph by an attack upon the neighboring Swedish settlements; and with the easy conquest and ultimate transfer of New Sweden to their hands, came the beginning of the end of Sweden as a colonizing power. At the same time Dutch enterprise was active in a different field. From their traders along the Hudson, the Iroquois had been supplied with arms and ammunition, and, for the first time, those fierce and warlike tribes were enabled to meet their old enemies, the French, on somewhat equal terms. To savage foe and civilized settler they now became equally terrible.
- 1655** **And New France** The ensuing conflict along the loose frontiers, within which they claimed an absolute sovereignty, threatened not merely the extinction of their native enemies and the closing of all ways to the west, but the destruction of New France, which saw its darkest hour since its defeat by the English a generation earlier. Not until that long and bloody conflict was ended did trade return to Montreal and Quebec and then only on savage sufferance. In this fashion were made manifest the earliest results of the revival of Dutch enterprise in the west.
- 1656-8** **The Exploration of the Northwest** Yet at that very moment, in spite of this reverse, there was being prepared a fresh advance of French power which was destined to be of even greater importance in the Euro-
- 1659**



HENNEPIN'S MAP OF NORTH AMERICA. Compare with the Joliet map, p. 78.

pean occupation of North America. The year after Cromwell died, two bold adventurers, Radisson and Groseillers, making their hazardous way as far as Lake Superior, pushed forward from there on a journey which took them south and west, possibly as far as the Mississippi. Thence west and north they found their way to the vast plains inhabited by a tribe till then unknown to Europeans—the Sioux. From this great exploit they finally returned with rich supply of skins and the first definite information of the interior of the continent beyond the great lakes. In the same year that their adventure began, another event of scarcely less importance to the French province helped to determine its fortunes; for there arrived at Quebec one Francis Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, first vicar-apostolic of New France. The advent of an ecclesiastic of such rank evidenced the growing importance of the French colony, while his spirit, ability, and character, no less than the strength of the great order whose representative he was, gave additional impetus to that opening of the west which was to bring a formidable rival to Spain into the more distant regions of North America.

Meanwhile, the southern continent shared, with the opening up of the interior of North America, the colonial activities of the European powers. But it was no longer the problem of conquering native peoples and the exploitation of vast areas and rich mines which absorbed the colonist's energies. First in importance among mid-seventeenth century events in the extra-European world was the struggle for the possession of the north and west of South America between the Spanish and Portuguese, the English and the Dutch—each straining its resources, the one to maintain its old supremacy, the other to gain a foothold in the heart of the great planting district of the colonial world. Already England had secured her power in Barbados and strengthened her hold upon the Caribbean by the possession of Jamaica. Already the expanding energies of the Barbadian planters looked toward the mainland, on the north to where the Virginians were beginning to occupy the Albemarle district, and on the south toward that portion of Surinam better known as the Guianas.

South
America

1652

There they had founded some settlements; and there, reinforced by Jews driven from Brazil in the conflict between the Portuguese and the Dutch, they laid the foundations of British Guiana.

Brazil

The struggle from which the Brazilian refugees fled was already virtually at an end. The battle of Guararapes, which had virtually decided Dutch fortunes in South America, left Holland in possession only of the districts about the ports and against these the Portuguese were now directing their efforts. Though the precarious situation of their government at home, and the reluctance of their king, John IV, lent little aid to the Brazilians, the unintentional succor which England gave them by her war with Holland served them well; and among the results of that war perhaps the most permanently important was the indirect effect it produced on the fortunes of South America. For the Dutch forces, reduced to meet contingencies elsewhere, were ill-equipped to withstand the Brazilians under João Fernandez Vieyra. The investment of Recife broke their hold. The arrival of the annual Bahia fleet, which he was able to enlist in his cause, proved the determining factor in their overthrow, which came with the fall of Pernambuco. Cut off from hope of aid from home, outnumbered if not outfought, the Dutch were unable to endure the Brazilian bombardment and attack. The place was surrendered. Its defenders were given passage home in return for yielding all their posts. Dutch residents were granted time to settle their affairs; and, with the treaty of Pernambuco, which followed close on the peace between England and Holland, Dutch dominion came to an end in Brazil.

1654

South
Africa

Such was the first of the important consequences of the new and far-reaching rivalry of the northern Protestant seapowers in the extra-European world; and had this been the only feature of Dutch colonial history during these years, the Netherlands might well have reckoned their short-lived colonial ascendancy at an end. But, great as was the loss which they sustained, the history of Dutch dominion beyond the sea in this period was not that of entire failure, much less collapse, for at the same moment that Holland lost her

sovereignty in Brazil she gained compensation from Portugal elsewhere. A decade earlier she had occupied the island of St. Helena, and made that, with Table Bay—which the decline of Portuguese commerce left virtually abandoned—her ports of call on the way to the East. In the year that the Peace of Westphalia was signed, an accident led to great, and, as it proved, permanent results in that quarter of the world. 1645

A Dutch crew, escaped from shipwreck, made land at the present site of Cape Town. Compelled to support themselves, they sowed and reaped grain, obtained meat from friendly natives, and, on their rescue and return to Holland, demonstrated the habitability of the place even to the satisfaction of the slow-moving directors of the East India Company. An agent, van Riebeck, was despatched with three ships to establish a station; and with his advent, a century and a half after da Gama had rounded the Cape on his first voyage to India, there were laid the foundations of permanent Dutch occupation. The few and feeble natives, Bushmen and Hottentots, offered no obstacle to expansion, and, assured of better communication with Europe than perhaps any other European colony of the time, and a steady if slender livelihood from farming and grazing, supplying of vessels with fresh food, and a little trade, the new community grew in numbers and resources. Its population increased by a slow stream of immigrants, and its position thus secured, it was enabled to push into the interior. In such fashion South Africa was gradually brought within the broadening circle of European influence. Its far-stretching veldt became the birthplace of a new nation, and this remains one of the principal events which mark the era of the Puritan revolution. 1651-2

With it the Dutch buttressed their hold upon the East, where their ceaseless and ruthless aggression had destroyed the power of Portugal. The loss of the seaways, the transformation of a great part of her colonial population into Eurasians by native intermarriage, the exhaustion and corruption of her administration, which the subjection to Spain had served to intensify, no less than the triumph of Holland, to which it had contributed, made the Portuguese thenceforth Portugal

an all but negligible factor in the East. They still retained, indeed, some factories and ports, of which Goa, Bombay, and Macao were the chief. But the pacification of Westphalia scarcely reached to those distant regions, and the Dutch wrested post after post from their defenseless rivals, along the Malabar coast, till they crowned their triumphs by the occupation of Ceylon. Meanwhile, the suppression of a rising in Formosa against their harsh and arbitrary rule, like the Amboyna incident in the preceding period, and others of like sort in later years, showed that some Dutch agents at least had inherited not only the possessions but something of the methods of the former masters of the eastern trade.

Only from one quarter had they reason to fear serious rivalry; and it might well have seemed to them that the twenty years of civil disturbance which England had endured, together with the discords among the English commercial interests themselves, would have so crippled the English East India Company that all danger from that quarter was virtually at an end. But the first acts of the Puritan régime had rudely awakened them from any dream which they may have entertained of an undisputed supremacy. For it was soon apparent that their dominance in the East, as in the other quarters of the world, was to be challenged in no uncertain terms by the power which still remembered Amboyna and the humiliations of the ensuing twenty years.

The Eng-
lish East
India
Company

The Navigation Act gave notice to the world that English commerce was thenceforth to be reckoned with as a factor in European politics. The first Dutch war confirmed that warning; and the revival of the English Company followed in due course. Re-chartered by Cromwell, reinforced by fresh acknowledgment of their right to trade throughout the East, which his government extorted from Portugal, and backed by the powerful mercantile interests identified with the Commonwealth, the authorities of the English East India Company took fresh heart. The close of the war had restored the island of Pularoon and with it their position in the spice trade. A factory was set up at Hooghli to take advantage of their old license to trade in Bengal; Madras

increased in wealth and prestige. They restricted their activities chiefly to the Indian peninsula, and, despite the troubled condition of affairs at home, the dread of Cromwell secured for them a period of quiet in which they were enabled to recruit their resources and their strength. Such were the chief results in commerce and colonies during the Age of Cromwell.

Yet in this crowded mid-decade of the seventeenth century, with its revolutions and wars, its profound changes in the attitude of men toward government and society, and its altering balance of colonial and commercial supremacy, men were not wholly absorbed in politics or trade. It was only natural that the steady progress of commerce and conquest beyond the sea should be accompanied by an enormous increase in the knowledge of geography. If the explorations of the preceding generation had shaken the long-lived belief in a transcontinental waterway across America to the Pacific, the missionaries and adventurers who now pushed the claims of France as far as Hudson's Bay and the regions beyond the Great Lakes were rewarded by more than converts and commerce. They revealed the fact that, whether or not it was possible to go by boat from ocean to ocean, the way was infinitely longer and the intervening land far more important than Europeans had hitherto dreamed.

Meanwhile European knowledge was enlarged in other quarters in this period. At the moment that the interior of North America was first opened to their enterprise, the Jesuit Lobo's account of Abyssinia was made public and gave to Europeans their earliest trustworthy information of that mysterious land whose existence had done so much to mislead the continent into great enterprise. For the time, indeed, there came a perceptible pause in that progress of maritime exploration which from Prince Henry's time to that of Tasman had discovered the chief seaways of the world between the continents. But the spirit of land adventure, under the stimulus of Lobo and Radisson, prepared for fresh advance.

Already that advance had begun, but in a far different quarter of the world. Information concerning Persia had

Discovery

1660

Russia
in Asia
1658

1648-

long since been acquired by the traveler, Jenkinson, and those who followed him to the nearer East. The volumes of the Italian traveler, della Valle, which now appeared, shed new light on that still powerful monarchy. But it was to the activities of the Muscovites that Europe owed its chief increase of knowledge and territories at this moment in Asia. From the Russian boundaries at Okhotsk a series of expeditions extended their operations to the Pacific and deep into the interior. In the year of the Peace of Westphalia, one set of adventurers rounded the eastern extremity of Asia and reached Kamchatka, thus completing the knowledge of the Siberian coast. At the same time another party pushed forward to the mid Amur, founding Kumarsk as the extreme outpost of Russian sovereignty. With this an expedition was despatched to occupy the new provinces; but, attacked by Chinese and Manchus, the more advanced position became untenable, and Nerchinsk remained the limit of Muscovite dominion in Siberia. Ambassadors were despatched to Peking to negotiate for some division of authority over these central Asian lands. And, at the same moment that England gathered her energies to invade the eastern field by way of the south and the sea, there began on the north that long conflict of arms and diplomacy which two centuries later was to become a principal issue of world politics, as the rival powers gradually made their way toward each other and became leading factors in Asiatic affairs.

1658

Intel-
lectual
progress
1642-60

However little the men of action were hampered in their efforts to extend European power in these mid-decades of the seventeenth century, it might seem that amid such manifold disturbances Europe would have had small leisure or even inclination for the arts of peace. Yet there is often curiously little relation between these two series of activities in any period, and this revolutionary era was not barren of achievements in the field of intellect. In some measure, indeed, the pursuit of letters and learning in England gave way to the more insistent demands of war and politics. The energies of the Dutch were diverted to the alterations in

their government, and the preservation of their commerce and their colonies; while the frivolous warfare of the Fronde, with the French struggle against Spain, and the general prostration of Germany, tended to weaken the pursuits which made for civilization. Yet, even amid such unexampled distractions, artistic and intellectual progress was not lacking, and, in certain directions, achieved new excellence and new forms.

The work of Rubens and Vandyke was done before the passing of the Cromwellian régime, but the genius of Rembrandt still remained to lead that group of painters which made the two branches of the Netherland school, the Flemish and the Dutch, for the moment supreme in the world of art. No phase of human activity so accurately portrays the human soul as painting, and none, in consequence, reveals the character of a period so clearly and so pitilessly. And at no time was this more apparent than in the years which lay between the end of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century. In a measure this is due to the changing character and circumstances of the artists themselves. The Renaissance had seen them associate on nearly equal terms with sovereigns and statesmen. The Counter-Reformation saw their status depressed till, like the dramatists, they were often little more than strolling adventurers, rather the descendants of Cellini than of Leonardo. This was especially true in Italy, where the life of the typical figure of the age, the "fantastic and bestial" Caravaggio, resembles that of Villon and Marlowe in its curious combination of genius and depravity.

Painting
1600-60

To this ensued the period of the great religious wars, and a new race of painters with a new age of art. With them landscape came into its own. The human body, especially the nude, which had so powerfully influenced the earlier schools, declined before the portrait, the genre, and the nature painters. For the first time the world as a whole was brought upon the canvas; for the first time men realized that beauty was to be found everywhere. For the first time, in consequence, painting lost the aristocratic tone which had marked

Changes in
style and
spirit

its earlier stages and became truly democratic. To the newer school a peasant was as fit a subject as an angel or a king; a farm-yard or an inn as full of artistic values as a palace. As a result, the field of art was enormously broadened and enriched, not only by the elevation of landscape but by the introduction of an infinite variety of classes and situations long excluded from the canvas. The aristocratic portrait school, indeed, survived. Rubens and Vandyke devoted their talents to that profitable pursuit; the genius of Velasquez immortalized the decay of the Spanish house of Hapsburg. But in art, as in other activities, it was evident that a new spirit had made its way into the European consciousness, and that spirit was peculiarly evident in those peoples and classes then coming into greater importance in the world of affairs.

Especially was this evident in the Netherlands. There the brushes of Cuypp, Teniers, van Ostade, Dou, and the greatest of them all save the master Rembrandt himself, Franz Hals, portrayed their country and their countrymen with unsurpassed fidelity and skill. The painters of peasants, burghers, and artisans, of homely scenes, the daily life of the middle and lower classes, the humbler surroundings of common existence, testified to the altering balance of affairs no less than to the revolution in artistic standards. Moreover, this was accompanied by a change in technique, which, for want of a better name, we call impressionism. To the men of the newer school it no longer seemed necessary or even desirable to portray in detail; it was often enough to suggest to the eye the line or color which it was supposed to see; and economy of effort often served a greater purpose and produced a more effective result than the minutest elaboration. Like nature itself they not merely regarded life as a whole, they achieved some of their greatest effects by elimination and suggestion.

This was not confined to the Netherlands. The genius of Velasquez, which immortalized and at the same time revealed the decadence of Spanish rulers and aristocracy, and damned a Pope to everlasting fame, found no less scope for its talents among the lower walks of life. While in the dark and earnest

features of Spain's burgher enemies, in the flat landscape of the Netherlands, and their homely life, his rivals found subjects even more interesting and far stronger than the features and dress of their aristocratic enemies, there was evident some touch of this spirit elsewhere. The triumphs of the French engravers who reached the climax of their art in this period were won, it is true, in their delineation of their noble patrons; in England artists like Hollar followed the fortunes of their employers even into war; while Vandyke and Rubens breathed the atmosphere of courts. Yet the greatest of miniaturists, Cooper, the master of medallists, Simon, found in the patronage of the English revolutionary leaders no less incentive to their skill; and even the courtliest of court painters was not uninfluenced by the technical if not the spiritual temper of the times.

For art, which in two centuries had come from its comparative absorption in saints and divinities to worldly subjects, had begun to find not only its inspiration but its rewards among the less aristocratic elements of society. Some brave spirits even began the practice of painting, not on commission, but for the market, and so relieved their talents of the incubus of patronage which had too often restricted their natural tendencies. Thus painting turned more and more from special classes, interests, and selected subjects, to life and nature as a whole. As terrestrial subjects replaced the celestial in its hands, and democracy aristocracy, it reflected more and more truly the changing spirit of the world which it portrayed. Nor is it the least significant circumstance in this general movement that in the hands of the old Rembrandt, and even in those of Velasquez, Christ appears as a man among men. For with the era of the Thirty Years' War the great age of religious painting, like the age of ecclesiastical dominance itself, came virtually to an end. And this circumstance, were there no other, marks the dividing line between the old and new conceptions of man's relations to this world and the next.

It would be too much to expect that the tremendous burst of democratic sentiment in England and the Netherlands,

which distinguished the middle of the seventeenth century, would have found a corresponding echo throughout the continent. Nor was it much connected with that general tendency of the age to allow political power to devolve from the crown to nobility, which, for the moment, seemed to indicate the decline of absolutism. Yet its influence was not without weight; and, with the advance of scientific thought, of the philosophy of Descartes, and the obscurer movement toward "naturalism" in many fields, there came a reshaping of life in quarters where Anglo-Dutch influence was little felt.

Morals

Among those gradual changes, difficult to perceive in detail, and still more difficult to express, was the alteration in the moral standards and conduct of European peoples now evident as a result of the progress of Europe during the preceding century and a half. It seems apparent to most observers that one of the principal characteristics of the Renaissance was the dissociation of intellect and morals. This was, perhaps, natural. The growth of dissatisfaction with the church of the later middle ages had led many men to neglect, even to contempt of that institution, to skepticism, or to absolute denial of its spiritual functions. This tended to a weakening of faith not only in the establishment itself, but, what was more serious, in the belief upon which it was founded. That spirit of denial was immensely strengthened by the new learning, for there was revealed a world which had apparently done very well without Christianity, and the passion for classical models and thought which developed with the spread of the Renaissance did much to discredit still further what were known as the Christian virtues. Thus, though the classes which embraced humanism were relieved from some of the practices which had been characteristic of the middle ages, the refinements of their lives only sharpened the contrast between their intellectual and their moral standards.

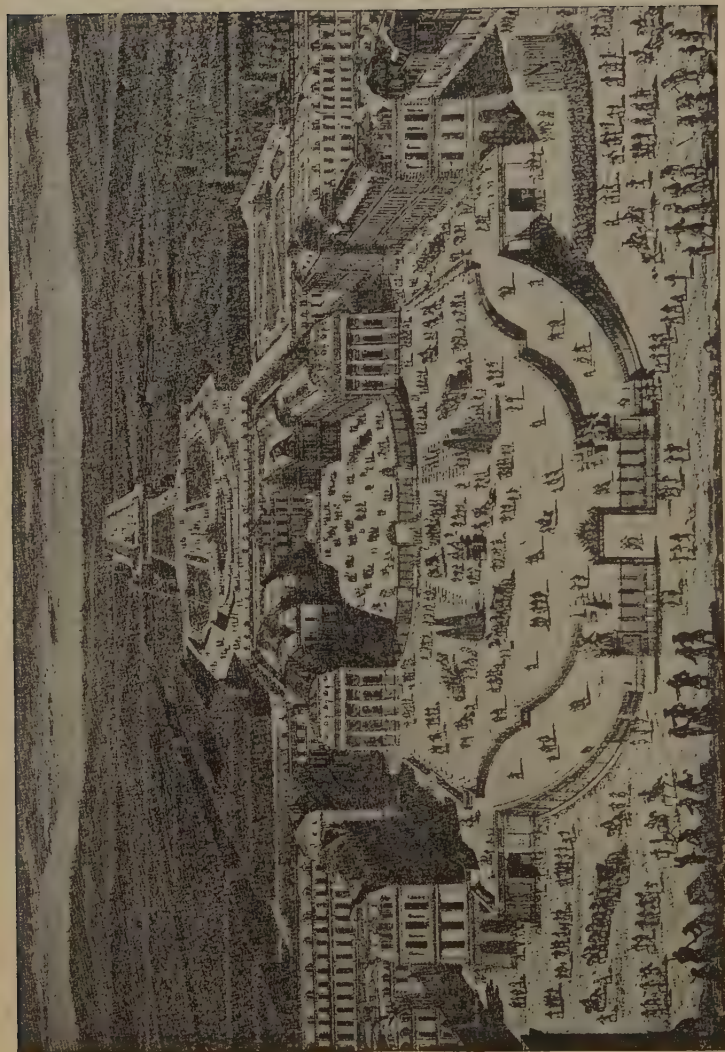
The effect of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation

With the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation there came a revolt against the cynical immorality which characterized a certain prominent school of the humanists. Among the manifold elements which went to make up the movement



RUBENS' HOUSE, WHICH HE BUILT AND OCCUPIED IN ANTWERP, 1611-1625.

The views are notable for the magnificence of the building and gardens, which were in accord with the artist's position in painting and politics. The lower right-hand inset of the bedroom gives a good idea of the changes in physical comfort since the middle ages. From an engraving by Harrewyn, 1692.



VERSAILLES.

From a contemporary engraving in the British Museum.

toward revolution and reform in the church establishment, it is probable that the reaction toward a purer mode of life, no less—perhaps even more—than an alteration in belief, affected large classes throughout the continent. The insistence upon conduct in this world, as well as upon faith in the next, comprised no inconsiderable part of the teaching of the reformed communions in particular; nor was the rise of the reforming agencies within the old establishment without effect. It is true that neither had any tendency toward general tolerance of faith, but it has often been remarked that faith and morals are not necessarily connected in any direct and immutable fashion. Whatever the cause, it is apparent, especially with the advance of the seventeenth century, that manners, which may be regarded as some indication of morals, had gradually improved. And there can be no question, to take one example, that the progress of Calvinism had tended toward the enforcement of a far stricter moral code than had prevailed before its advent.

The progress was slow and unequal. No code of faith operates on every individual or every community equally. The ingrained weaknesses of human nature are stubborn material; and exceptions might easily be found to any general statement regarding the progress of private morality in any period. Moreover, each generation provides its own vices no less than its own virtues. Yet the profounder beliefs which resulted from theological controversy, the growing rivalry between the sects, increasing publicity, which is itself a certain check upon conduct, each contributed in its way to the improvement of habits. The historian of morals has observed that the introduction of hot drinks in the first half of the seventeenth century conduced to the same end. One would like to believe that this is true; and there is unquestionably much truth in it. But the concurrent development of the beverages richer in alcohol than mediæval intoxicants probably neutralized the results of the introduction of tea, coffee, and cocoa so far as general sobriety is concerned.

One advance is, however, indubitable, and probably indicative of widespread improvement. This is the purification

The clergy
and the
sects

of the clerical caste, both by the rise of Protestantism and by the far-reaching reforms in the Catholic establishment which accompanied the progress of the Counter-Reformation. Another indication of advance is to be found in literature, for, with all their freedom, the productions, especially of the first half of the seventeenth century, lack the grossness of much earlier work. They are infused, besides, with conceptions and ideals wanting in their predecessors. It is not, of course, conclusive evidence of an improved morality that literary expression becomes more refined, yet it seems reasonable to believe that the amelioration of language and situation in letters represents at least changing standards in conduct. Finally, the development of such sects as the Puritans, the French Jansenists, even the so-called Cambridge Platonists, and similar phenomena elsewhere, with the increase of religious literature which emphasized conduct rather than dogma, leads to the belief that European morals, as well as European manners, had greatly improved in the century and a half which had elapsed since the beginning of the Reformation.

Literature
1600-60

1616

The changing spirit of civilization was emphasized no less in literature than in art and morals; and, by one of those curious circumstances which continually distinguish its progress, it was peculiarly evident in the domain of drama. Two years before the outbreak of the great German war the simultaneous deaths of Shakespeare and Cervantes had deprived Europe of its two greatest literary figures. Neither in England nor in Spain had any writer arisen worthy to pretend to the places thus left vacant. In England, especially, the Puritan influence had done much to discourage a form of entertainment so alien to the spirit which dominated its religious and political tendency; and Shakespeare was followed by no successors worthy of much note. The so-called Cavalier poets, indeed, began to develop new and peculiarly beautiful forms of lyric verse; and the genius of the young Milton contributed at least two masterpieces to European literature in his idyllic pastorals of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. But English drama in the hands of Shakespeare's

successors reflected rather the form than the genius of the great dramatist.

The situation in Spain was not dissimilar. There the lofty spirit of Calderon, turning from the pursuit of arms, devoted itself to the production of plays, moral, philosophical, even theological, in their tendencies, and partaking of the nobler qualities of the old orthodoxy. But he stood apart from the main current of European letters, and in his own land he found no worthy rivals. Germany, meanwhile, had been all but eliminated from the field of letters. It was, therefore, to other hands that literary leadership fell, particularly in France, as the new spirit so evident in art and science invaded literature, and French comedy began its long and brilliant career.

Its greatest exponent was Molière, who drew from his studies, his experiences as a strolling player, and his unrivaled acquaintance with society of every grade, those characters and situations which revolutionized his art. The reflection of contemporary life, the creation of universal and immortal character sketches, were not his only contributions to literature. He had been a pupil of the physicist Gassendi, he had been trained in the new philosophy, and he was thus in close touch with the great intellectual movements of his time. From these, no less than from his genius for observation and delineation, he added new elements to the dramatic art. In one direction he passed beyond the limits of the age of Shakespeare, for he put the people about him upon the stage, and painted for his auditors of every rank their own foibles small and great. Thus drama, like art, descended from its more aristocratic station to take account of classes hitherto as little reckoned with in stagecraft as in politics or painting. In so doing it related itself unconsciously to that movement which was coming to be called democratic. Nor was the circumstance that Molière found in the rapidly developing realm of medical practice the principal field for his satire without its wider significance. From the first court appearance of *Le Docteur Amoureux* to the final triumph of *Le Malade Imaginaire*, that motive was seldom absent. Like

Molière
1622-73

his almost openly expressed contempt for the old physical hell of the church, it typified the altering tendencies of an art which, next to painting, perhaps, reveals the character of an age.

Pascal
1623-62

The progress of that spirit of denial of dogmatic authority was no less notable in another quarter. The same decade which saw the Puritan ascendancy in England and the beginnings of the new comedy in France was marked in the latter country no less by the appearance of the so-called *Provincial Letters* from the pen of the mathematician-philosopher, Blaise Pascal. Its unmatched satire, directed against the Jesuits, voiced a new spirit in the discussion of the most vital concerns of religious life, and gave tremendous impetus to the free handling of subjects, till then reckoned, by ecclesiastics at least, as all but inviolable from the profaning touch of laymen.

The
Jansenists

Pascal's work was inspired by the attacks of the Jesuits upon the "Catholic Puritans," the so-called Jansenists, whose principal seat was the abbey of Port Royal, near Paris, which, under the rule of its great head, Angélique Arnaud, had adopted the doctrines of the Jansenist apostle, Duvergier, abbot of Cyran. These infused a new element into the religious ferment which stirred the followers of the old communion only less than the advanced disciples of the English revolutionary school. For the Jansenists, however they differed from the Calvinists in dogma, were filled with the spirit of mysticism and subjective experience as opposed to the scholasticism and rigidity of the Jesuits. They looked back to St. Augustine; they laid stress on religion rather than on theology; they tended toward a doctrine of faith rather than of works; they even verged on predestination. And this—in a country and a time when "a theological opinion was a political event," when adherence to St. Paul meant almost inevitably a controversy with the followers of St. Peter, and the disturbances of the Fronde shook the foundations of all authority—was a striking proof that the mind and heart of Europe was being altered in ways that boded ill for the champions of mere authority.

Yet with all the controversies of the Jesuits and the Jan-
senists, the activities of the revolutionists, and the doctrines
of the philosophers, the most vigorous expression of the revolt
against arbitrary authority was to be found in England.
Curiously enough, it was in that class whose existence seems
most intimately bound up with government and precedent,
the lawyers. The principle of popular share in government
which had found its most vigorous expression in England
was the product of a long development, not alone in practice
but in theory. It was scarcely less the result of the growing
strength of the middle classes, or of the philosophical specu-
lation which provided them with a rational foundation for
their claims to a determining share in public affairs, than
it was of the devotion to historical precedent and law which
had always been so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons.

The
English
lawyers

Among them, almost alone of European peoples, during
the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the popular share in
government had been preserved by Parliament, even in the
days when absolutist kingship was making way among all
European states. Tudor rule had been a despotism, but by
popular consent; and when the Stuarts had sought to follow
the example of their fellow-rulers on the continent, and turn
the old royal claims into the practice of the realm, they had
been confronted with the still more ancient claims of the
supremacy of the law and ancient custom. In the contro-
versies which followed, the lawyers had taken a leading part.
Against James I's contention for the royal right to override
the popular liberties, men like Coke contended for the privi-
lege of the people as expressed in the old laws. There such
men as he stopped. "Sovereign power," he declared, "is
no Parliamentary word. . . . Magna Charta is such a fellow
as he will have no sovereign." There were others in his
class who did not stop there, but claimed for Parliament an
authority whose concession would have altered the constitu-
tion. In this lawyer class the first two Stuart kings found
their most persistent foes.

The crown in their contention was under, not above the
law; and the rallying-cry of those who resisted royal attempts

*Salus
populi
suprema
lex*

at "innovations" was the ancient maxim, "*Salus populi suprema lex*," the welfare of the people is the supreme law. Nowhere else in Europe was there an echo of this principle, save perhaps in small and remote districts of no weight in affairs. Nowhere was there a legislature which made the laws, nor such popular share in judicial procedure as the jury system which prevailed in England, and which, with all its faults, offered a powerful support against oppression, private or public. It was in the resistance of such elements, backed by the powerful sentiment of the classes whence they were drawn, that the Stuart project met its first great check.

This was not all of the situation, nor was Coke's dictum the cause of the final catastrophe. What mere legal opposition would probably never have achieved, revolution accomplished. From the strange anomaly of a class based upon precedent opposing the authority of that power which in most states was itself a precedent, and the origin of all law and precedent, there was developed a still more surprising anomaly. This was the result of a series of events which carried men beyond the doctrine of the supremacy of law even while they clung to its logic and its forms. With all its defiance of constituted authority, its actual usurpation of government, the Puritan régime held tenaciously to legal form and precedent, and, in so far as might be, to legal procedure. It sought to give its very destruction of the old order every appearance of asserting ancient rights against the efforts of the crown to enter upon a series of "innovations," which would subvert the privileges of the people.

The rise
of parlia-
mentary
authority

Their progress was rapid. Against the royal claim to the right of modifying—and thus making—law to meet an emergency, they set the principle of the inviolability of law, and so dealt a death-blow to divine right and royal prerogative. Thence as the contest deepened in intensity Parliament arrogated to itself the right it had denied the king, and, under guise of "interpreting" the law it assumed virtually the law-making power stripped of the old royal right of veto. So from royal supremacy across the bridge of law-making the revolutionary party came to the supremacy neither of king

nor of law, but of Parliament, and ultimately of the people who chose that body. Thus if the English Revolution is the event which marks the break-down of royal supremacy in the state, it is as well the event from which dates the beginning of the ascendancy of the people and their legislature over king and law alike.

It was natural that while the revolutionaries assumed the guise of the champions of the old order the efforts of the political philosophers should be directed toward the discovery of some rational basis for government, and on every hand there arose prophets and priests of new beliefs. First of these in time and importance was Thomas Hobbes. Born in the year of the Armada and living almost to the Revolution of 1688, this great thinker comprehended in his life as in his writings all those great convulsions which profoundly influenced his fortunes and his philosophy alike. His views were perhaps no less tinged by his studies in the field of science. He began his speculations with the doctrines of Euclid, and developed his theory of the principle of motion as the basis of energy in life and thought. The political controversies which culminated in the civil wars turned his mind to politics; and from his observations and meditations he evolved his masterpiece, the *Leviathan*. Like its frontis-
Hobbes
1651

piece, his book figured the state as a huge artificial man, composed of lesser individuals, with a life and development of its own, capable of being modified or destroyed.

He was a pupil of the "mechanistic" system of thought, and though insufficiently trained to appreciate fully the efforts of the experimenters to arrive at scientific truth, or to contribute to advance in that field himself, he none the less fills a not inconsiderable place. He did much to found a school of thinkers bent on the construction of a theory of universal relationship between man and nature, and between man and the society which he created. His conception of the moral nature, "the natural springs and rational grounds of human action," has given him the appellation of the "founder of the utilitarians." This has been strengthened by a philosophy which seems to indicate men as moved chiefly

or entirely by self-interest, and judges events by their results rather than by any standard of higher motives. His declaration of the virtual irresponsibility of the sovereign power, however modified by later thinkers, opened the way for a discussion of the fundamental principles of politics. The forerunner of so-called materialism, of criticism, and what came to be known as positivism, he was at once a psychologist and a moralist. To him philosophy meant less vague speculation than correct thinking; and, however bitterly attacked, he did one great service. He established that method of rational and historical investigation, that application of natural laws to society and government which led to the next advance in political theory.

Other
writers

1656

Beside him labored many men of many minds. Algernon Sidney and his fellows, inspired by the tradition of the classical world, dreamed of a republican form of government after the model, as they conceived it, of Greece and Rome. To these Harrington, in his *Oceana*, contributed another element, that of an ideal state, after the manner of More's *Utopia*, but infused with the newer doctrines evoked by revolution. To these, again, Cromwell's Latin secretary, Milton, added his great literary gifts in defense of the English people against the charge of regicide, and his plea for liberty of speech in his *Areopagitica*. This not only remains the armory for the arguments in that cause, but had its practical effect in contributing to the virtual tolerance in England of all writings not positively treasonable from that day to our own.

Political
science

As Hocker, Grotius, and Hobbes put forward the doctrine destined to be of such great influence thereafter—that government was the result not of divine inspiration and guidance, but of historic evolution, achieved by some process of social contract—political science took its place as a department of European thought. Against the ideas of the thinkers who sought a rational basis for human polity, the prophet of the divine right of kings, the royalist Filmer, had composed the great formal defense of that doctrine, the *Patriarchia*. This dogma of absolute royal power, allied with the spirit of

revealed religion and dogmatic authority, stood out as the chief opponent of the new principles upon which Europe was to base its next advance in political theory and practice.

Opposed to this stood the champions of still more advanced thought, the extremists, among whom the so-called Levellers and Diggers were conspicuous. These voiced doctrines of social no less than political equality, scarcely heard again for two centuries. The effect was profound, not only upon the more superficial aspects of European life and literature, but upon those deep, underlying forces which, as the years went on, came more and more to dominate men's actions and their thought. Not since the Reformation had Europe experienced so vast an outpouring of controversial literature on so vital an issue. Nor had it been so deafened by a clamor, which found echo in many quarters as yet but little moved by the questions now, during the Age of Cromwell, for the first time debated in the open air of political controversy.

In two respects, at least, the Puritan period, following in the wake of the disturbances of the preceding years, contributed even more directly to the development of European practice and principles. The first was the evolution of a new power in public affairs. In an age of unprecedented freedom in thought and speech, amid events of such nationwide importance, when every day brought forth a crisis in affairs, the appetite for news no less than for opinion grew. The demand created the supply; and, building on the model of the older news-tract, broadside, coranto, and news-book, that characteristic product of the modern European world, the newspaper, was rapidly evolved. Despite the fact that earlier generations had seen something of this form of publicity; despite the fact that later generations were to see it enlarged and altered almost beyond resemblance to the form in which it now appeared; it is to the era of the Puritan Revolution that we must ascribe the establishment of this tremendous engine of civilization in the essential form which was to make it probably the most powerful weapon of those who contended for popular authority.

This "fourth estate," as the newspaper was to be called,

News-
papers

Coffee-
houses

did much to modify the habits of those peoples,—principally the English and the Dutch,—among whom it flourished. Not unrelated to it as a means of the dissemination of news and public opinion was another institution which owes its origin to the same period. Perhaps no single minor circumstance in the transition from mediæval to modern life is more noteworthy than the development of new forms of association in almost every field of human activity, intellectual, political, and social. Among these the rise of places of public resort for the upper classes is conspicuous; and the mid-decades of the seventeenth century are notable, among other things, for the establishment of so-called coffee-houses, where men met to drink the beverage then becoming fashionable throughout Europe, to exchange gossip and opinions, and to read the newspapers. These institutions, unknown to the ancients or the middle ages, seem to have owed their origin to similar meeting-places in Constantinople, and their extraordinary popularity to the increasingly urban habits of Europeans. Vienna is usually credited with the first venture of the sort; and thence, or from a common source, they spread with great rapidity throughout Europe. London boasted its first coffee-house under Cromwell. There in particular they increased in numbers and popularity. By the beginning of the next century they were among the most conspicuous features of English life, and, apart from their own importance, they did much to inaugurate that institution so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and known by its English name in nearly every tongue, the club.

Science
—the
biologists

It was, too, in Cromwell's day that there began that association of English men of science which was to develop into the Royal Society in the ensuing reign. Its formation was characteristic at once of the great advance of English science and the extension of that principle of co-operation which was making itself felt in the formation of new academies and learned societies throughout Europe. It was particularly significant of that tendency to correlation of forces to wrest from nature the secret of life and its phenomena which became the function of the biologists. To them the invention

of the microscope had been so great a service that it is scarcely too much to say that it created biology in the modern sense. In consequence, the Cromwellian period saw the beginning of a series of contributions to the knowledge of the structure of animals and plants which is the principal characteristic of the science of the time, until the rise of the great mathematicians of the late years of the century. This was, indeed, the dawn of the golden age of microscopy.

The progress in the investigation of structure was not confined to any land. The labors of the Englishmen Grew and Hooke and Ray; of the Dutchmen, Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek; of the Italians, Redi and Malpighi, among others, raised the knowledge of living organisms to heights undreamed of even a generation earlier. Their researches disturbed the belief in spontaneous generation which had persisted since the time of Aristotle. With them began comparative anatomy as the foundation for zoölogy and the consequent transition from mediæval to modern natural history. With them began that microscopic study of the minute structure of plants and animals, of insects, even of animalculæ, which made a beginning for those branches to which we give the name of histology, of embryology, and bacteriology. Above all, so far as practical application goes, was their contribution to the knowledge of human anatomy and physiology. Here they explained the various structures and functions of the higher organisms through their investigations in the lower, by comparative anatomy. It was a significant testimony to the passing not only of mediæval ignorance but of classical error; and though their results were not immediately evident, and their conclusions long doubted, the triumphs of the microscopists now began to rival those of the astronomers and to excel those of the chemists. And, to confirm the fact that the Age of Cromwell marked a turning-point from one age of science to another, it is a noteworthy coincidence that in the year which saw the beginning of the end of the Thirty Years' War and the outbreak of hostilities in England, 1642, Galileo died and Isaac Newton was born.

The micro-
scopists

Finally, if it needed any further proof that the mediæval

Scholar-
ship

period was at an end, the course of scholarship in the preceding generation afforded ample demonstration of that fact. For the first half of the seventeenth century is notable for the publication of those chronicles and literary remains which the middle ages bequeathed to history and literature. Beside the editions of the classics and the church fathers there began to appear such monumental works as the Jesuit compilation of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which owed its origin to Bolland, and its continuation to his Belgian followers from that day to our own, and has contributed incalculably to our knowledge of the middle ages. In France the Benedictines of St. Maur entered upon historical enterprises of no less consequence, and Ducange began his labors, which were to supply the world for the first time with a dictionary of mediæval or low Latin. To this movement were lent the talents of a host of scholars, among whom the name of Scaliger stands out. The great King James version of the Bible testified to another side of this activity, and Archbishop Ussher's Biblical chronology, however misleading, to still another. At the same time, others, from Bacon to Pallavicino, laid the foundations of modern historical writing along the lines of Machiavelli and Guicciardini rather than those of the chroniclers.

This activity was of far more significance than the mere progress of historiography. In at least two directions it marked a distinct epoch in the intellectual development of Europe. On the one side it reflected the continuance into the historical field of the conflicts between the communions which had begun with the Reformation, found their fiercest expression in the Thirty Years' War, and in some form, continue to our own day. But it implied, no less, the beginning of a reaction against that classical interest which had now dominated Europe for a century and a half. It reintroduced into the content of European intellect something of that mediæval influence which had inspired so many centuries of European life and thought. That influence was never to regain its old ascendancy. But in its love of mystery, its devotion to faith, its romantic and picturesque qualities, no less than in its self-sacrifice, so alien to the classical spirit,



HOOKE'S COMPOUND MICROSCOPE.

From an illustration in his *Micrographia*, 1664. This is one of the earliest forms of this instrument, and is notable for its devices for adjustment and illumination, which can be easily identified in the drawing.

it was to modify the sharper outlines of the scientific and pagan attitude which had become interwoven into the fabric of European thought, and it was to become, in later years, a clearly discernible thread in that fabric.

The era of the Puritan Revolution was thus a peculiarly active period in many departments of intellectual achievement, apart from politics. England and France, in particular, had been prolific in literature scarcely less notable for its form than its content. The genius of the English Puritan, John Milton, had not merely been devoted to the composition of political polemics. It had in earlier years given to the world some of the most beautiful of its odes. The so-called Cavalier poets had introduced fresh beauties into verse with their love songs and conceits, while the talents of the leading English satirist, Butler, meditated the composition of that famous mock-heroic poem of *Hudibras* which found its subject in the peculiarities of the masters of the English state. At the same time the letters of Madame de Sévigné founded a new form of prose literature which was to play a great part in another century. Still more important as a sign of the times was the establishment of the French Academy, which did all that is possible for authority to accomplish in giving to letters and scholarship a public and official recognition such as they had not previously received. Literature

These phenomena revealed an altering attitude toward letters and learning which was characteristic of an era of freer expression in many fields. Another circumstance was still more significant of a changing mental attitude. It was the obvious decline of the old delusion concerning witches and witchcraft which had so long disgraced European intellect. The process of emancipation was by no means complete; and it was to be another century before the practice of witch-hunting was abandoned in even the most enlightened countries. But the progress of more liberal opinions, in particular the rationalism of science had weakened the old belief in such superstition. The Protestant communions had not yet fully or even in great part accepted the revelations of science. They had contributed little or nothing directly to the doctrines of Decline
of super-
stition

toleration by their own teaching or practice; and it was in their hands that the last great outburst of the witch delusion was to find expression. Yet they had more or less unconsciously served the interests of greater freedom of belief, and this had powerfully aided the emancipation from the credulity which had dominated men's minds from the earliest times.

The Age of Cromwell forms a brief period in the long history of European peoples; but it has an importance beyond its years. Through it was visible that powerful tendency of a modern world toward freer expression of individual opinion and that unity in diversity of intellect, religion, and politics, which offers the widest field for achievement to every species of human capacity. Though the English experiment was of few days and full of trouble it revealed that political capacity was not wholly confined to that handful of royalties and nobilities which had hitherto monopolized its conduct and its rewards. And in this, even more than in its purely intellectual aspects, it contributed to the general emancipation of European intelligence from the shackles of the past.

Nothing, indeed, so clearly reflected the spirit of the age as the new school of literature which it produced. The *Réflexions* of Vauvenargue, the *Maxims* of Rochefoucauld, the *Caractères* of La Bruyère, above all, perhaps, the *Pensées* of Pascal, were the French expression of this tendency. In England Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and Browne's *Religio Medici* revealed another aspect of this reflection upon life, as well as upon "those wingy Mysteries in Divinity and airy subtleties in Religion," of death and immortality, which marked another break with mediæval thought.

CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. 1660-1678

AMONG the manifold changes which came over European life in the three years between the death of Cromwell and the accession of Louis XIV to personal rule, none, not even the cessation of the two great wars which had disturbed the east and west, was more striking than the reversed positions of England and France in European politics. Under the Protector, English power had reached its greatest height since the death of Elizabeth. Under the guidance of Mazarin, France, despite her innate strength, despite her minister's ultimate triumph, despite her victory over Spain, was weakened by the faction of the Fronde, till her position, like that of her minister, was but a shadow of the predominance of the Age of Richelieu. Now in a moment everything seemed changed. Young as he was, the new king of France had scarcely ascended his throne when it was evident that a new force had appeared in the affairs of the continent, for his abilities, his resources, and, above all, his ambitions, made him almost at once the most conspicuous figure among European rulers. What Charles V had been to the first half of the sixteenth century and Philip II to its later years, the French king was to become; and his long reign of more than fifty years grew to be, in fact as in name, pre-eminently the Age of Louis XIV. 1658-61 1661-1715

The French king ruled no such wide lands as did the great Emperor, nor did he focus so fully in himself the manifold interests of the European and the extra-European world as Charles V. But, like Philip II, he devoted his energies and the resources of the largest and richest state in western Europe to the accomplishment of a single purpose which vitally affected almost every people on the continent. And it was Louis XIV

this which made the activities of the young king the leading motive in the politics of the ensuing generation. The age of religious controversy was now all but at an end in international affairs. The age of nationalism centering in monarchs, of standing armies and foreign offices, of wide-reaching coalitions and overpowering secular interests was at hand. This new era it was Louis XIV's rôle to inaugurate. In it his ambition led him to play the leading part, and, by the aid of circumstances, France was enabled to become, for a time, the dominant power of the continent, in arts and arms, in civilization as in diplomacy and war. Whatever his fortune in politics, and however far his triumphs fell short of his ambitions in adding new provinces to his sovereignty, in one direction the Grand Monarque, who took the sun as his symbol, found the triumph of his people unquestioned. Under his rule France conquered the imagination of all Europe and insured the predominance of her ideals throughout the continent for more than a century.

England
under
Charles II
1660-85

At the same moment England fell from the high estate in European councils to which Cromwell's abilities and determination had raised her. The contrast between Sweden under Gustavus and Christina was less conspicuous than that of England under Cromwell and Charles II, for no Oxenstierna remained to preserve the traditions of greatness in the British Isles. With all the Stuart charm and a wit unusual to his line, the exiled prince returned to enjoy the life which fortune had sent him, intent only on the retention of his throne. Devoting his unquestionable gift for politics to that end, he prepared to exchange for it his friends, his honor, and such principles as remained to him. The task was difficult, to a better man it might well have been impossible. He succeeded, indeed, where his father before him and his brother after him failed. He kept his throne. But he kept it at the expense of that for which his father and brother, with all their faults and folly, had not been willing to exchange their crowns.

Only in two directions did the England of Charles II remain of importance in the world of politics at large. The impulse toward commerce and colonies which the Crom-

wellian rule had done so much to stimulate, favored by the ambitions of the French which now absorbed their energies and those of their neighbors on the continent, found full fruition under the second English Charles. His reign witnessed at once the refounding and the reorganization of the British colonial and commercial empire, and while England's chief rival in the extra-European field was weakened and distracted by Anglo-French attack, England secured her hold on Asia and America. At the same time those organisms within the state known as political parties, favored by the peculiar conditions in which England found herself, now took on permanent form, and became thenceforth not merely the most active and characteristic element in English political affairs, but a determining factor in international issues with which England was concerned.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV took the center of the stage. Young, ambitious, diligent beyond most monarchs, or, indeed, most men of any class, skilled in diplomacy and gifted with those dignities and graces which so become the occupant of a throne, from the very beginning of his reign he addressed himself to the great tasks which absorbed his life and the strength of his people. He was freed from all popular restraint by the cessation of the old States General, which had not been summoned for nearly fifty years, and he neutralized the political importance of that factious nobility which had disturbed his predecessors by the establishment of a splendid court and a no less imposing army. These were no less useful than ornamental, for the innumerable pensions and posts of the court lured the aristocracy to exchange their old powers and ambitions for its lucrative and picturesque service, competing there for the honors of dependence on royal bounty, while the royal authority compelled the service of the nobility in the army. Crowning the work of the statesmen, who, from his grandfather's time to his own, had labored to make the monarchy supreme, he strengthened and extended those royal councils and those local officials, which, from the beginning, had been the chief instruments of absolutism. These, subservient to his will, contributed to the complete

The system of
Louis XIV

ascendancy at which he aimed, and royal power grew till the epigram attributed to him, "I am the state," was scarcely more than the declaration of the fact.

The bu-
reaucracy

Such was the system which, close on the turmoil of the preceding period when royal power seemed slipping from the grasp of European rulers, raised monarchy to the highest state of organized efficiency which that form of government had yet attained in modern Europe. This was not due wholly to the mere elimination of the other estates of the kingdom from political power. To a voiceless people and a powerless nobility, Louis XIV joined a ministry to which he summoned the executive talent of France, with small regard for social precedence; and this became the real strength of the arbitrary system which he completed. At the head of the finances he set the ablest of living financiers, Colbert. The conduct of the war office was intrusted to Louvois, who found no rival in that field till Carnot organized the victories of the French Revolution. And while the foreign office was put nominally under the care of Lionne, the direction of the skilled diplomats, trained in the school of Richelieu and Mazarin, remained chiefly in the king's own hands. Nor was the iron hand beneath the velvet glove less powerful. From the preceding generation were inherited the military talents of Condé and Turenne, foremost of living European generals. To these was added the engineering genius of Vauban. The army was reorganized and its discipline perfected under that drill-master whose name became a symbol for rigid system, Martinet; while a score of lesser men ably seconded the endeavors of their commanders. Thus equipped, filled with an overmastering passion for fame and power, a pride which passed all ordinary bounds, cold-blooded ambition which disregarded all common human rights, those of his own subjects scarcely less than those of his neighbors, the master of the most numerous and prosperous people occupying a continuous territory in western Europe, "the ablest man born in modern times on the steps of a throne," prepared to enter "the game of kings," and plunge the continent again into the throes of war.

If no circumstance in the situation of the times more clearly illustrated the change which had overtaken European peoples in the preceding hundred years than the contrast between the religio-political ambitions of Philip II a century before, and the national-political ambitions of Louis XIV, nothing is more striking than that they should have met opposition from the same quarter. As England and the Netherlands a hundred years earlier had fought against Spanish and Catholic supremacy, so now their people were found arrayed against the extension of French arbitrary monarchy and its territorial ambitions.

England
and
Holland

For the moment, indeed, this was not as apparent as it was to become in later years, since England and Holland were alike divided in their interests. They were then at the crisis of long-standing commercial and colonial rivalry. The Dutch, though still adhering to a republican form of government, contained a powerful faction, nourishing monarchical principles, and devoted to the house of Orange. The English were ruled by a monarch who shared his subjects' dislike of Holland, for reasons of his own, and who sympathized secretly with the arbitrary principles and Catholic faith of his cousin, the French king, rather than with the practices of his own people. Moreover, he was in continual pressing need of money, and quite unscrupulous in obtaining it. Thus he became a willing tool of French ambitions, ready at all times to exercise his power to keep England as neutral as possible in return for the presents and pensions Louis XIV bestowed on him.

So, for a time, the real alignment of issues and antagonists was obscured by the three-cornered rivalry, and the internal situation of the two maritime powers. Not until the question of colonial supremacy had been determined in favor of the English by two great wars did their mutual danger and mutual interests compel them to unite against French Catholic aggrandizement. And not until two revolutions had set the Prince of Orange as ruler over both nations were the two peoples finally committed to resist the principles and practices of the new school of politics exemplified in Louis

and
France

XIV. Until that time, as at a similar period in the preceding century, the chapter of western European history which now began found Holland again the storm-center of affairs. And its motive power was Louis XIV.

The de-
signs of
Louis XIV

Before the true direction of his plans appeared, the French king had given notice of his claims to precedence throughout the continent. Scarcely was he on the throne when, through his ambassadors' challenge of Spanish precedence at the Vatican and the English court, his designs on diplomatic pre-eminence were revealed. Scarcely were they in evidence when his project for securing the Spanish succession to himself, the marriage of his brother to Charles II's sister, and the purchase of the Cromwellian conquest of Dunkirk from England, developed his position in the west. At the same time his despatch of aid to Venice and the Emperor against the Turks and his negotiations with the Baltic powers, no less than his military preparations and his advances to the west-German princes, witnessed the extent of his far-reaching plans. For it became apparent that these involved not merely the extension of French boundaries but an ambition for universal influence.

The
Anglo-
Dutch
War
1665-7

For the moment, indeed, the ultimate objective of these designs was masked by the alliance of France and Holland and the outbreak of war between England and the Netherlands, under cover of which the preparations of the French king were hurried forward. This second conflict with the Dutch was inspired not only by the long heritage of commercial and colonial rivalries, but by the personal animosity of the English king toward the people who had rendered him scant courtesy in his exile and had so recently replaced the Stadtholderate by a republican form of government. The English attack seemed at first likely to result in the overthrow of their rivals. The slight support afforded by France, joined to its own valor and resources, scarcely sufficed in a land so divided against itself, as was Holland between the republican and Orange factions, to withstand such an onset. Three naval battles left the advantage in English hands. New Amsterdam and Surinam were seized and Hol-

land's power seemed likely to go down before English attack. But what the Dutch might not have been able to accomplish for themselves, England's weakness and misfortunes achieved. The maladministration and corruption of the English court were thrown in high relief by two of the most terrible catastrophes which have visited any European capital in modern times, the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. The government was brought to the end of its offensive resources; and a Dutch descent upon the English coasts, which for the first time in history brought the thunder of hostile guns within the hearing of the capital, hastened the signature of the treaty which ended the war. The Peace of Breda preserved Surinam and the spice monopoly to the Dutch. England retained New Amsterdam, now named New York, in honor of the king's brother, while France secured Acadia in return for Antigua, Montserrat, and part of St. Kitts. Thus, at the same moment that England extended her sovereignty from New England to the West Indies, and France established herself more securely in North America, Holland virtually disappeared as a colonizing power in that quarter of the world. The buffer-state of the New Netherlands was absorbed and the two nations who were ultimately to contend for possession of that continent were left face to face.

1665-6

Peace of
Breda
1667

Almost at once that situation was emphasized by the changes which took place in European politics. Whatever the shifting balance of the colonial world, whatever the unsettled rivalry of the English and the Dutch, these were overshadowed by the sudden revelation of French power and ambitions which followed the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch war. Hardly was the Peace of Breda signed when these ambitions were made manifest. Louis set up a claim to the Spanish Netherlands on the flimsy pretext of the so-called "*droit de dévolution*." By this, in spite of its being a principle of private law, in spite of his wife's renunciation of her inheritance, the king pretended to the possession of the coveted provinces through his marriage to the Spanish Infanta. Immediately he launched his troops under Turenne

The first
"War of
devolu-
tion"
1667-8

against the unfortunate districts. For the moment his aggressive tactics and his cynical disregard of international conventions seemed likely to succeed. But his shameless audacity even more than his early victories startled Europe into resistance. It was in vain that he bribed his cousin, the English king, to keep his people from intervention. It was in vain that Condé surprised and overran Franche Comté, and Turenne advanced almost to the Dutch frontiers. Though the Emperor's hands were tied by the dangers which menaced his power from every direction, the astute diplomacy of the Dutch Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, was able to summon the Protestant states to his aid against the French danger. At the moment that Louis' prize seemed in his grasp, the Protestant maritime powers, Sweden, England, and Holland, signed, suddenly and secretly, a compact to resist further aggression on the part of France. This was the famous Triple Alliance, on which the French king's ambition foundered. He was compelled to make the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, though it gave him some of the so-called barrier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, forced him to give up Franche Comté and postpone his vengeance on the Dutch to a more propitious time.

Triple
Alliance
and the
Treaty of
Aix la
Chapelle
1668

The Triple
Alliance
1668

Such were the circumstances which ushered in the new era of European polity. No less important than those armed conflicts was the signature of the Triple Alliance. That treaty was of significance, not merely because it momentarily checked the ambitions of France to extend her boundaries, nor because it brought the Protestant states again into alliance, least of all because it endured as a permanent factor in affairs. It was hardly framed when the disintegrating influence of inevitable rivalries, fomented by French diplomacy, began its dissolution. But its immediate effect none the less demonstrated the strength of the doctrine and practice of the balance of power in European affairs. If Louis XIV had shown that a powerful ruler, unhampered by the moral considerations which make for peace between states, was a tremendous danger to the security and progress of European society, the alliance on which his ambition

broke revealed the fact that Europe had found an efficient remedy for even this great evil. And, while French jurists and diplomats, reinforced by French armies, prepared a new enterprise against Alsace as the first of those long-continued efforts to extend their borders across the Rhine, so, building on the example set by de Witt and his coadjutors, coalition after coalition sprang into existence, until the principle of the equilibrium of forces took its place among the recognized precepts of international polity. Thus, at the moment when Europe seemed most in danger, it devised a safeguard against the revived doctrine of predominance, if not supremacy, of any power over the rest of the continent.

For the time, indeed, it seemed that even this remedy might not be efficacious and that Louis was in a fair way to accomplish no small part of his designs. The real keystone of the new diplomatic arch was England, and to detach her from her allies the French king was quick to take advantage of the peculiar situation in which she found herself. The triumphant burst of extravagant royalism which had united her two chief parties, Anglican and Presbyterian, to recall the king, had wrecked the loose-woven elements of which the old Cromwellian party had been composed. Under the influence of reviving loyalty to church and crown and the fear of continued anarchy the Anglicans had secured control of the new House of Commons, elected in the first months of Charles II's reign, and destined to the longest life of any English Parliament. The Savoy Conference between the representatives of the rival communions failed, doubtless by intention, to provide a compromise which would insure the comprehension of the more moderate sects within the old ecclesiastical establishment. The Parliament, under the direction of the chief minister, Clarendon, enacted laws which deprived all save the Anglicans of political power, in so far as that could be accomplished by the terrors of an oath. Betrayed by the king on whom they had relied, by the Parliament whose persecuting spirit they could not check, and excluded from all hope of union with the established church, the English Dissenters, or Nonconformists, were thrown upon their

France and
England
1668-72

own resources. The breach between them and their triumphant enemies became irreconcilable, and the English people were thenceforth divided against themselves on religious lines. These emphasized a cleavage, first social, presently political, between the two groups, which became no small factor in the world of thought and action, in regions far beyond the narrow confines of English domestic concerns.

The rise of
English
political
parties
1660-74

In particular there arose from this situation a permanent element in public affairs of profound importance in the history of government. During the bitter conflicts of the ensuing decade and a half, the Presbyterians were transformed into a so-called Country Party, organized in opposition to the designs of the court. This, chiefly recruited at first from the Nonconformists and the more moderate Anglicans, gradually formulated a program, developed an organization, a following, and a set of political principles, into a disciplined and permanent Opposition in Parliament. At the same time the Court Party crystallized into like form, and the growing antagonism of the two bodies deepened the line of demarcation; till from them arose the political organisms known as the Whig and Tory parties. Their importance was not confined to English politics alone, nor even to their immediate influence on foreign affairs, in which the Country Party determined England's position as the enemy of Louis XIV. With them began a more truly popular government. And when the parliamentary system spread throughout the European world in the ensuing century and a half, it was in English parties, as in the English Parliament, that the widening circle of self-governing communities found models for their principles and practices.

The first result of this cleavage in English politics, however, was in no small degree unfortunate, for in its rivalries the French king found an opportunity to render England impotent in continental affairs. To offset the popular antagonism toward France and Catholicism, he bribed Charles to adjourn or prorogue his Parliament whenever it grew too dangerous to French plans. To render its efforts futile when it met he intrigued with opposition leaders, reinforced their

struggles against the policy of the crown in asserting its supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and so assisted in producing administrative deadlocks. To divert attention from his own designs and to further weaken his enemies he encouraged the old Anglo-Dutch rivalry. Meanwhile, his diplomacy was busy isolating his intended victim. He disrupted the Triple Alliance by the secret Treaty of Dover with Charles II, and a concurrent arrangement with Sweden, which brought both powers to the side of France. He subsidized the bishops of Münster and Cologne, and, five years after the signature of the Triple Alliance, he hurled his troops upon the Netherlands. At the same moment his English allies again launched their fleets against their ancient rivals in a last effort to secure the mastery of the sea. 1670

Before this joint attack it seemed that the Dutch were doomed to extinction as a European power. Turenne and Condé easily overran their southern provinces. The English won a great victory over their fleet in Southwold Bay; and in a popular rising the mob of Amsterdam fell upon John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, put them to death, and left the state for the moment without a head. But the very crisis which threatened the existence of the Netherlands as a nation, suddenly revealed a new hero to the European world. In William, Prince of Orange, now elevated by the overthrow of the republican enemies of his house to the conduct of affairs, Holland was destined to find a preserver, and Louis XIV a worthy antagonist. Brave, phlegmatic, determined, gifted beyond any man of his day in diplomacy, statesmanship, and war, bred from his earliest youth in the school of public affairs, and accustomed to danger and intrigue, the young prince was a fit successor to those commanders and statesmen who had raised his country to independence and national greatness.

His courage revived that of his countrymen, while his military skill made head even against the genius of the French generals; and his diplomacy enlisted Spain and the Emperor against the threat of French predominance. Brandenburg was won to his side by the fear of the Swedes and the

The
Anglo-
French
attack on
Holland
1672-

The
coalition
against
France

1674

danger to her western provinces. At the same time the rising English sentiment against the increasing danger from French and Catholic ambitions overpowered the hatred of Holland, drove from power the Cabal ministry which had succeeded that of Clarendon, and compelled a treaty with the Dutch. Again, at a critical moment, Holland found a savior in the house of Orange, as William's adroit and desperate diplomacy revealed France and her allies face to face with a coalition of the most powerful states of Europe.

The
second
" War of
Devolu-
tion "
1672-8

Despite the earlier successes of the French, and the Swedish inroads into Brandenburg which diverted the Great Elector from sending aid to Holland, despite French naval victories in the Mediterranean over the Spanish and the Dutch, the victory of Condé over William, and Turenne's ravages in the Palatinate, Louis XIV's forces made head with increasing difficulty against their enemies. Frederick William, hastening back to defend his threatened provinces, not only struck an effective blow at Swedish prestige by his victory at Fehrbellin but laid the foundations for Prussian traditions of supremacy in arms. The seizure of Ghent by the French ill-compensated them for the death of Turenne in the Palatinate; and Louis XIV's efforts to keep England neutral by bribery of all parties in the state were rendered futile by the determination of the country to enter the lists against France. Stimulated by the agents of the allies, no less than by their own inclinations, the leaders of the Opposition pressed on toward war. Supplies were voted for an army and a fleet; and, in spite of his obligations to his cousin and his own inclinations, Charles II was compelled to yield.

1675

England's
entry into
the war
1677

His well-founded complaint that in taking from him the direction of foreign policy the Commons had invalidated the royal prerogative was significant of the changes effected in this great crisis. With the marriage of William of Orange to the English princess, Mary, it was apparent that England would no longer be restrained from a part in the war. It was scarcely less evident that the old rivalry of the English and the Dutch would thenceforth be lost in common animosity against their common enemy. And when, at the same

moment, the Emperor's hands were freed to aid the allies, it was perceived by the French king that he could no longer prevail against such odds.

Under such circumstances peace seemed imperative to the Grand Monarque. Negotiations already begun at Nymwegen were hurried to a conclusion, and ten years after the Triple Alliance, the cycle of events which had brought such useless bloodshed to the people of the west was completed by a return to peace and the readjustment of European relations on the basis of an altering balance of national power. Brandenburg, compelled to postpone her ambition in the Baltic, exchanged her conquests in Pomerania for East Friesland and an indemnity. Holland preserved her provinces intact; the Emperor gave up Freiburg and the Breisgau for Philippsburg; while France and Spain divided a long line of barrier fortresses along the borders of the Low Countries.

The
Peace of
Nymwegen
1678



Such were the territorial results of Louis XIV's second adventure in war and diplomacy. But it is evident, even in a bare outline of those events in western Europe which filled the first eighteen years of his long reign, that, of themselves, the relations between England, Holland, France, and the west-German princes could scarcely have exhausted the interest of European history in this period. During those mo-

mentous years when French armies and French ambassadors dazzled the continent and roused the antagonism of half Europe, it was, in fact, in other quarters and in far different hands than the spectacular activities of Louis XIV, that most of the real interests of progress were conserved and advanced. Two movements, in particular, challenged the triumphs of the French king with solid achievements of constructive work. The first comprised the complex activities of the powers beyond the Elbe, in Europe itself; the second was the activity of Europeans in North America.

Eastern
Europe
1660-78

Of these, the former related itself most closely to that long series of events which culminated in the Peace of Nymwegen. What the reign of Louis XIV was to France and the house of Bourbon, that of Frederick William, "the Great Elector" of Brandenburg, was to his house and state, and that of Leopold I to Austria and the Hapsburg dynasty. What the wars in the west were to France, England, and the Netherlands, the simultaneous conflicts among the Baltic powers, the Empire, and the Turks were to the eastern states. And of far greater permanent importance to the fortunes of the continent than the personal ambitions of Louis XIV were the rise of Brandenburg and the final repulse of Turkish power.

Branden-
burg and
Austria

The reign of the French king unquestionably was a great epoch in the development of European civilization. His very luxury stimulated that tendency of his countrymen toward the refinements of life which inspired imitation and invigorated their industry. It might be argued that his ambition for conquest compelled his antagonists to exertions which redounded to their ultimate advantage. Yet with all the prestige which he enjoyed in his own day and since, it is doubtful whether the splendid Grand Monarque contributed more to the real progress of the continent and its peoples than the hard-working, uninspiring Prussian prince who, rather by management than war, fostered and organized the resources of his disjointed patrimony. Certainly his service was not greater than that of the Archduke-Emperor whose youth was spent in building toy

churches and whose age was dominated by the Jesuits, yet whose slender abilities, steeled by unfaltering confidence in his family and his faith, enabled his dynasty to emerge triumphant from the greatest crisis in its history, and, with the aid of his heroic allies, to roll back the last attempt of Asia to overwhelm the civilization of Europe. Neither in dramatic interest nor in solid results, was the great French adventure in the west superior to the drama which at the same time unfolded itself in distant Poland, with the heroic John Sobieski as its central figure.

The story of eastern Europe in the years when France challenged the domination of the continent is a tangled skein of many twisted threads, and the Peace of Nymwegen determined not alone the measure of the French king's successes and failures. It marked a turning-point in the fortunes of the whole continent. Between the east and west the far-aspiring diplomacy of Louis XIV in his relations with Sweden and Brandenburg, Poland, the Empire, and the Turks formed a connecting link of common interests. Yet each of these various elements played, no less, its independent part in the complex developments which found expression in the famous peace; and from their interaction with the French designs there presently emerged a readjustment of general European politics.

In the north the long rivalry of the Baltic states had been stimulated by their relations with events in the west. Denmark's alliance with the Dutch and her persistent maintenance of the so-called "Sound dues," which her control of the Baltic gateway enabled her to demand, had brought her into conflict with England. This was important as one of the earliest efforts of the new international law to free sea-going commerce from that species of feudal restriction which had disappeared on land. That controversy had been largely precipitated and composed by Cromwell who, in pursuance of his Protestant and commercial policy, had made terms with Sweden and Denmark. By them English ships enjoyed for a time the freedom accorded to the Dutch, but the issue was not finally determined and remained to vex Europe

The
northern
powers

1660

for two centuries more. But the chief interest of Danish activities lay in the circumstance that, like Sweden, her people, wearying of noble and clerical dominance, assented to a *Lex Regia*, which made the king virtually absolute. It was symbolic of that general reaction in favor of royalty which marked the transition from the Age of Cromwell to the Age of Louis XIV, and seemed to presage the fall of popular influence in government.

1660

That tendency, which had restored Charles II to the English throne and presently made William of Orange Stadtholder of the United Netherlands, was even more conspicuous in Sweden. Seduced from the policy which, under her dominant aristocracy had brought her into the Triple Alliance, she had, on the majority of Charles XI, put the state in his hands; and like his English namesake, the Swedish king entered the train of Louis XIV. The change was fatal to his country's ambitions, and all but fatal to her ascendancy. Her army was beaten by the Brandenburgers, her fleet was first crippled by the Dutch and then destroyed by their allies, the Danes. And it was a bitter commentary on her policy that the power which had played a leading part in the negotiations of Westphalia was only enabled to retain her boundaries thirty years later by the French king's resolution not to abandon his ally at the Peace of Nymwegen.

The Great
Elector
1640-88

Far different was the case of Brandenburg, whose astute, unheroic Elector was no less bent on the extension of his boundaries and his power than the French king himself, and exerted his talents with no less success. His first care was the establishment of his authority. By his adroit and arbitrary management the privileges of the Estates of Brandenburg were limited, and the restless nobility of Prussia and Cleves repressed. The right to tax was enforced throughout his various lordships as an expression of sovereignty, no less than to increase revenue, and the straggling possessions of the Hohenzollerns began to take on some appearance of administrative if not of territorial unity. His stern but efficient administration maintained an army out of proportion to the extent and resources of his lands; and with his "state

all sting'' he was enabled to play a part to which the size of his dominions would otherwise not have entitled him. Meanwhile he bent his energies to the enlargement of those lands, by the extension of his authority over the Hohenzollern share of the Cleves-Jülich inheritance, the acquisition of East Friesland and Magdeburg, Schwebus, and part of Pomerania. More important still was his effort to make his subjects prosperous, and thus increase his revenue. Every part of his dominions felt the impulse of an executive which lent itself to projects of drainage and canals, to the improvement of agriculture, the encouragement of immigration, and the spread of manufacturing industries, no less than to diplomacy and war. Scarcely anywhere in Europe was there a power which so fully represented the dominant tendencies of the age of absolutist nationality as did the disjointed territories of this second-rate state. As it developed a strong, well-organized administration, steadily reinforced by increasing economic prosperity, and directed by competent military, diplomatic, and political capacity, it prepared to claim a higher rank in European affairs.

The manifold activities of Frederick William and the ambitious plans by which he hoped to bring his electorate from merely German into European polity were meanwhile favored no less by the entanglements of his neighbors upon the east and south than by the relative decline of his northern rival. Poland and Russia, in particular, formed the antithesis to Brandenburg. The one was rent by one of those recurrent struggles for the throne, which, at this time, followed the abdication of John Casimir Vasa, and divided the warlike nobility, even while the great Cossack revolt transferred the allegiance of those wild horsemen from Warsaw to Moscow.

Poland and
Russia
1660-78

For Russia this was a doubtful gain in the disturbed condition of the state. Torn by the Raskol, or great schism, she now revealed a powerful element filled with fanatical hatred of all change, especially of those west-European influences which were making way among the Muscovites. The quarrels with Poland over the Cossacks were accentuated by the turbulence of those new subjects; and until the resulting war with the

1669

1667

Turks left Zaporogia and the Ukraine in Russian hands, the wide lands along the Don, the Dnieper, and the Caspian were the scene of war and pillage. Meanwhile, the religious fanatics, escaping the clutches of the government, bore with them seeds of disaffection into the forests and the wastes even while they extended the hold of Russia upon the vast and sparsely settled lands which surrounded her on nearly every side. And had it not been that Poland was scarcely less disturbed by the complexities of her dynastic rivalries and harassed by conflict with the Swede and Turk, the Czars might well have rued the day that brought new cause of quarrel with their neighbors on the west.

Austria
and the
Empire

Such was the situation of the north and east in those years when France aspired to control the west. Save in so far as Sweden and Brandenburg had emphasized their growing rivalry by taking different sides in Louis XIV's wars, and Denmark found herself embroiled between the English and the Dutch, those powers played no decisive part in the western conflict. It was far different with Austria. If Holland, between England and France, was a storm-center of that struggle, the Emperor, between the Turks and Louis XIV's German ambitions, found his position no less hazardous. Along his wide frontiers lay the heart of that great problem which for five hundred years has disturbed the peace of the continent,—the Ottoman Turks. These now approached another crisis in their long career, and at the moment when Louis XIV prepared to execute his designs against his neighbors, they showed signs of a revival of those energies which had so terrified Europe in the preceding centuries.

The Turks

It had been the good fortune of the Christian powers that the Thirty Years' War had found the Turks unable to take advantage of their opportunity to extend their conquests while their enemies were engaged in religious conflict. For the eighty years after the death of Suleiman the Magnificent, the aggressive strength of his people, following their defeat at Lepanto, had gradually declined, with the incompetence of their rulers and the disorganization of their military force.

But the Age of Cromwell had revealed signs of their reviving activity. Its first manifestation was their attack on Crete, whose siege, beginning in the year of the Peace of Westphalia, dragged its slow length for twenty years, till, just as the Triple Alliance came into being, the fall of Candia wrested from Venice the most important possession left to her in the eastern Mediterranean.

1648-

1668

In large measure Turkish regeneration was due to one family. At the moment that Cromwell concluded his war with Spain, a palace revolution had brought to the head of Ottoman affairs an old Albanian, Mohammed Kiuprili, as Grand Vizier. Under his relentless severity the Turks began to recover something of their famous skill in the one branch of human activity for which they seemed peculiarly adapted, the art of war; and for forty years thereafter, guided by some member of the Kiuprili family, they again threatened the peace of eastern Europe, and with it the course of events in the west.

The
Kiuprilis
1656-96

The brunt of their attack fell, as always, upon Austria, then ill-prepared for such a stubborn conflict. The diverse territories which Leopold had inherited were united only by his personal rule and were in no condition to give him the assistance he required. Bohemia was wasted with war and cowed by the disasters of the long conflict which had begun in her borders. The portion of Hungary remaining under Hapsburg rule seethed with disaffection; and beyond its boundaries the restless principality of Transylvania—whose control was still in dispute—was scarcely more than a dependency of the Porte. And while Buda Pesth as an outpost of Turkish power threatened the imperial boundaries on the east and south, the old enmity of Sweden was now reinforced by the rising power of France which endangered the Emperor's authority upon the west and north.

The
Austro-
Turkish
war
1661-4

Looking about for aid, Leopold found his two natural allies against the Turks, Russia and Poland, absorbed in mutual antagonism and internal difficulties. His appeal to the princes of the Empire brought little response. But Louis XIV, to whom he was finally driven to apply, was not unwilling to

Battle of
St. Goth-
ard
1664

play a generous part which, at the same time, enabled him to secure some influence in that quarter of Europe. From him the harassed Emperor was able to secure a contingent of French troops. Thus reinforced, the imperial commander, Montecuculi, seized a defensive position on the Raab, and there—at almost the same moment that the English fleet, as a prelude to the Anglo-Dutch war, took possession of New Amsterdam—was fought one of the decisive engagements of modern times. Unable to force the Austrian position, the Turks were first repulsed, then all but annihilated in the great battle of St. Gothard. Not since Don John of Austria had crushed their naval power at Lepanto a century before had they suffered such a decisive reverse; and, as a result, they were compelled to sign a truce for twenty years. With this the Empire gained a breathing-space for the prosecution of the great enterprises which awaited her elsewhere.

1668

Disastrous as was the battle of St. Gothard to the advance of the Turks along the Danube, they were still dangerous. Though they were foiled in their attack on Austria, and compelled to share the suzerainty of Transylvania with Leopold, though their hold on Hungary was shaken, they were far from the end of their aggressions. The year of the Triple Alliance had seen their conquest of Crete despite the aid despatched by Louis XIV to the heroic defenders of its capital. And, four years thereafter, the joint attack of England and France upon Holland was accompanied by a Turkish and Cossack descent upon Poland.

The Turks,
the Cos-
sacks, and
Poland
1672-8

The course of events in these two coincident yet widely diverse conflicts was curiously similar. Each of the states attacked was divided against itself by factions aspiring to control its destinies. Each seemed about to sink beneath the force and treachery of its enemies; and each, in the great crisis of its fate, found a deliverer. For as the Netherlands were saved by the stubborn courage and adroit diplomacy of William III, so Poland was preserved by the military skill of John Sobieski. At the same moment that the Prince of Orange drew together the forces of a second coalition against his great antagonist, at Khoczim the Polish levies, under

Sobieski's leadership, turned back the tide of barbarism which threatened their country's existence. And as de Witt had been replaced by William III, so the new Polish hero, sometime a pensioner of the French king, was raised to that precarious throne, against whose former occupant he had conspired. Nor was this all of his great services to Poland and to Europe generally. During the following year, while the Swedes were being beaten at Fehrbellin, and Turenne's conquest of the Palatinate was ended by his death, Sobieski's victory at Lemberg relieved Poland from the fear of Cossack and Turk alike. 1673 1675

It was inevitable that this series of events should react on the west. Had Austria during these years been at liberty to direct her full strength to the defense of Germany, the whole career of Louis XIV might have been different. This was at once apparent when the Emperor, relieved of the danger from the Turks, despatched their conqueror, Montecuculi, to face Turenne and co-operate with William III and his allies. The imperial general was no less fortunate on the Rhine than on the Danube. His cannon cost Louis XIV the services of Turenne; his ability manœvered the French out of Germany; and, as he had earlier saved the eastern borders of the Empire from the Turk he now relieved its western states from the French. Austria and the Peace of Nymwegen

The effect of the Turkish defeats and Montecuculi's success, joined to the activities of the great coalition William III had built, and to the threat of English hostility, proved too great for the French king's resources. It was in vain his diplomats had striven east and west to avert defeat. The Polish throne was occupied by Sobieski, who had become a firm ally of Austria. Not all French urgency availed to move the Turks to break their truce and face again the Poles and the Imperialists. The Hungarians, under Tokölyi, who had signalized his leadership by a medal inscribed "Ludovicus XIV, Galliae Rex, Protector Hungariae," remained in arms against the Emperor. But their power was small, and the unnatural policy which joined Frenchmen, Swedes, Turks, and rebel Hungarians against the rest of Europe broke down before a

coalition which from English Parliamentary opposition on the west to a reviving Empire on the east, combined against the enemy of European peace. Thus were woven the elements of the Peace of Nymwegen on which was wrecked another effort to subordinate Europe to a single power.

CHAPTER XXVI

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1660-1678

WITH the treaties of Nymwegen Louis XIV virtually reached the height of his power if not of his ambitions and his prestige. For a decade and a half his armies and his diplomats had disturbed the peace of Europe in an attempt to give France wider boundaries. However slight the handbreadth of territory which was the reward of such an expenditure of blood and treasure, it had required the efforts of half the continent to check his aggressions, and he stood forth, in consequence, the greatest figure of the European world. Yet his desire for fame and power, growing by what it fed on, aspired to fresh triumphs; while France, infected by his spirit of aggrandizement, and filled with the spirit of militant nationality, remained a menace to the quiet of the continent.

Louis XIV
at the
Peace of
Nymwegen

Scarcely touched by the religious zeal which had inspired Gustavus and Cromwell, unmoved by the spirit of intellectual and political liberty which found expression in the Netherlands and England, Louis XIV, save in his identification with the principle of nationality, had thus far appeared only as a destructive and reactionary force in the European world. The glamor of military glory and diplomatic pre-eminence, the glitter of a brilliant court, and the splendid burst of intellectual genius which accompanied and lent luster to his reign, could not conceal the great danger to European progress which every triumph that he won brought with it. For the real value of his personal activities and ambitions lay rather in the opposition which they evoked and which was to make their realization impossible. Thus during those momentous years when French armies and French ambassadors dazzled the imagination of the continent and roused the

antagonism of half the sovereigns of Europe, it was in other quarters and in far different hands that the substantial progress of mankind was chiefly conserved and advanced. The Peace of Nymwegen determined not alone the limits of the French king's ambitions, it marked a turning point in the fortunes of the continent, only second in importance to Westphalia.

Opposition
to his
designs

If, from the commanding eminence which he occupied, Louis XIV's vision had been capable of wider range, he would have seen that the position which he had assumed, despite the apparent greatness which it brought, had permitted his ambition to lead him and his nation into a by-path of European progress. That position was, indeed, the culmination of the older traditions of arbitrary power, of European domination, the apotheosis of kingship as it was then understood. In him that school of thought and practice of government reached its climax. But in the very days of his ascendancy it was in far different fields and very different hands that Europe was turning to other ends. Not in the narrow theater of the Rhineland and the Low Countries, nor in the extension of personal and irresponsible sovereignty, still less in the domination of the continent, lay the important lines of future progress. At the very hour of its apparent triumph the idea of divine right of kings was about to receive a fatal blow. At the very height of its challenge to the control of the destinies of Europe was born the idea of balance of power which made the continued supremacy of any single state impossible. Thus while war and diplomacy seemed to Louis XIV, and to most men besides, the principal business of mankind, the forces of commerce and colonization were altering the foundations of power in regions far beyond his ken, and so re-shaping the bases of government and society.

France
beyond
the sea

Not that France was without those who perceived the truth far more clearly than the Grand Monarque. At the moment that his energies and those of his subjects were engaged in the struggle for the Low Countries, far from the precincts of his brilliant court, far from France itself, scarcely

heeded by the ruler whom they served, other and humbler Frenchmen were laying foundations for a wider empire than all his European conquests could have won. For, in the years he gave to the attack upon the Netherlands, there was first laid bare, under French auspices, the vast interior of North America, where men aspired to found a new and broader France. While their master contended for the few miles of coveted sea-coast, and his contemporaries in the east hurled back the Turkish hosts, a new chapter was begun in the history of Europe by these daring adventurers.

What dreams France had of this great exploit were chiefly centered in the far-reaching designs of the minister of finance, Colbert, in whose hands the expanding forces of French commerce and colonies now woke to new life. What enduring achievement France accomplished was chiefly due to him. The new minister personified the altering forces of his time. From a draper's apprentice to service under Mazarin, by him bequeathed to Louis XIV, Colbert had early signalized his advent to power by reorganizing the finances whose condition had been no small cause of French decline during Cromwell's ascendancy, and whose prosperity was a large element in Louis' successes. He established a council of finance and an exchequer court, punished dishonest farmers of the revenue, and arbitrarily scaled down the public debt. He established what was virtually the first system of customs duties or tariff in the modern sense. In twenty years he increased by half the revenues of the state, while decreasing the cost of its collection in even greater proportion, and thus revealed himself as the first great master of modern European public finance.

Colbert
1619-83

Nor were his activities confined to the administration of the revenues. Commerce was encouraged; an infinity of industries, especially lace-making and silk-weaving, were added to French resources. Roads were built and supplemented by a network of water communication crowned by the Languedoc canal, which provided France not merely with interior communication but an inland waterway from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. Thus he filled the first

great need of her industry. Created minister of marine, he created in turn a navy, and, in the process of improving the civil laws, enriched them by special codes for the marine and for the colonies. He was no less a patron of learning and the arts, of science and literature, than of the business interests. He founded academies of science, inscriptions, and architecture, and so set France on the way to wider and more enduring successes. And, finally, "persecuted because he had brains without birth by those who had birth without brains," he met his reward in popular execration for the taxes he was compelled to raise, and royal neglect by him for whom he raised them.

His
colonial
plans

1662-

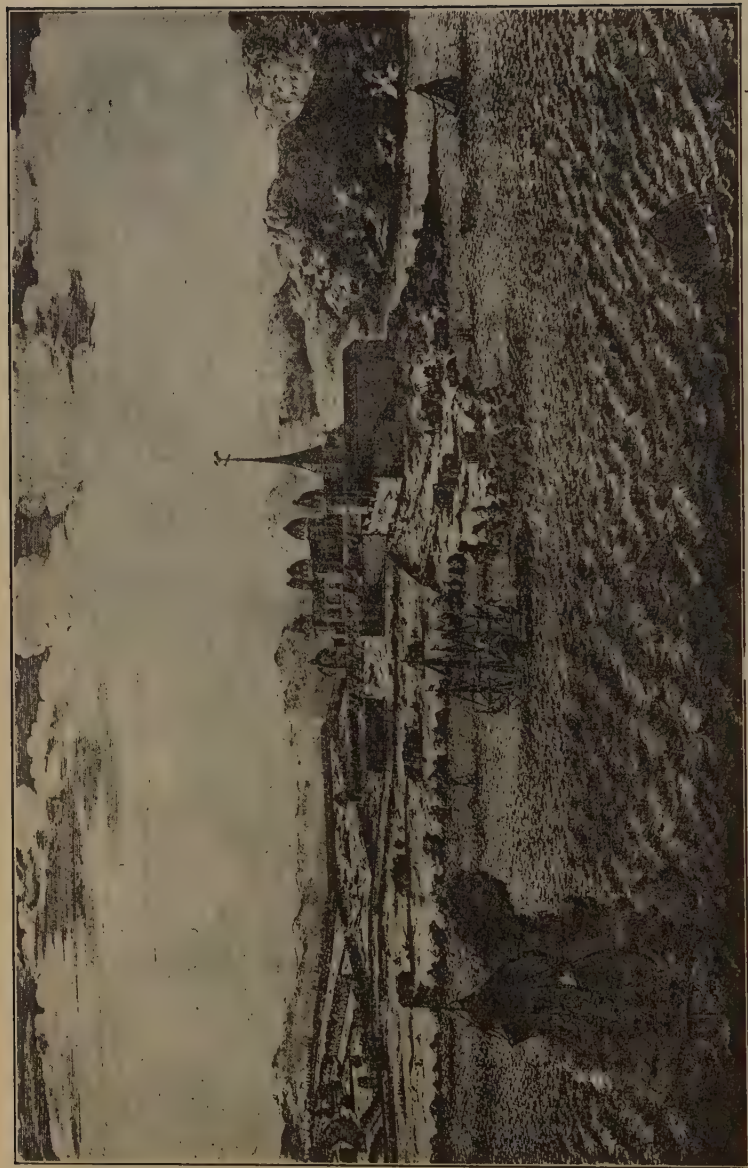
Of all Colbert's many claims to remembrance as one of the founders of modern Europe, not the least is that, amid the clash of arms, he re-founded French colonial empire. It was high time that this was done, if France was ever to play a part beyond the sea. In the first year of Louis XIV's reign the powerful tribe of the Iroquois, who held the lands south of the St. Lawrence and the two most easterly of the Great Lakes of North America, had almost destroyed the slender population of New France, and cut them off from the way to the west and its wealth of furs. To the despairing appeal of the survivors the French government had responded generously. The power of the old company of the Hundred Associates, into whose hands Richelieu had given the administration of the colony, was replaced by that of the crown. A Sovereign Council was created; a governor and intendant appointed; five hundred colonists were sent out and given maintenance for a year at state expense; and New France became a royal province. For its protection troops were despatched, forts built along the Richelieu, and the Iroquois so severely defeated that they were no longer a menace to the French frontiers or the fur traders. This accomplished, a part of the soldiers was left in garrison, as settlers; more emigrants arrived, including some shiploads of young women; and a premium on marriage established foundations of a sound colonial society. Thus revived and strengthened, New France took its place among European

1668



CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE IROQUOIS.

From Champlain's *Voyages*, 1613. By courtesy of the New York Public Library.



THE PORTUGUESE POST OR "FACTORY" AT S. JORGE DE MINA ON THE GUINEA COAST.
From Dapper's *Atlas*, 1676. Compare with the picture of the fortress at Calicut, Vol. I, p. 105.

colonies as the peculiar product of French royal power, in the first decade of the new king's reign.

From it three elements almost at once began the extension of French influence westward and northward into the wilderness. As the spirit of colonial enterprise passed from the hands of Portugal and Spain to the other powers; as English and Dutch traders and religious refugees opened the ways of commerce and settlement; French soldiers, priests, and fur-traders vied with each other for the control of this new empire.

It was, above all, to the priests and fur-traders that France owed her empire. Nowhere in the stirring annals of European adventure among savage peoples is the story of their daring and devotion overmatched. A handful of explorers braved almost incredible experiences to open up the interior of North America to French enterprise. The high courage and self-sacrifice of the Jesuits and their followers not only maintained the highest traditions of an order notable for those great qualities: it contributed, perhaps, more than any other single force to the strength of France in America. Radisson and Groseillers had earlier followed the track of Nicolet, and now, as the danger from the Iroquois subsided, the explorer Joliet was despatched along their trail to find the copper deposits about Lake Superior rumors of which had reached Quebec. Returning from an unsuccessful search for that source of wealth, he met a party under Robert, Cavalier de La Salle, who, with Sulpician missionaries accompanying him, had just signalized his entry into the field of exploration by the discovery of that tremendous gorge through which the water of the Great Lakes plunges on its way to the sea, Niagara Falls. Thence, parting from his priestly companions, who retraced Joliet's course to the missions which their predecessors had established on the distant shores of Green Bay, La Salle found his way to the Allegheny. Thereafter he made his way to the river which drains the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains, now for the first time seen by Europeans, and known as the Ohio. From this momentous journey the intrepid explorer returned to

Exploration

La Salle

1669-70

1679-80

lead another expedition northwest to Mackinac, and thence by way of Lake Michigan and the Illinois. There he founded the post of Fort Crèveœur and sent some of his followers further on, across the vast prairies stretching to and beyond the Father of Waters, which flowed, men thought, either to the southern gulf or to the Pacific. In such fashion was the way into the heart of the continent revealed.



Re-drawing of Joliet's map. The medallion contained the inscription. Compare with Hennepin's map (facing p. 80).

Joliet

Before La Salle had reached his goal New France felt a fresh impulse. Her energetic ruler, Talon, under whose auspices these initial explorations had been carried on, was replaced by the Count de Frontenac, who sent Joliet to find a way to the great river which now became the goal of French exploring enterprise. Joined at Mackinac by a Jesuit missionary, the two found their way to Green Bay, thence by the Fox River to Lake Winnebago, then to and down the Wisconsin. At the same moment that on the eastern edge of Europe John Sobieski drew his forces to resist the Turks and farther west William III rallied to his support the princes of the continent to check the aggressions of Louis XIV, the

1673

two French adventurers reached the Mississippi River, laid bare the secret of the heart of North America, and, as it was to prove in no long time, widened the area for which their master was to strive against his foes.

Thereafter, as the great continental war went on, the energies of New France were directed to securing the way into this vast interior. Under the guidance of Frontenac, who brought to its accomplishment the talents which had earlier given him reputation in German and Italian wars and gained him the favor of Maurice of Nassau, the government's first care was for the military control of the route to the west. A seigneurie near Fort Frontenac was conferred on his lieutenant, La Salle, who obtained a patent from the crown and planned the commercial conquest of the inland empire. Accompanied by his friend and follower, the Italian officer, Tonty, and a Récollet friar, Hennepin, the great adventurer next established a post at Niagara, and, at the same moment that the Peace of Nymwegen was being signed, prepared an expedition to bring the Ohio and Mississippi valleys under French control. Such a plan, successfully accomplished, would have given his native land a far more splendid and valuable heritage than she could hope to gain along the blood-stained boundaries at home. Properly supported, it would have enabled her to anticipate the advance of the English sea-coast colonies across the Alleghenies into the hinterland, and make France supreme in North America.

Some men, even in France, saw the vision. If the ambitions of La Salle and Frontenac had led France to the threshold of a magnificent achievement, the view of the great minister who encouraged and supported them had meanwhile taken an even wider range. At the same moment that the explorers brought the interior of the North American continent under French influence, Colbert embarked upon far-reaching plans of colonial and commercial enterprise, of which even the great exploits of the heroes of New France formed but a part. Beginning with the reorganization of Canada, he sought to rival English and Dutch success in the foundation of trading corporations. The old Northern

The securing of the West

1679

Colbert's plans
1672-8

or Baltic company and that of the Levant were galvanized into new activity and reinforced by an African company basing its privileges on a treaty negotiated with Algiers. The moribund Senegal Association, ceding some of its privileges to a French West India corporation, was transformed into a new body; while the societies trading to the east were fused into a French East India Company under whose auspices it was proposed to enter the Persian field and open relations with Madagascar. At the same time the various interests in the west from Canada to St. Christopher were combined in the hands of the French West India Company. Thus equipped, with a naval force prepared to protect the commerce which this burst of company promotion was expected to pour into France, Colbert planned to challenge the Anglo-Dutch monopoly of colonial and commercial enterprise.

French
expansion

But the ambitious plans which were to have brought French power about the Atlantic from Quebec to the Cape of Good Hope and extend its influence through the nearer and the farther East, were destined to brief existence. The temper of the times, the ambitions of the monarch whom Colbert served, and, above all, the genius of his people, did not lend themselves to the devices which brought fortune and empire to England and the Netherlands. Like Spain and Portugal, France achieved her ends by different means. A few years of unsuccessful experiment and the colonies were united to the crown. Yet the efforts of Colbert and his lieutenants were by no means wholly vain. The expeditions of French traders and missionaries not merely widened the bounds of their country's knowledge and power; they poured into her markets a tremendous wealth of furs. More important still, from the standpoint of her rulers, they secured an increasing influence over the Indian tribes, providing allies who enabled her to maintain pretensions to the interior of North America for three-quarters of a century, and a position which otherwise would soon have become untenable. The development of the marine reinforced the warlike ambitions of the king and brought into existence a navy which in a dozen years was able to challenge even English supremacy on the sea.

The impetus given by Colbert's efforts in behalf of the sugar industry in the French West Indies not merely drew from that source an increasing stream of the coveted colonial product. Within a century it made those islands, in proportion to their size, the most valuable colonial possession in the world.

Such was the contribution of the French to the expansion of Europe beyond the sea in the years that her master struck for the domination of the continent. But, great as it was, French energy by no means absorbed all the importance of European activities in that field during this momentous period. Spain and Portugal, indeed, had been stricken from the list of leaders in Europe's conquering advance. England and Holland had replaced them; and these, however involved in the designs of Louis XIV, however overshadowed for the moment by the discoveries of the French, were still to be reckoned with. They were, in fact, at a turning-point in their affairs. Both at the moment faced a crisis in their domestic concerns no less than in their fortunes as world powers. And if Louis XIV stood for the spirit of national monarchy which had succeeded the struggle for politico-religious supremacy, the Anglo-Dutch powers represented no less the spirit of colonial-commercial dominance, which was the second great element in late seventeenth century polity.

In that struggle Cromwell had already struck a decisive blow and laid down the lines for the economic warfare which preceded, caused, and accompanied the appeal to arms. The renewal of the Navigation Act on Charles II's accession to the throne gave notice to the world that England had not abandoned the Cromwellian policy of commercial exclusiveness. A succession of like measures which ensued, at once committed the English to those protective principles which crystallized into the so-called mereantile system, and brought her again and yet again into conflict with the Dutch. In opposition to that policy of high protection, despite Holland's ability to contend on fairly equal terms by sea, the lesser nation could hardly be expected to endure, weakened as it was, meanwhile, by French attack. The first decade and a

Holland
and
England
oversea
1672-8

1660-75

half of Charles II's reign was the period when England took Holland's place in the commercial and colonial world. And it is a fact not unworthy of note that the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars, like the first—and in perhaps still greater measure—originated not within but without Europe. Each was preceded by naval engagements off the African or the American coasts. The great prize of the wars, New Amsterdam or New York, was actually seized and occupied by the English before the outbreak of hostilities in European waters. So early and so great was the influence of the extra-European world upon the course of European politics at home.

But what Holland's courage and resources could scarcely have accomplished, the ill-fortune of her principal enemy once more achieved. To the fear of the Cromwellians which had long possessed the English mind succeeded the greater fear of French and Catholic predominance. The ill-advised activity of a part of the English Catholics reinforced the alarm caused by the advance of the French into the Netherlands. Before these dangers even economic rivalry had declined. The growing opposition in the nation compelled peace with Holland, and forced on the reluctant king the marriage of the Princess Mary to William III. The most famous agitation of history, the Popish Plot, inflamed England to madness against the Catholics; and among the many threads which were gathered up at Nymwegen, not the least was the beginning of an Anglo-Dutch connection, which, concluding their long-lived rivalry, was destined to become a turning-point of European history. Thus, with the division of English Protestantism into opposing camps and the ensuing evolution of the party system of parliamentary government, and with the growing power of the Commons in finance and foreign affairs, began a revolution not alone in English but in European affairs which was to be extended into the whole world of politics.

1678

The decline of
Holland

Beside the establishment of such far-reaching relationships and institutions of the maritime states, even the successive wars and treaties in which they were involved sank into relative insignificance. Nor was the period less notable for

its effect on the balance of power throughout the world which hung upon their respective authority. The causes of the decline of Holland and the concurrent rise of England lay largely outside the circumstances of their wars with each other, and in some measure even beyond their relations with the other continental powers. The situation was not much altered by the misfortunes of the Dutch. Beyond the transfer of New Amsterdam,—itself a source of no great revenue in comparison with the profits of the eastern trade,—Holland had suffered scarcely any territorial losses. The chief sources of her wealth had not been seriously impaired; while the recovery of Pularoon, the strengthening of her hold on African ports, and the virtual recognition of her monopoly of trade with the farther East and the Spice Islands—which were confirmed by the last peace with England—seemed only to make her more secure.

None the less she had suffered an absolute decline in two directions, moral and financial, and a relative loss of position as compared with her chief rival. Save for the narrow strip of Surinam and her scattered West Indian possessions, the long succession of reverses which had begun with her expulsion from Brazil and ended with the conclusion of the conflict with England, saw her authority extinguished throughout the western hemisphere. At the same time the English, by securing their hold on the North American coast, from Florida to Acadia, became the dominating influence in that region. Nor was this all. The loss of Pernambuco and of New Amsterdam, despite the indemnity of eight million florins which the former yielded, and the privilege of Brazilian trade which remained to it, dealt a death-blow to the Dutch West India Company. Compelled to dispose of its interests to the Company of Surinam, the corporation, which in fifty years had won and lost an empire and contributed in no small degree to its country's independence, passed out of existence. At almost the same moment the expulsion of Dutch factors from Formosa by a Chinese adventurer left them no port in the China Sea. And though their Nagasaki post remained to them, the terrible revolt of

Her losses

1678

the Japanese Christians which shook the throne before it was suppressed, weakened their position in the island kingdom, at the same moment that they lost their principal posts in the Americas.

Organiza-
tion of the
Dutch
trading
empire
1658

But with the two extremities of their empire lopped off, their hold on what remained became the more secure. The "frontier fortress of India," the Cape of Good Hope, was reinforced and fortified. The Portuguese were expelled from Ceylon and the absolute monopoly of its trade assured; and, while they still disputed with the English for possession of Java and the Sumatra trade, there had already begun that virtual division between the rival powers which ended with Dutch supremacy in the Spice Islands and England's advance in the Indian peninsula. Under the authority of the government at Batavia, eight governorships—Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Macassar, Ceylon, Malacca, Java, and the Cape—with posts in Bengal and along the Coromandel coast, in Siam, Surat, and Bandar Abbas, rounded out the imposing and highly profitable possessions of the Dutch East India Company. Thus narrowing the scope of their activities, relieved from the pressure of English rivalry by mutual accommodation and union of their ruling families and national interests, the Dutch withdrew from the pursuit of power and devoted themselves to dividends. Thenceforth their activities were confined to the intensive cultivation of what remained to them, and, inevitably drawn into England's train by their converging interests, they ceased to be a leading force in European politics. Rich, indolent, secure, Holland thenceforth declined to insignificance.

English
expansion
1660-78

Meanwhile, England's position in the world greatly improved. Though her sovereign had long been harnessed by a golden chain to the French king's chariot, and the terror which Cromwell inspired on the continent had given way to the contempt inspired by Charles' rule, the Restoration had proved an important period in her history. As the lustful extravagance of the king increased the power of Parliament, so her rivals' absorption in European war gave her an opportunity to exercise her talents in a wider field. In conse-

quence, whatever her humiliations in foreign affairs, her colonial and commercial interests flourished, and however contemptible she appeared to her neighbors at home, beyond the sea she played a different part. For as the reign of Elizabeth had been the age of courtier-privateers, that of Charles II was the age of courtier-promoters.

The impulse to the activities on which the real importance of England in foreign affairs during the Restoration depends, was due in large measure both in colonial and in parliamentary affairs to the same elements which had inspired the Puritan régime. Beginning with the enactment of the Navigation Laws, there came a burst of activity in those fields which revolutionized the whole colonial establishment. Its most immediate results were seen in India. Among the first acts of Charles had been the issue of a new charter to the East India Company. This, with his marriage to the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza—who brought as part of her dowry Tangier and Bombay—gave English enterprise new impetus and direction. Tangier, indeed, disappointed the expectations of those who saw in it a key to the Mediterranean, and after two decades was abandoned; but Bombay was destined to become a bulwark of the British empire of India. With it the company's establishment now comprised the Presidency of Bantam with Jambi, Macassar, and lesser posts in the eastern archipelago; the Presidency of Madras, or Fort St. George, with its dependencies, of which Surat was chief; and Gambroon, which divided the trade of the Persian Gulf with the Dutch post of Bandar Abbas and the Portuguese post of Ormuz. This, though it scarcely rivaled, as yet, Holland's far-flung empire of trading-posts, was neither weak nor unprofitable.

From their new vantage point of Bombay, whose wharves and dockyards soon offered facilities for an increasing commerce, the English strove to extend their operations through Siam, Tonquin, Formosa, and China to Japan, whence their Dutch rivals were being driven out. Nor was this the sole result of the Portuguese marriage and the development of Asiatic commerce. Hard on the re-chartering of the East

The East
India
Company

1661

The Royal
African
Company
1660-78

1662-3

India Company, that group of interests and individuals, which, under various forms, had long striven for control of the Guinea trade, was reorganized as the Royal Company of Adventurers, or the Royal African Company, as it was better known, with the king's brother at its head and the king him-



Africa, re-drawn from the Atlas prepared by Dapper in 1676, and showing the 17th century knowledge of the coast and interior. (From Jacobs's *The Story of Geographical Discovery*, courtesy of D. Appleton & Company.)

1672

self as a stockholder. From its long conflict with the Dutch came much of the bitter hostility which led to the wars with the Netherlands; and though it was ruined by the second of those wars for which it was so largely responsible, it was again reorganized, with the king's cousin, Prince Rupert, among its directors. The decline of Dutch power enabled it to establish factories along the Gold Coast and to extend British influence throughout Guinea. There it soon rivaled

the Portuguese in the traffic which gave the Slave Coast its unenviable name, while the coinage of those gold pieces, "guineas," so-called, which took their name from the new source of precious metals, emphasized its growing interest in English eyes.

Important as were these movements, two other circumstances in this period were of more immediate and no less ultimate significance. The first was the development of English power in America. The Dutch wars had done more than give her control of the Atlantic coast between the territories claimed for France and Spain and put in her hands the great harbor of New Amsterdam, re-named New York. Far to the north, indeed, England for the time abandoned her efforts to hold the St. Lawrence mouth. But far to the south, from Virginia and Barbados, almost simultaneously, emigrants began to make their way into the region between Virginia and Florida, which, chartered and organized as Carolina, added another province to the broadening bounds of British-American empire. 1663

England in
America

More important still were the concurrent developments in the Arctic. The explorer Radisson, discredited by his countrymen, to whom he first bore news of the rich fur field of the great northwest, had found his way to Boston and so to the English court, whose adventurers, with those of London, turned their attention to the region which fifty years before Hudson had found and named. Scarcely had the first Dutch war been brought to a close when a royal ship was despatched thither to find means to compete with the French traffic in furs. Fort Charles was founded at the mouth of a stream called Rupert's River, and a beginning made in barter with the natives for the coveted treasures of the northern forests. Other ships followed the lead thus given, and, within three years, a charter was issued to Prince Rupert and his associates as the "Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay." Under such auspices, at the same moment that the French outflanked the English on the west by occupying the central valley of the continent, the English, in turn, took the French colonies in 1667

Hudson's
Bay
Company

1667

1670

the rear, and opened up the empire of the great north west.

The
English
colonies in
North
America
1660-78

Meanwhile, another series of events profoundly influenced the British Empire in America. This was the situation which developed in the older colonies. Fortunately for them, the English settlers, save in their earliest years, had not been called upon to face the fierce native resistance which Spanish and Portuguese, or even the French had encountered. Virginia, indeed, fared hardly for a time, but New England, apart from French and Indian forays, had been exceptionally peaceful. Its Indian tribes were few and feeble as compared even with the Iroquois; beside the Aztecs and Incas, much less the states of India and the East, they were contemptible. In consequence, the only conflict worthy the name of war which the New England settlers had thus far endured—the rebellion of a native chief, King Philip so-called—was magnified beyond its real importance, and produced almost as great an expenditure of ink as of blood.

1675-6

Free speech, indeed, early became a peculiar characteristic of the colonies. Removed from the immediate pressure of their home government, they were, at all times, freer to express their minds, while they felt themselves important beyond their actual numbers and wealth by virtue of their unique and illimitable opportunities. These sentiments were reinforced by all the independence of the pioneer, and further strengthened by the increasing numbers of immigrants fleeing from French conquest and German Catholic persecution. In consequence, what the North American colonies lacked in native hostilities they made up in an antagonism to home authorities, which was at once a reminiscence of their origin and a prophecy of their future. The more immediate causes of the conflicts which now arose were the outgrowth of the mother country's domestic politics. It was to be expected, after twenty years of English revolution, that the Restoration should bring reorganization not only at home but in colonial affairs. It was perhaps as natural that, in addition to the efforts to restore the royal power throughout the Empire, the royal favorites should be rewarded; and it was no less to

be expected that the colonists, accustomed to a large measure of self-government, should resist any attempt at the curtailment of their rights and privileges.

From these elements, therefore, resulted the third set of events which characterized English expansion during this period. The extension of the Navigation Acts to include all goods carried between England and her colonies was accompanied by administrative reorganization. The re-establishment of crown authority in Virginia in the person of the old royal governor, Berkeley, was followed by the restoration of proprietary rule, and the quit-rents and escheats of that province were granted to Lords Culpepper and Arlington. At the same time Connecticut and New Haven were joined under the terms of a new charter; as were Rhode Island and Providence; while Lord Baltimore was confirmed in the possession of Maryland. The efforts of Massachusetts to secure control of the Gorges inheritance of Maine were accompanied by a revision of its own patent. The assumption of the Cromwellian prize of Jamaica was signalized by the appointment of a governor with power to call and constitute an assembly. The conquest of New Amsterdam transferred it to the Duke of York, and the neighboring territory between the Hudson and the Delaware was conferred by him upon his followers, Berkeley and Carteret. The Bahamas were conferred on the proprietors of Carolina.

Their reorganization
1660-78

1664

All this, with a grant of Carolina to the minister Clarendon and his associates, and its organization under the fantastic provisions of a "Fundamental Constitution"—drawn up by the political philosopher, John Locke—within a dozen years after the Restoration, put the whole North American establishment on a new footing.

It did far more; it roused the bitterest hostility among the colonists. Massachusetts and Connecticut protested against the new arrangements with a violence just short of revolution. The latter opposed by force of arms the efforts of the governor of New York, Andros, to extend his jurisdiction to the east; and in Virginia the resistance to proprietary rule compelled the crown to commute the proprietary rights

Their protest

1676

into a tobacco duty. Worse followed. Roused by the Indian policy of the tyrannical governor, which revived the long-standing antagonism between the conservatism of the older "tide-water" aristocratic element and the advancing frontiersmen who desired rapid expansion, the colonists rose in rebellion. The revolt destroyed Jamestown and only ended with the death of its leader, Bacon. It was only too evident that the policy of grants to court favorites, and even the far more defensible plan of colonial amalgamation and reorganization, would have to be abandoned unless the English government was prepared to put down resistance by force.

The
settlement

Under such circumstances it resorted to other measures. Commissioners were despatched to investigate and secure crown rights in Maine and New Hampshire, enforce the Navigation Acts, and inquire into the courts and the relations of the colonists with the Indian tribes. In the face of continued disturbances a further and more important step was presently taken. This was the reorganization of the central authority. Colonial affairs, which had long been administered by committees of the royal council, were now combined with those of foreign trade, and, under the guidance of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who represented at once the Nonconformists, the opposition and the commercial element in politics, there was contrived a Board of Trade and Plantations, with Shaftesbury himself at its head.

1675-8

The arrangement was, indeed, short-lived. The great political leader, who, with all his faults, best represented the two chief principles of the coming age of his country's rise to eminence,—the supremacy of Parliament with its control by parties, and its world-wide commercial policy,—soon fell from place if not from power. The Whig Party, which he organized in opposition to the Tories who developed from the court, did not secure control of government in his lifetime. But when, within a half dozen years, the revolution, which cost the Stuarts their throne, brought William III to the head of English affairs, the Whig Party which Shaftesbury formed was the chief gainer by the change of which it had

been the chief promoter. The commercial policy which they had inherited from their progenitors, the Cromwellians, came in their hands, as a consequence, to be a prime factor in the politics of the world. In it the reorganizing policy which proved so disastrous to the Stuarts came to its fruition, and the instruments designed to re-shape the Empire were at last perfected.

Such were the chief lines of development in the European world in the eventful eighteen years which intervened between the accession of Louis XIV and the Peace of Nymwegen. If they appeared largely political rather than cultural, if the clash of arms and the negotiations of the diplomats seem to bulk larger in the story of the period, it is because these occupied a place, not greater, perhaps, than hitherto, but of a different character. For the first time the extra-European causes of European war were openly avowed. Commerce and colonies frankly became the prizes of success, the subject of treaties, a chief concern of statesmen. Thus war, in one view, became the servant of economics as it had earlier been of religion, and as it was of royalty and nationality then and thereafter. Of its achievements the advance of France, the repulse of the Turks, and the transfer of Dutch North America to English hands were the chief fruits. Yet even these yielded in importance to the development of English party government, the exploration of the North American interior, and the division of the world into new spheres of European influence by which they were accompanied. For amid the innumerable activities of a broadening Europe, those which concerned themselves but little with either war or diplomacy or government, with commerce or colonies, raised the race to new levels of capacity and influence. Great as were the activities of the Grand Monarque in the fields which were still regarded as the most honorable, and so the chief prerogative of kings, the progress of his own people, as well as that of their rivals, was making the foundations of civilization more secure than all his triumphs in war and diplomacy.

Results of
the period
1660-78

For it is the advance of arts rather than the clash of arms

which makes the Age of Louis XIV, if not so memorable, at least more useful to mankind than the quarrels over the border lands between France and her neighbors. One may not be able to determine the relative importance of the acquisition of Alsace and the establishment of political parties, the rise of Brandenburg or the discoveries of La Salle. But it is certainly true that, without the intellectual and political progress of this period, the military activities of European rulers, apart from the repulse of the Turkish power, would have been as fruitless as the barbarous conflicts between the Hurons and the Iroquois. For only in so far as supremacy in arms contributes to the advance of civilization in a nation, or its defense against less civilized opponents, can it be regarded as superior to the struggle for power between two savage tribes, if progress toward what we call a higher civilization be regarded as the chief end of man's striving. In that view, the extension of popular government and its devices in England, the extension of European authority and population in lands hitherto outside of European influence, and the repulse of Cossack and Turkish power, must be reckoned of greater importance than the aggrandizement of Louis XIV.

None the less, the age to which historians have agreed to attach his name was a great period in European development, and the French king a noteworthy figure in the world's affairs. For of the two forces which make for political betterment, liberty and efficiency, his rule contributed much to the latter, and, indirectly, by the opposition which his ambitions roused, to the former. In like degree his far-reaching designs did much to keep alive that sense of common interest, that unity in diversity among the threatened peoples of the continent, which has become the principal characteristic of international relationships. Finally, in so far as it aroused the French national ambitions in arts as well as arms, and stimulated the progress of what had come to be the most civilized society in Europe, that of France, promoted its ideals and inspired emulation among its neighbors to achieve like triumphs, it did much to mitigate the evils which its ruler's

ambitions brought in their train. For long after those ambitions proved impossible of realization, the more humane ideals and practices of his countrymen made way upon the continent, and played their part in its advance toward higher forms of social and intellectual expression.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE AGE OF WILLIAM III. 1678-1702

France
1675-1700

No circumstance better illustrates the fact that at any given moment men do not know whither they are tending than the position of the French monarchy in the concluding decades of the seventeenth century, and the views then generally held of its predominance. To most western European rulers nothing seemed more certain than that France had solved the age-long problem of government. From the confusion of more than a century had emerged an efficient, powerful, centralized kingship, ensuring stable and peaceful administration at home and pre-eminence abroad; the model and the terror of adjoining states, the single, all-pervasive element in international affairs, the most active agent of territorial expansion beyond the sea. Beside it England, escaped from one revolution and tending toward another, the Hapsburg monarchy, threatened by Turkish invasion and internal dissension, decadent Spain, half-Asiatic Russia, the declining power of Sweden and the Netherlands, ill compared. Probably no man in Europe, looking forward twenty years, could have foreseen that the political balance of the European world was even then trembling in an unstable equilibrium which was to be altered by one of the most extraordinary convulsions in its troubled history.

Louis XIV Least of all, perhaps, could Louis XIV have figured the future to himself; for at this moment he embarked upon two enterprises which at once typified his own spirit and emphasized his resemblance to Philip II. The one was the erection of the palace of Versailles, which he began on the completion of the Louvre, to provide the monarchy with an appropriate habitation, separated from all contact with the world of its subjects. Like Philip II, the French king chose

a site removed some distance from his capital. Like the Escorial, Versailles owed nothing to nature, for the flat, sterile, and uninteresting plain selected for its location was as unpromising as the gloomy wilderness the Spanish king chose for his abode. There the resemblance ceased. For if Philip's palace reflected even in its plan the deep religious character of its master, if its massive and gloomy pile in some sort symbolized the spirit which it was built to house, and the genius of the people which gave it birth, the equally imposing but infinitely lighter and more worldly Versailles typified at once the altered standards of a new period and a new authority, no less than the character and taste of its master and his subjects. Versailles

Still more did the new palace and its surroundings reflect that spirit of authority which, having made itself supreme over its people, transferred to the realm of art and nature its determination to dominate not only men but the more stubborn quality of material circumstance. Disregarding the simplest law of architecture that a building should rise, as it were, from the soil and partake of the character of its surroundings, the French king elected to create surroundings fit for the palace he designed to build. The sandy waste which lacked nearly every element necessary to support life was provided with those elements by royal authority. Under its surface miles of pipes conducted to every part of the domain, water drawn thither at vast expense through great mains for a hundred miles. The soil was created for gardens. The very horizon was limited by plantations, so that, whichever way one looked, he saw only the triumph of royalty over nature—nor was he embarrassed by contemplation of the dwellings of the poor. The site thus prepared by the foremost engineers of France, the genius of the most eminent of living landscape gardeners, le Nôtre, was summoned to adorn it, and the result of his labors was the most splendid if not the most beautiful pleasaunce in Europe. From the slight elevation, upon which stood the old hunting-lodge of Louis XIV, the ground was made to fall away in every direction. Behind the château lay the formal gardens, whose

long alleys of grass and trees, adorned with statuary, led to the magnificent fountains and the huge Grand Canal which formed the center of the scheme. On every hand the eye was led along splendid vistas to delightful retreats of shade; while the ingenuity of French sculptors and hydraulic engineers combined to produce a series of fountains unequalled in the world.

The palace itself, standing at the entrance to this paradise of gardens, was built about the hunting-lodge which had long preceded it; and was worthy, at least in size and pretensions, to its setting. Built in French Renaissance style, it was vast and imposing, if not distinguished; and though the talents of Mansart were unequal to conceiving real grandeur or the highest beauty, the result was certainly the largest and perhaps the most impressive piece of royal architecture on the continent. To this were added, at intervals throughout the grounds, other buildings of less size but greater charm, the Grand and Petit Trianon, the Orangery, and, at the entrance of the great court, a heroic statue of Louis XIV. That motive was repeated indefinitely. In the pictures which adorned the walls, in the statuary which relieved them, in the mirrors which reflected the figure of the king himself, the dominating note was everywhere the glory of the Grand Monarque.

Had he been able to inspire those who served his will in the realm of art with that spontaneous genius which is only the offspring of liberty of thought, he might have made Versailles and all France the most inspiring as it was the most imposing monument of despotism. That gift was denied him. The dignity and ceremonial of the court stifled originality. The painters, like the philosophers, could not be taught to march with the beat of the drum; and art, under royal patronage, achieved its triumphs in the delineation of splendid drapery and magnificent costume rather than in the portrayal of character. Architecture, even literature, tended to follow the same course; and the Age of Louis XIV, with all its splendor of form, did much to deprive genius of its one indispensable quality, freedom of spirit. Without that

quality those arts dependent on royal or courtly patronage tended toward the formalism which became the characteristic not only of this but of the succeeding period. And of this Versailles was at once the symbol and the type.

The erection of this splendid retreat for the most splendid of European monarchs was not the only, nor even the greatest event in those years of his reign which followed immediately on the Peace of Nymwegen. It was not the only circumstance which emphasized his resemblance to the Spanish ruler who became the champion of Catholicism. The differences between them were largely superficial, the resemblances largely fundamental. No single act of Philip II had been more characteristic of his character and policy than his expulsion of the heretics and the strengthening and extension of the Inquisition in his domains. No part of his policy was more striking and more disastrous than his effort to impose his will and his belief upon the Netherlands; no phase of European politics more decisive than the resultant conflict between Spain and the Protestant powers of England and Holland. Nor was the situation without its personal side. Louis XIV's mother was the daughter of Philip III of Spain, and it is not inconceivable that he inherited from her and from the influence she brought into France something of that religious spirit and that formalism which distinguished her grandfather, Philip II.

As the seventeenth century wore to a close and the authority of Louis XIV rose to its height, the absolute Catholicism of France ventured on the same stroke of state as its Spanish predecessor had attempted a century earlier. It was nearly a hundred years since Louis XIV's grandfather, Henry IV, had issued the edict of Nantes which secured to French Protestants political equality. Now, inspired by diverse motives,—his Catholic subjects' jealousy of their Huguenot rivals in trade, his own religious tendencies, strengthened by the influence of his confessor and that of a new and deeply religious mistress,—the disabilities which had pressed harder on the Huguenots year by year since his accession, were crowned, some seven years after the Peace of Nymwegen. by

The
Revocation
of the
Edict of
Nantes
1685

the revocation of the great Edict, and the consequent dispersion of the Huguenots.

The
dispersion
of the
Huguenots
1685-8

Perhaps no single circumstance of the time had wider consequences than this ill-judged piece of persecution. The French Protestants were a numerous, rich, and industrious element, and they bore with them to every corner of the European world their wealth and skill to strengthen the enemies of France, and deepen the fear and hatred of her king and his faith. London welcomed their silk-weavers. The Great Elector invited them to populate the thinly settled lands of Brandenburg. The English colonies in North America and the Dutch settlements in South Africa were reinforced by the addition of this vigorous element. Above all, Holland profited, for William III recruited his power with the talents of men like the great general, Marshal Schomberg, and the no less eminent diplomat, Ruvigny. These, with their fellows, were soon to play a great part in the drama of war and politics. For they brought to the Netherlands thousands of citizens and soldiers at the very moment that liberal and Protestant states, with others, neither liberal nor Protestant, rallied to resist the pretensions of the recognized champion of Catholic absolutism.

In a peculiar sense the dispersion of the Huguenots typifies the conflict now coming to a head between the spiritual no less than the material forces of the continent. On the one hand were arrayed the powers of the old establishment, the throne and altar, the statecraft which reckoned lands and peoples as the mere pawns and prizes of the great game of war and diplomacy, the ecclesiastical systems which maintained their pretensions to dictate their beliefs to individual consciences, the absolutism which aspired to be supreme not only within but without its own borders. On the other stood the principles of self-government, and independence of belief, of toleration, and of the right of individuals and communities to determine the bases of their own existence.

Above all, perhaps, there was the introduction of new elements of thought and practice into fields where they had long been denied recognition by authority, and the enlist-

ment of forces not hitherto reckoned in the calculations of the state. It was no mere accident that the discoverer of the law of gravitation was intrusted with the reorganization of England's coinage; that the leader of the English opposition was chief among the deists of his day; that Leibnitz became the Hanoverian ambassador to France; that Colbert lured Huyghens to adorn the learned circle which centered in Paris. Whatever the future relations between religion and politics, there had begun the connection between science and affairs, between power and knowledge, and the decline of persecution for heterodox beliefs which were not associated with politics. Thus the flight of the Huguenots which spread their skill through Europe and her colonies, marked the final act in the emancipation of the continent from its older conception of politics and economy. For the dispersion was the last attempt made by any west-European power to drive from its midst any such body of its people who were at variance with the official faith of their government.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was but one of many notable circumstances which marked the years when French monarchy dominated the European situation. At the same moment that Louis XIV signalized his power and his short-sighted bigotry by expelling the Huguenots, two events of widely different character and at the opposite ends of Europe altered the whole complexion of the European polity and joined with the action of Louis XIV to precipitate another conflict. The one was the renewed activity of the Turks. In the years between the Peace and the Revocation their forces were again summoned by the talents and determination of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, last of the Kiuprillis, to take advantage of an invitation from the insurgent Hungarian nobility and hurl themselves again upon the bulwark of Europe, the Hapsburg lands. Their initial successes brought them across Transylvania and Hungary to the walls of Vienna, whose heroic resistance under the command of Rüdiger von Stahremberg checked their advance. Even its strength might not have availed; but to its rescue hurried Charles of Lorraine with a German army and the king of

The
Turkish
invasion

1683

Poland, John Sobieski. With their aid, seconded by the German princes and Venice, the invaders were repulsed. Four years later Charles conquered Hungary in the decisive victory of Mohacs. The Turks were deprived of its suzerainty, the insurgent nobles suppressed, and the iron crown of St. Stephen, symbol of Hungarian sovereignty, was confirmed to the rulers of Austria. Venice joined with Poland and the Empire against the Porte, and conquered the Morea; Russia entered the war; Buda Pesth was taken by the Imperialists, and the Turkish menace was effectively repulsed.

1687

The
overthrow
of the
Whigs

Scarcely was this accomplished when the other extremity of the continent witnessed the first act of the great drama which was to absorb its interest for a generation. This was the crisis which overtook English politics as a result of the struggle between the Whigs and the crown. It began at the moment of the Turkish revival, with an attempt to prevent the accession to the throne of the king's brother, the Catholic James, Duke of York. The failure of an Exclusion Bill, designed to accomplish this end by parliamentary means, was followed by a conspiracy; and its discovery ruined the party whose members were concerned in it. Some perished on the scaffold. The Whig leader, Shaftesbury, fled to Holland, where he died. Charles II triumphed; and, in the year of the revocation, his brother, James II, became king of England, prepared with all the stubborn bigotry of a dull intellect to compel a nation stirred by the Protestant persecution in France to accept Catholicism at least on an equality with its established church.

1680-1

1685

The
renewal
of French
aggression
1680-3

At the same time another circumstance contributed to the coming storm. The French king, taking advantage of the distraction of the eastern states, the quiescence of the north, and the confusion of English politics, resumed his course of aggression. Establishing so-called Chambers of Reunion, which decreed the annexation to France of all border territories which by any stretch of fact or fiction might be claimed by the French crown, his armies scarcely waited on the legal farce to occupy Strassburg and invade German Alsace, Lor-

raine, and Luxembourg. Such were the events which combined to plunge Europe again into war.

Despite the League of Augsburg formed against him by his great antagonist, William III, despite English hostility to his policy, despite the hatred his aggressions had aroused, and his treatment of the Huguenots, it seemed for the moment that Louis XIV's high-handed policy would be successful. Without England, Louis' enemies were hard pressed to make head against his power, and the accession of James seemed to make English aid impossible. But what William's ability could not accomplish, his father-in-law's folly did for him. The efforts of James to force the recognition of Catholicism upon a hostile people infuriated the Anglicans and Non-conformists, dismayed the more moderate English Catholics, and alarmed even the Vatican. Popular discontent found expression in a rebellion headed by James' illegitimate nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, and the greatest of Scotch Covenanting nobles, Argyle. These hastened from their refuge in Holland to strike a blow against the crown. Their failure was followed by a reign of terror; and that by even more violent efforts of the king to make Catholicism not merely equal but superior to the Anglican establishment. Conspiracy followed. Whigs and Tories united to invite William of Orange to save them from Catholicism and arbitrary government. Hundreds of English refugees hurried to enlist in the Dutch service, and, completing the plans for his great exploit with such care and secrecy as to deceive even the most experienced of French diplomats, three years after James' accession to the throne, William invaded England at the head of a formidable force. To his standard flocked the principal men of the country; and James, deserted by his followers, his friends, and at last by his own family, fled to France.

The Revolu-
tion of
1688

1685

Nov. 5
1688

It was a fatal error. A Convention Parliament declared his flight an abdication, and offered the throne to William and Mary, accompanying the offer with a Declaration of Rights, which marked an epoch in the history of parliamentary government. It secured, once for all, the personal lib-

The Bill
of Rights
1689

erty of the subject, the independence of the judiciary, the right of jury-trial, *habeas corpus*, freedom of speech, and frequent and regular Parliaments. Its acceptance by the joint sovereigns crowned that long struggle for the rights of the governed which had begun with Magna Charta and had been continued with the popular triumphs of the period of the civil wars. But, however bloodless the English revolution proved in England itself, the victory of Parliament over the crown—complicated as it was by the situation which had brought Louis XIV's greatest antagonist to the English throne—was not to be won without war. There remained to be dealt with Scotland and Ireland, supported by the power of the French king; and there began, in consequence, a civil conflict, and a second hundred years' war with France, on whose result, in some sort, depended not only the future of Europe but of the world.

The War
of the
League of
Augsburg
1689-97

Such was the great episode which began another struggle on the continent. The French armies which had already begun to overrun the fertile fields of the Palatinate against the forces of the Augsburg League, were now called on to face a Grand Alliance in which England was to play a leading part. For a time it seemed that they might succeed. Holding his position on the Rhine, Louis hurled his forces against Holland, despatched the dethroned English king with French support to raise Catholic Ireland; encouraged Scotch rebellion, attacked Savoy, which had joined the allies, and stirred his subjects in North America to fall upon the English colonies. Meanwhile the long preparation of the French and the disorganization of the English navy incident to the events of the Revolution, gave Louis an advantage on the sea. For nine bloody years the Low Countries were again the center of a European war. There, defeated again and again by the ablest of French generals, Luxembourg, William wrested more advantage from his reverses than his opponents gained from victory, and, finally crowning his exertions with the capture of Namur, approved himself one of the great captains of history.

1695

Meanwhile, he found time to defeat his rival, James II;

and, with Schomberg's aid, he regained Ireland at the battle of the Boyne. The case of Scotland was more difficult. His troops were routed at Killiecrankie by the greatest of the Jacobite leaders, Dundee; but, on that general's death, William's lieutenants found no enemy able to make head against them, and Scotch rebellion was finally suppressed. Meanwhile, the naval victory of La Hogue restored the threatened English supremacy at sea, and inclined the balance in favor of the allies and the English succession as determined by Parliament. Even in the south—where Savoy, by one of those "well-timed treacheries," which contributed to her increasing power, had made peace with Louis XIV—French aggression was checked; and with the weakening of French offensive strength their fate was sealed. France, indeed, defended herself with brilliance and with no small measure of success against a world of enemies, but her resistance demonstrated that no power could hope for ultimate victory against half Europe. Her resources endured a fearful strain. Her foes were scarcely more willing to continue the conflict; and, after nearly a decade of destruction, the diplomats gathered again at Ryswick near the Hague to determine once more the settlement of peace.

Twelve months earlier, the Peace of Carlowitz had given to Austria all of Hungary and Transylvania except the Banate of Temesvar; and to Venice the Morea. At the same time, the death of Sobieski had brought the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland. Now the general peace of Europe was again restored by the treaty between Louis XIV and his enemies. The terms of Ryswick recognized William and Mary as the sovereigns of England, with James' daughter, Anne, as their successor; restored French conquests in Germany, save Alsace, to their old owners. The "barrier fortresses" along the borders of the Netherlands were garrisoned with Dutch troops. Spain regained a part of the "reunited" places she had lost since Nymwegen; and the Rhine was declared a free river. Such were the net results of a decade of conflict east and west—territorially, the annexation of Alsace, with its stronghold of Strassburg, to France,

The Peace
of Ryswick
1697

and the extension of Austrian power over Hungary; politically, the establishment of two new dynasties and the preservation of the principle of popular government.

Peter the
Great
1672-1725

To these was added another circumstance of scarcely less importance. Equally removed from the triumph of the English Parliament over the crown, the repulse of the Turks by the Austrians and their allies and the determination of affairs at Ryswick, an event upon the eastern edge of European politics was of an importance worthy to be compared with almost any of the transactions which absorbed the attention of the west. At the precise moment that the Eng-

1689

lish convention parliament offered the crown to William and Mary there ascended the throne of Russia a sovereign destined to affect the future of Europe no less than the greatest of those rulers in whose hands rested the fortunes of European politics. For, with the accession of Peter the Great, the spirit and the organization of the west found a champion able to compel even the backward Muscovites into step with the advancing civilization of the continent. As the war was brought to an end and the diplomats gathered at Ryswick, within a few miles of where they sat the ruler of Russia might have been found in the garb of a shipwright learning in the yards of Zaandam something of the art which had made Holland so rich and powerful. And, as the peace conference disbanded, the young prince brought back to his own land, from his romantic wanderings in England and Holland, those artisans and officers, who, under his direction, were to guide Russia into the path which led to a high place in European polity.

1697-8

Colonial
develop-
ments
1685-1700

Such an apparently trivial occurrence as the adventurous exploit of the Russian prince might well have failed to impress its real importance on men absorbed in the great European conflict, even had they known of Peter's presence in the west. But there were other elements in the more distant confines of European power to which, however absorbed in events nearer at hand, they could not be wholly indifferent. These were the developments in the colonial field. They were, indeed, conspicuous neither in the military

plans of the chief combatants nor in the negotiations which ended the struggle. Neither the border war between English and French in North America nor the transfer of Pondicherry in India from Holland to France, which was one of the results of the conflict, seemed vitally connected with the issues then being determined in Europe itself. Much less were events in South America reckoned a part of the war of the League of Augsburg. Yet in this period these neglected proceedings laid foundations upon which later generations were to build new edifices of society and politics.

First in spectacular effect, if not in ultimate significance, among these widely separated struggles were the events in Spanish America. There, as a half century before, Spain's hold on either end of her vast empire was challenged simultaneously by the same forces which had earlier sought to invade her closely held frontiers. On the south the struggle centered, as before, on the possession of the La Plata region, where Spanish and Portuguese contended for the Banda Oriental, that land debatable between Brazil and Argentine. In the years which preceded the Revocation and the English revolution, there was founded on the east bank of the huge estuary of the river mouth the post of Colonia, the first rival in that region of Buenos Ayres which stood opposite, and until the foundation of Montevideo, the chief port for the rich grazing plains of what was to be known as Uruguay.

Spanish-
Portuguese
rivalry in
South
America

1680

Such was the first breach in Spanish monopoly. Far to the north, meanwhile, another and still more dramatic episode in colonial history reached the surprising climax of a long career. This centered in the activities of the buccaneers. During the fifty years since they had established themselves as an element in the Caribbean, their fortunes had greatly changed. The decline of Spanish commerce, which was strikingly apparent by the middle of the century, removed a great share of their livelihood; while the desperate efforts of Spain to drive them from their strongholds had made their very existence precarious. Their old haunt, Tortuga, was alternately lost and won, and European nations had often intervened in their affairs. The French had not overlooked

The
Buccaneers
1630-80

1655 the opportunity afforded by their presence to seize the island and even attempt San Domingo; while Cromwell, by his capture of Jamaica, afforded them a refuge which Spain's conquest of Tortuga had lost to them. Thereafter, turning from the sea, they began a series of attacks on mainland ports which swept the shores of the Caribbean for more than twenty years. New Segovia, Cuba, even Porto Bello, fell victims to their plundering exploits, and the name of their great leader, Morgan, became a terror to the Spanish Main.

1670 It was, in fact, largely due to these ferocious raids that Spain had agreed, some two years after the final recognition of Portuguese independence, to come to terms with England, and recognize her title to her American colonies in return for the cessation of hostilities, smuggling, and aid to these pirates. Such was their greatest permanent contribution to political events. It was at once succeeded by their greatest exploit. Under Morgan's lead, two thousand of these sea-rovers made their way to Panama, captured, sacked, and burned the town, and butchered its inhabitants. This began a decade of adventure, crowned by the second capture of Porto Bello. The years preceding the English revolution saw their power at its height. Their plundering expeditions led them to the Pacific, and the harassing of Peru, even to the East Indies, and it seemed for a time that nothing could preserve the Spaniards from further destruction. But the rival elements among the buccaneers fell out among themselves. They degenerated rapidly, and, after one more brilliant exploit, an attack on Cartagena in conjunction with the French, the naturally disintegrating influences of their wild society broke up their loose organization into separate piratical bands. Thenceforth they played no great part in affairs. By the time of the Peace of Ryswick their day in world politics was past. But they had served their turn. They had contributed to English, French, and Dutch invasion of the Spanish preserves, they had directed European eyes continually to the importance of the West Indies, and they had added a romantic if bloodstained chapter to the history of the western hemisphere. More than this, perhaps,

1671

1680-3

many of them, like Morgan, who reformed and became governor of Jamaica, contributed another element to that populating of the New World which made up in energy what it lacked in numbers.

The activities of these picturesque and destructive pirates formed but a part of the romance of the long story of expansion. At the same moment that they reached the culmination of their fortunes another group of adventurers, no less romantic and far more useful, had attained the climax of their far-reaching activities. These were the French explorers in North America. While England was absorbed in the great struggle over the Exclusion Bill and the downfall of Shaftesbury and the Whigs, while Austria girded her arms against Turkish attack and Hungarian conspiracy, and the Reunion Chambers pushed forward their task of seizing Strassburg, the great French explorer, La Salle, had crowned his long adventures with a new exploit. Reaching the Mississippi by way of the Illinois, he made his way down that great river to the Gulf of Mexico, took possession of the imperial valley in the name of France, and christened it Louisiana. Thence he returned to France to enlist in a project against the mining districts of northern Mexico, framed under the guidance of a renegade Spanish official. Despatched with a small force of soldiers and a little fleet, La Salle found his way to land in Espiritu Santo Bay in Texas. Thence, after two years of residence, deserted by the commander of the fleet, betrayed by his Spanish coadjutor, he sought to retrace his way to Canada, only to be murdered by his own followers. Such was the tragic fate of an adventurer who gave an empire to Louis XIV and brought the Mississippi Valley within the bounds of European knowledge and rivalry. With all his efforts, for the time it seemed that his exploit was to have no permanent result. His Texas post was soon destroyed by Spain, the efforts of the French to break down the resistance of the Iroquois and win their way to the interior proved fruitless, and the foundation of Kaskaskia on the Illinois remained the sole tangible result of French activity in these twenty years.

The
French
explorers

1679-82

1683-4

Reorgan-
ization of
the English
colonies
1677-80

Far greater changes came within the English sphere of influence. Among them the establishment of new provinces and the reorganization of the administration were the chief. Following the disturbances of the preceding period, colonial jurisdictions were now rearranged. Maine was joined to Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, removed from its control, was erected into a separate colony with president and council appointed by the king, who retained as well the veto power over the acts of its assembly. At the same time West Jersey was restored to the Berkeley heirs as a proprietary colony.

Founda-
tion of
Pennsyl-
vania
1681-2

A twelvemonth later this policy was extended by the grant of a region bounded by Delaware, New York, and Maryland to William Penn—an event of no small significance in the colonial world. Son of that admiral who had taken Jamaica, one of the trustees of West Jersey, and a favorite of James II, from whom his charter was derived, Penn was a leader among the Quaker sect. Forming a “Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania,” he summoned to his aid his co-religionists as colonists. With the assistance of the republican, Sidney, Penn framed a constitution which established popular government, led his settlers to America, concluded with the Indians “the only treaty never sworn to nor broken”; founded a town at Philadelphia; and so laid the foundations of a new society on liberal lines. It was recruited rapidly no less from Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia than from England. Pennsylvania grew so greatly in numbers and prosperity that within a generation it ranked among the leading provinces in the western world. To it, and to the region on either side flocked thousands driven from their homes by war and persecution. Walloons and Palatine Germans, fleeing from the armies of Louis XIV, Huguenots escaping the Revocation, Quakers and Nonconformists, seeking to evade the pressure of their governments, with many desiring only peace and greater opportunity, poured a new flood of immigrants into the British North American colonies.

The *quo*
warrantos

Almost at the same moment the relations between the English government and New England threatened a crisis in

their affairs. The old antagonism between the crown and the colonists, increased by the protection of the regicides, the persecution of the Quakers, and long controversy over the Massachusetts charter, had all but produced rebellion. This was complicated by disputes with the Gorges heirs over the title to Maine and by the evasion of the Navigation Laws. Writs of *quo warranto* were issued against the stubborn 1684 colony, and the charter was forfeited. The death of Charles and the accession of James increased the repressive policy of the crown. *Quo warrantos* were issued against Connecticut 1686-7 and Carolina, and presently against Maryland; while the New York assembly, established five years before, was suspended. Virginia became a royal province. Andros, created president of New England, assumed the government of Rhode Island, took possession of Connecticut, joined New York and the Jerseys to his jurisdiction, and was finally created Governor-General of North America. 1688 At the same time, his endeavors to strengthen the Established Church in the heart of dissenting Boston, the formation of an Episcopal society there, and the seizure of the Old South Church for its use, added a religious factor to the rapidly growing political antagonism which his acts and English policy had roused.

With this attempt to consolidate royal authority and suppress colonial charter rights, the Stuart efforts to unite the provinces in dependence on the crown seemed likely to bring North America to subjection or revolt. From that alternative it was preserved by events in England. The revolution of 1688 not merely secured the supremacy of Parliament and the English Church; it saved the liberty of the colonies. With the news of William's arrival in England, Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland rose in revolt. Andros was arrested in Boston; his deputy in New York was ousted; and in Maryland a rising destroyed Stuart authority. In every colony the new sovereigns were proclaimed. Massachusetts petitioned for her old charter; Rhode Island and Connecticut resumed their privileges. In New York the popular party, under Leisler disregarding the royal councillors, called a convention, made their leader virtual dictator,

The
Revolution
of 1688
and the
American
colonies
1689

1691

and for two turbulent years directed their own affairs, till Leisler was convicted of treason and hanged. With this, colonial disturbances gradually lessened as the provinces emerged from the most serious danger which thus far had threatened their chartered rights.

King
William's
War
1689-97

But they escaped one crisis only to face another scarcely less serious, as they became involved in the great struggle against Louis XIV, which was known in America as King William's War. The conflict was filled with the reprisals incident to a border war. Upon their outlying posts and frontier settlements, from Casco Bay to the Hudson, the French and Indians fell with devastating force. To this the English retaliated by seizing Port Royal, by futile efforts to take Quebec, and by inciting the Iroquois against their old antagonists. In turn, Frontenac led three expeditions against the Iroquois; a new English post in Maine was taken by a French expedition; and Newfoundland was only saved from an attack by the Peace of Ryswick, which ended the fierce but indecisive conflict. Insignificant as it appeared beside the greater forces and more dramatic interest of the struggle in Europe, the war in America had an importance beyond its incidents. It was the beginning of a new order in the world.

William
and Mary
—and
America

1692

The horrors of border war, destructive as they were, scarcely checked the more important activities of England and her colonies during this period. First among these was the problem of reorganization, interrupted by the Revolution. Far from reversing the Stuart policy, the colonists soon found that William's ministers were bent on following it, with more tact but no less rigor. The new charter of Massachusetts offered an opportunity and an index of their plans. By its provisions, the crown retained the appointment of a governor empowered to call or dissolve the general court or assembly, appoint military and judicial officers, and veto the acts or the appointments of the assembly. The old religio-political arrangement was broadened by a uniform property qualification and all except Catholics were granted religious liberty.

How vital the questions of theology remained was witnessed by a frantic witchcraft delusion which had meanwhile burst forth in Salem and claimed twenty victims before its fury was quenched. How far-reaching was the new reorganizing policy appeared in the appointment of Andros as royal governor of Virginia and Copley of Maryland; of Fletcher to the joint rule of Pennsylvania and New York; and, above all, in the elaboration of that centralized control so bitterly opposed by the separatist colonies, through the erection of a body to supervise colonial affairs. This so-called Board of Trade and Plantations had originated long before in a council committee, and had been definitely formulated in Shaftesbury's short-lived scheme. It now took permanent shape in a standing commission of which the great political philosopher, John Locke, was a member, intrusted with the task of "making the colonies most . . . useful to England . . . to examine and weigh the acts of the assemblies,"—and generally supervise colonial affairs. Such was the origin of a body, which, had it been allowed sufficient powers or exercised greater activity, might well have solved the vexed problem of colonial unity. At the same time the Navigation Acts were renewed; the supremacy of Parliament asserted; soldiers despatched to protect the colonists; and efforts made to establish a systematic administration through the provinces under the unifying influence of the crown. With these events, at the same time that she vindicated her principles of Protestant and parliamentary supremacy, England at last prepared to take up the problem of her loose-woven imperial concerns, to frame an empire from a congeries of provinces, and an imperial policy from a series of makeshifts.

The Board
of Trade
and Plan-
tations

1696

That task was well worthy of attention. The colonists now numbered nearly if not quite a quarter of a million souls. Their settlements occupied a territory stretching along the north Atlantic coast from Maine to Cape Fear, and fifty miles inland. They were able to cope with all the ordinary dangers which threatened their frontier. Their agriculture was established. Their trade and fisheries were considerable; and, above all, their vast tracts of forest of-

ferred almost unlimited facilities for settlement to Europeans, suffering from poverty or persecution. It was small wonder that from this time on their population grew by leaps and bounds; and that their love of independence grew in equal pace.

England in
the East

Meanwhile the English activities in America, considerable as they were, scarcely exceeded in importance the development of their possessions and interests in the farther East. Royal favor and their consequent increase in strength and resources which had begun with the Restoration, strengthened by the acquisition of Bombay and by a succession of able governors for nearly a quarter of a century, had enabled the English East India Company to prosper, until, just before Charles II's death, its stock reached an unprecedented premium. But at this juncture a succession of reverses tended to weaken its position. Mutinies at Bombay and St. Helena injured its security and prestige; while the rise of the so-called Mahratta powers in central India not merely compelled the Company to recognize their rebellious existence but exposed its posts to predatory raids. It became, therefore, increasingly evident that the English directors' long-established policy of opposition to "garrisons and land-wars" must be abandoned. Under direction of Sir Josiah Child at home and his brother, Sir John, the Governor of Bombay in India, they accordingly changed their course, and with it the fortunes of England in the East.

The Eng-
lish East
India
Company
1686

The year following James II's accession, the Company's posts were moved to Calcutta, and simultaneously war was declared on the Mogul Empire. Troops and a fleet were sent out to India; but their instructions, framed in ignorance of Indian politics and geography, and their incompetent leadership, ensured defeat. The Calcutta establishment was abandoned. The factors fled to Madras, and only the embarrassments of the Delhi Emperor, Aurungzebe, in the Deccan and his fear of the interruptions of pilgrimages to Mecca by the English fleet, enabled the Company to secure humiliating peace and re-establish their Calcutta factory. But while they were thus preserved from their great enemy,

1690

and the pressure from the Dutch was relieved by William's accession, the Company's situation became precarious at home. It was allied with the Stuart régime, discredited by the failure and expenses of the war, and greatly envied for the huge profits of its close monopoly. This tempted interloping traders to poach on its preserves, and its efforts to widen its scope by more liberal directors were succeeded, after the Restoration, by the establishment of a rival company.

Against it Child intrigued and bribed in vain. The Dowgate Association, as it was called, allied with the Whig Party, secured a resolution that only by act of Parliament could any Englishman be held from trading with India. This invasion of the royal prerogative was reinforced by a loan of £2,000,000 to the government, then hard pressed for money to conclude the European war; and in the year of the Peace of Ryswick Parliament chartered a General Society which, saving the privileges of the Old Company, was authorized to trade in India. The services of the greatest of interloping traders, Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the future minister, were secured. Subscribers were found for a joint-stock association; and the new company prepared to compete for the great prize of Indian trade on more than equal terms.

The "Dowgate Association"

1697

Such was the crisis which confronted the most powerful of English trading corporations as the seventeenth century wore to a close. It was closely bound up with far-reaching interests no less political than economic. Among the numerous concerns of England, trade was now rapidly becoming predominant; and from the first its literary champions, as well as its practical administrators, had been found among the members of the India Company. Two generations earlier, one of them, Thomas Mun, had published a famous tract, "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade," which had done much to stimulate the practice as well as the theory of commerce and legislation. Amid his manifold activities, Sir Josiah Child, despite occasional leanings toward a freer commerce, found time to reinforce the so-called mercantilist school by his "Discourse on Trade." In this, as in his Indian policy, and his plea for reduction of interest, he sought

Economic thought and policy

1664

1668-90

to follow "the wise practice of the Dutch," and lay foundations for a wider industry.

The Bank
of England
1694

This extraordinary commercial activity and its resultant literature had profound effect on European politics, for at this moment political exigency combined with economic pressure to accomplish an important project which was adopted in a somewhat different form from continental practices. The cost of William's European wars was great. The English currency was in deplorable condition. The revenue, though not inconsiderable, was scarcely regular enough for the demand, since entire dependence upon parliamentary grants—which were themselves subject to fluctuation of public sentiment—made the state's income precarious. Private banking facilities were inadequate to such great operations as Louis XIV had forced upon England. To obviate these difficulties a Scotch merchant in London, one William Paterson, proposed the establishment of a Bank of England. The consent of Parliament was obtained. He and his wealthy merchant friends raised the necessary capital; and, with the aid of Montagu, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there began the long and useful career of this great enterprise.

The
English
national
debt
1694-5

At the same time and under much the same pressure, another and still more important step was taken by the government. Having established the coinage and set up the Mint, under the direction of Sir Isaac Newton, Montagu proceeded to adopt a principle long in operation on the continent, in Italy, in Holland, and more recently in France. This was the pledging of the nation's income for a long-time loan, in brief the establishment of a national debt. It originated in a duty on beer and liquors, which was kept separate from the ordinary revenue and was made security for money loaned on life annuities. Thence the principle was extended to borrowing money on the general security of the government, and the cost of war was thus transferred in some measure from the generation which incurred it to their successors. With the extension of this principle of public borrowing upon national security, capitalism, which had long dominated private affairs, entered the domain of the state. It was reinforced

by two other forms of taxation destined to become important permanent additions to public finance. The one was the stamp tax, imitated from Dutch practice, and developing into many forms in later years. The other was the land tax. These were supplemented by customs and excise, which together laid the foundations of modern finance. Thenceforth finance and financiers were to play a part in politics which was to increase in importance as the years went on; and in this was revealed another symptom of a changing world.

The principle of national debts, which thus spread through Europe chiefly during the reign of Louis XIV and partly as a result of his activities, was probably the most important alteration in public administration which owed its origin to the seventeenth century. But it was by no means the only change which affected the world of business, public and private, in that important era. It was accompanied by a striking change in the conduct of national affairs to which we give the name of administration, but which is in large measure at bottom, financial. From the time of Sully, through the period of Cromwell's ascendancy, the reign of the Great Elector, and the ministry of Colbert and of John de Witt, the chief nations of Europe experienced a reformation in the management and system of their affairs, of which they had long stood in need. It is, indeed, scarcely too much to say that with the accession of these able men to power in their respective countries, modern administration began. This was unquestionably due to the gradual transfer of public affairs from the hands of the aristocracy to those of the middle classes versed in the conduct of business. New principles were thus introduced into what had long been reckoned the "mysteries of state"; and these were not perhaps unrelated to the general tendency toward rationalism which affected every department of life but was most conspicuous in theology and philosophy.

It was accompanied by another phenomenon which at once enlarged and illustrated the same spirit in another field. This was the development of that important phase of business activity to which we give the general name of insurance.

The rise of
insurance
1675-1700

Though this was not a national concern like the bank and the public debt, the adjustment of taxation, the encouragement of industry, the regulation of tariffs, and the rigid auditing of accounts, which marked the reorganization of administration, it was not unconnected with public prosperity and stability, and through one channel at least it was closely connected with these more general interests. Like them it was due in no small degree to the application of a crude form of what we know as statistics to public and private business affairs. In Holland the genius of John de Witt calculated population, by births and deaths. In England Sir William Petty and Child adopted the same course in what came to be known at first as Political Arithmetic. Upon such sets of figures was based much of the change in public business as time went on; and like compilations were now employed in protecting commerce against accidental loss.

The principle of marine insurance at least was not new. In modern times it had been practised in some form by the Italian cities certainly as early as the sixteenth century. Thence it had spread through the domains of Charles V, to the Netherlands and to England and France. It had received official sanction from the Dutch government as part of the business renaissance which characterized Dutch ascendancy in the first years of the seventeenth century. It remained for the English, as the leading commercial nation of the late seventeenth century, to develop it. In the same year as the revolution which placed William III on the throne, there was set up in London an association of merchants, ship-owners, and brokers known as Lloyd's which finally organized the business into the most powerful of marine insurance corporations and thus stabilized the English carrying trade.

The idea had already found its way into other fields. For more than a century there had been sporadic local attempts to extend insurance to cover risks by fire as well as by water. In English hands, after the Great Fire of London in 1666, this movement took more definite form; and in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the formation of companies undertaking such risks became a recognized element

in business enterprise, till, by the end of the reign of William III, the practice was fully established. It was extended more slowly to the continent, but even there, within fifty years it had become fairly common. It was natural—especially after the study and publication of mortality lists in this same period—that the idea of extending the same principle to human life should make headway; and the first life insurance companies seem to have sprung up in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their develop- c. 1701-5
ment was slow and uncertain, and it was not until nearly a century later, when more accurate statistics of population and of the accidents of life were available, that they became the considerable factor in affairs which they have since remained.

It is apparent that in all of these activities the underlying principle of making life and its affairs more stable and secure by common action to protect the individual was making rapid headway. It is no less evident that the idea at the root of scientific advance—the application of reason and method as well as investigation which led to more exact knowledge—was peculiarly active. There was involved, as well, that instinct which had long been evident in its minor affairs toward making life more comfortable and more enduring, as well as more secure. To this was added the rapid development of certain appliances for safety. Chief of these were the lighthouses which, in this period, became more numerous and more efficient, aided as they were at once by the support of governments and the discoveries of science, in particular the development of reflecting mirrors which had resulted from the activities of the physicists in the preceding century. And, if one should choose to pursue the subject still further, it might be noted that the general tendency to make life more agreeable for the rapidly increasing number of city dwellers was enhanced by the introduction of appliances to combat fires. These owe their origin to this same period of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and the invention of a pumping-engine throwing a continuous stream of water resulted from this evolution at the beginning of the

Develop-
ment of
facilities
for safety
and com-
fort
1675-1700

eighteenth. To this may, perhaps, be added the introduction of the public or hackney coach. This came into common use at this same time, and, among its other characteristics, it indicated that same tendency toward the extension of the amenities of existence to wider classes in the general progress toward social as well as political devolution.

Effect on
politics

In such fashion were introduced new elements into European life, of widely differing character and importance, yet all tending, in some measure, to the same end. So far as the factors relating to colonial and financial affairs were concerned, the new situation redounded greatly to the advantage of those nations opposed to the ambitions of Louis XIV. In no small degree they were the product of the same people and of the same individuals who at that moment embarked on another phase of imperial expansion. To oppose French designs the economic forces of a coming age were set beside arms and diplomacy. Against French ambitions in America the wave of emigration to the English colonies for which French continental policy was in no slight degree responsible had unconsciously begun to turn the scale.

"It is no matter," Louis XIV is reported to have said, on hearing of William's arrival in England, "the last gold-piece will win." To this the establishment of the Debt and the Bank, the reorganization of imperial concerns, east and west, was the English retort. For the last gold piece depended on other resources than the soil. Reinforced by Holland's precepts and practices, England, though inferior to France in agricultural wealth and vastly inferior in population, was none the less Louis XIV's most dangerous enemy. Her pre-eminence in naval power, on which modern affairs leaned more and more, besides making her immune from invasion, secured the growing profits of commerce with colonies and dependencies. Her superior popular initiative and her increasing financial facilities looked toward the future in her politics and economy. And with all the weakness of a turbulent polity, in England, rather than in the continental states, lay the direction in which Europe was to advance.

In no particular were the changes of the preceding years more clearly defined than in the altered situation of the European states. The East had now definitely passed from the control of Spain and Portugal to that of the English and the Dutch. So far as Asia and Africa were concerned, William III now occupied the place which Philip II had held a century earlier. With the Peace of Ryswick the third national state of the continental system was finally constituted, as France obtained essentially the boundaries she was to keep for nearly two centuries. Encircled by Vauban's iron girdle of fortresses, which at once defined and defended her frontiers, she took her place beside Spain and Portugal as a power which had virtually reached its final bounds and form. What further growth she might hope to attain must be beyond the sea; and there her field and her rival were determined. With all the weakness of their home affairs, the Iberian powers, Spain and Portugal, had proved themselves all but impregnable in South America. The great prizes which remained were to be found in the northern continent of the western hemisphere; for India, still united under the great Mogul Emperor, Aurungzebe, as yet offered no opportunity to European political expansion.

The
position
of France
at the
Peace of
Ryswick

It was, then, in the Anglo-French rivalry for the control of North America rather than in Europe itself, that the next phase of European territorial progress centered. Among the military operations which ended with the Peace of Ryswick, the border wars between the English and French colonists played no decisive part in the determination of the great conflict. In those negotiations, only the foothold gained by the French at Pondicherry was of importance in the ultimate result. Yet, none the less, it was in this field and in this period that the foundations were being laid on which another generation was to build a greater edifice of joint European and colonial polity.

Anglo-
French
rivalry

That process, indeed, had already begun; for the status of the colonial world had vastly altered since the time when the discovery of new peoples and new lands had been a leading motive in the intellectual as in the economic and political

development of Europe. Discovery had, indeed, not ceased, but it no longer held the place it once had occupied in men's minds. In like degree, the impetus of European trade by the discovery of the seaways east and west, and the no less tremendous revolution in finance by that supply of precious metals which Spain had poured into the continent, had taken their places among the elements of Europe's existence and progress. What influence her oversea expansion was henceforth to exert, lay, for the most part, in other directions.

The expansion of European population in America

First among these was the establishment of a permanent and increasing European population spreading slowly but steadily across the lands best fitted for its occupation. This process, long since in evidence through South America, had been so reinforced in the preceding century by English and French enterprise in the northern continent, that it promised a time when mere increase of numbers would profoundly alter the balance of the European world. Second was the development of the American colonies not as mere outposts of Europe, reflecting the status of her society, but as a separate entity, transformed by different environment to organisms like and yet unlike those of the old world from whence they sprung. They were at once the extension of the old and the beginning of the new, each with its own problems and circumstances whence they derived peculiar character. They formed, in fact, experimental stations for European society and politics, whose lessons were to be of vital importance in the years to come. To these were to be added presently the problems of the establishment of territorial as well as commercial empire in the East, which circumstances were about to make possible if not inevitable.

Above all, and comprehending the whole situation thus produced, were two far-reaching issues. The one was the prospective increase of Europe's resources by the opening of unlimited free land for surplus population, which meant, virtually, a huge extension of her boundaries. The second was the inevitable transfer of the center of gravity, in some degree, by the direct inclusion of colonial interests as elements in the European situation. A century earlier, events





“beyond the line” were scarcely reckoned an integral part of European polity. That view had slowly given way before the changes of the seventeenth century. The Peace of Ryswick saw its disappearance from the stage; and the new chapter of history which then began took little cognizance of demarcation lines between the continent and Europe beyond the seas.

It was a natural development. From the beginning of territorial expansion the agents of that movement had been largely, if not chiefly, concerned with the acquisition of those products which their own countries could supply scantily or not at all. These were, for the most part, drawn from the tropics, and they comprised, generally, perhaps save for the precious metals, rather the luxuries than the necessities of life. In their passion for sudden wealth, Spanish and Portuguese alike had long neglected or despised lands best fitted for European settlement and industry; while their sole political conception, except in the Atlantic islands, had been the conquest and exploitation of non-European peoples. It was, in consequence, not until the first flush of the conquering and prospecting age had passed that the development of a varied economy, of planting, trading, farming, and cattle-raising, really began; and long after these were in operation their chief energies were directed to supplying the necessities of the colonists themselves, rather than acting, like the mining industry, as a real extension of the resources of the mother country.

Result on
Europe

Spain and
Portugal

The English and the Dutch at first had followed the example thus set, and their expansion, like that of the Spanish and Portuguese, was long a naval adventure rather than a real colonial experiment. But the plantation idea was never wholly absent in any of these peoples; and, apart from the natural and inevitable tendency of men to seek new lands to make or better their fortunes, another element—though it was largely wanting in the Iberian powers—soon powerfully reinforced the colonizing impulse throughout central and northern Europe. This was the religio-political disturbance which divided the northern societies against them-

England
and
Holland

selves and developed the idea of refuge from persecution in the New World. With this development the interest of expansion tended to shift from tropical to temperate zones, from mere exploitation to actual settlement, from mining, commerce, planting, and piracy, to the transfer of a stable and diversified European society and economy to lands beyond the sea.

Change in
colonial
status

With the carrying out of such new principles and the concurrent changes in Europe itself, there gradually grew up an altering theory and practice of colonial status and development. On the one hand the problems of existence under a strange environment tended to evolve a sense of separation from the old world, and the modification of standards and methods, customs and even character to meet the new conditions of life under colonial skies. On the other hand, these new societies found it as impossible as it was undesirable to separate themselves wholly from the world whence they came. The necessities of existence, no less than political exigency and economic interest, made them a part of an increasingly vast and complicated network of common alliances and antagonisms. These were, in large measure, determined by commercial relationships. Between the West Indies and the North American colonies, between West Africa and the plantations, even between the East Indies and the western hemisphere, the trade-currents ran; while from Europe itself there radiated in every direction streams of commerce which bound the world together in an increasingly far-reaching community of interests.

At the same time, while the old world maintained and strengthened its hold on the tropics, and their luxuries grew into necessities, it had tended more and more to draw means of subsistence and utility from latitudes which corresponded with its own. Thus it became increasingly dependent upon its temperate possessions oversea. Spain had come to rely upon America not merely for precious metals to recruit her scanty revenue; with the decline of her own resources at home she was compelled to lean more and more upon the

produce of her colonial fields and herds. From her American forests, farms, and fisheries England had begun to draw the food, the raw material, the nautical supplies which neither her own territory nor that of the Baltic states could supply in sufficient quantities. Fur-bearing animals had vanished from western and central Europe; but the scanty store provided by the north and east was more than supplemented from North America. The Newfoundland Banks had long since reinforced the North Sea as a source of fish; and colonial whale-hunters had now begun to rival the activities of the English and the Dutch in that important industry. Thus from forest, farm, and fishery, from ship-yard and distillery, from pampas and prairie, no less than from mine and plantation, Europe drew to herself vast quantities of supplies in exchange for her own manufactures and the products of the East.

Her far-stretching possessions oversea became, in fact, a real extension of her economic no less than her political boundaries. Increasingly divergent in the character and aims of its component parts, increasingly involved in the concerns of European politics, the years of the War of the League of Augsburg mark with definiteness the entry of commercial and financial elements into the most pressing concerns of the continent. For in the development of the Bank of England and the National Debt, in the beginning of a new régime in India, the growth of English colonies, and the extension of French influence into the heart of North America, rather than in the ambitions of Louis XIV, in the triumph of Protestant and parliamentary supremacy in England rather than in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, lies the enduring importance of the last two decades of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IF there is one feature of European development which stands out most conspicuously as one approaches the grand climacteric of the Age of Louis XIV, it is the increasing scope, content, and complexity of the affairs with which men concerned themselves, in comparison with the standards and activities of Europe three centuries earlier. There is no gain in the evolution of society without some loss, and many modern men have bewailed the disappearance of the simplicity of life which, to their minds, the middle ages afforded. There is, it is true, something to be said for this view if one considers merely that peace of mind which arises from immobility or blind confidence in the possession of absolute truth. Yet there is a fallacy involved in this view. The mediæval peace of mind was, in large measure, the peace of the desert. Its peace of spirit was purchased on terms which would seem unendurable to the great mass of modern thinking men. And, even amid the wars which resulted from the ambitions of the Grand Monarque, it is probable that the greater part of Europe suffered less disturbance than from the incessant local conflicts which marked the "age of superstition and force."

The new
basis of
life

On the other side is to be set the natural tendency of man toward activity, which gives the more energetic element of society its chief satisfaction in accomplishment. For such men the earth was now a better place in which to live. Europe had gradually broadened to include more than half of the world. Its interests, no longer confined to means of subsistence, or the narrow concerns of church and state, were involved with situations and problems unknown or scarcely

realized by men of earlier times. This was due even more to the internal than to the external expansion of the continent. The mathematicians and geographers kept equal pace with the wide-traveling explorers and conquerors; the victories of the founders of empire were not more fruitful, scarcely more spectacular than those of the pioneers of the arts and sciences. New intellectual capacities and new worlds of thought were acquired at the same time that new continents and islands were revealed. As a consequence, the number of things that men reckoned worth doing and recording were infinitely multiplied. The forces at work in molding nations and individuals grew in like proportion; and the whole fabric of life became at once more complex and more interesting to the vast majority of European peoples.

No circumstance more fully illustrates this development of human interests and achievement than the situation of France under Louis XIV. Her triumphs in those years which saw his rise to power and fame were by no means confined to arms and diplomacy, still less to the apotheosis of royal authority. About him the Grand Monarque had drawn the most brilliant court Europe had yet seen. If the later years of Elizabeth had revealed a burst of intellectual genius which rivaled the triumphs of the Italian Renaissance, and a skill in war scarcely inferior to that in letters, the Age of Louis XIV revealed him and his court to Europe in a no less brilliant light. In arts as well as in arms France bid for the domination of the European world, and not without success. While her ambassadors and her generals became at once the terror and the admiration of the continent, her men of letters and of science assured her eminence in the domain of intellect, and the countless exponents of the arts of life made her the center and the fountain of the increasing tendency toward the refinements of existence.

France
under
Louis XIV

In those years the genius of French comedy in the hands of Molière achieved a triumph only rivaled by the tragedies of Racine. The lofty spirit of Bossuet reached heights of grave and majestic oratorical eloquence scarcely touched be-

French
literature

fore or since; while the critical talent of Boileau infused new life into that form of literature and established canons of taste and execution accepted by the writers of at least two generations. Inspired by the influence of Montaigne, the perfect prose of Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* established a new school of expression in one form of literature as did La Fontaine's *Fables* and Perrault's fairy stories in others. Bossuet, La Fontaine, and Rochefoucauld alike found their chief rival for literary eminence in their saintly countryman, the gentle and gifted Fénelon. Besides these, still, a new form of literature, the novel, flowed from the pen of Madame de Lafayette, whose pioneer efforts in developing what was to be so characteristic a feature of later literary history were only challenged by her contemporary, the Englishwoman, Aphra Behn.

French
culture

While French genius found voice in this, the greatest period of its literature, it was winning triumphs in other fields, of no less consequence. Of these the chief were manners, dress, and war. Moreover, the refinements of language that arose in part from the development of its literature, and in part from French ascendancy in other fields, made it pre-eminent among European tongues. This, at least, may in some sort be credited to its ruler. The personal dignity which took pleasure in clothing its authority with stately form and ceremony, housing its greatness in splendid dwellings, and lightening its grandeur with an elegance borrowed and amplified from Italian originals, impressed its character on every department of life it touched, and captured the imagination of the continent. Along the eastern border of France each petty prince strove to emulate the example of the Grand Monarque. Gardens and palaces, court-theaters and musicians, costume and ceremony formed themselves on French examples. The French, like the English, had earlier found their chief models in Italy; now Europe took its cue from France. Everywhere its arts could penetrate, they bore their language with them; and French became not merely the tongue of war and diplomacy, but of manners, dress, art, architecture, literature, even cooking and domestic

furnishing. This was no temporary triumph. The words thus introduced into many other languages found permanent place and, in their native dress or transformed by their new users, enriched at once the vocabulary and the thought of half the continent. And whatever else Louis XIV's subjects achieved, their taste and graces did much to relieve the dullness which continually overshadows life.

At the same time they pushed still further the advance made in the preceding century in the art of destroying their fellow-men. Of all the activities which had employed the people of Europe during the seventeenth century none had absorbed more energy, more talent, and more lives than the art of war. The almost perpetual conflicts which had involved every nation of the continent developed an infinity of new methods and materials and called to their aid scientific knowledge. They enlisted the ability no less of mathematicians than of commanders, of inventors as well as of administrators, till the military system which emerged bore small resemblance to the irregular arrangements under which the conflicts of previous generations had been waged.

Progress
in the art
of war

First in importance came the improvement in artillery. A hundred years earlier that branch of service had reached its highest development in Turkish hands, and to their superiority in that arm much of the success of their conquering advance had been due. To counteract that advantage, their nearest enemies, Italian and Austrian gunners and mathematicians, were driven to follow and improve on their achievements by the study of projectiles and explosives. The long sieges of the Low Country fortresses by the Spanish had at once contributed to the science of fortification and produced a corresponding advance in heavy artillery, while the early campaigns of the Thirty Years' War had done something to develop the lighter arm. But it was only when Gustavus took the field that Europe saw for the first time that mobile field artillery capable of a rapidity of fire much superior to the crude musketry of the day. With him, too, came the flintlock and cartridge which gradually replaced the more cumbersome and far less dependable matchlock; and,

toward the end of the century, the bayonet, which enabled the infantry to combine the duties hitherto divided between pikeman and musketeer. The Swedes developed as well those auxiliary branches of service, essential to a self-contained force like theirs, operating far from its home base, and dependent on itself for defense as for offensive resources. Sappers, miners, and engineers, now organized into a well-defined and recognized branch of the army, with a more fully equipped commissariat, taught Europe a new art of war. With these there was evolved a school of tactics which, relying on mobility rather than on the old mass formations that had given the Spaniards their long ascendancy in the field, opened a new era of warfare.

Cavalry

Assisted by these lessons as well as by those of the Low Country conflict which had been a military school for half Europe, the next great advance came in the English civil wars. To them Leslie brought the innovations of Gustavus; Prince Rupert, the systems of Tilly and Wallenstein; Monk, the lessons of the Low Countries; adventurers like Gascoigne, the methods of Italy. Here for almost the first time the various schools of warfare were brought face to face. From them the genius of Cromwell developed another phase. Cavalry had been till now but little more than mounted infantry. In his hands, building on the suggestions of the Swedes, it developed the shock tactics, the crashing charge of solid squadrons of armed horses and men, on squares of pikemen and musketeers disorganized by artillery fire. Almost at the same moment the talents of Condé found in the French *élan* a new weapon; and at the battle of the Dunes the solid squares of the once dreaded Spanish infantry met their death-blow at the hands of the mobile French attack and the invincible charge of the English Ironsides. That decisive victory marked the climax of the transition between old and new, like Crécy two centuries before. While the order of field warfare was thus altered, two other influences were at work to revolutionize military affairs. Chief of these was fortification, which reached its greatest perfection in the hands of the French engineer Vauban. Bred in those long

Fortification

conflicts which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees, he borrowed from the Turks their device of approach by parallels; from the Swedes their organization of a permanent corps of engineers; from Italian and German scientists the adaptation of mathematics to the problems of ballistics; from the architects, the lessons of masonry and architecture. From these, infused with his own genius, he evolved those triumphs of fortification by which, before the Peace of Nymwegen, he had begun to surround France with a cordon of fortresses, the *ceinture de fer*, an iron girdle equally designed for defensive and offensive operations. Within this all but impenetrable shell Louis XIV was able to pursue his designs against the peace of Europe in virtually undisturbed security.

With the improvement of the art of war and its almost constant practice through the century, together with the evolution of more centralized government and the increase of royal power, France took the lead in another and even more important phase of national development. This was the formation of standing armies, which gradually became one of the chief factors in European polity. To the old feudal levy, on which kings had relied two centuries before, had been added the use of mercenaries, as the substitution of taxes for service had put in royal hands the means of paying a permanent force devoted to the crown interest. Little by little the profession of arms had fallen into the hands of military adventurers ready to sell their services to any prince to supplement the forces which he raised by right or fear from his own subjects. These were reinforced, as time went on, by a permanent guard for royalty itself, composed of noble or mercenary elements, till, at the opening of the seventeenth century, scarcely a prince in Europe was without a force of this kind at his command.

Standing
armies

But with the increasing stress of international politics and war, especially with the long German conflict which saw the climax of the mercenary movement, it became apparent that the rising national states must have at once larger and more trustworthy forces at their command. In consequence, European rulers, following the lead of Louis XIV, raised armies

composed of their own subjects, formed into regiments whose officers, enlisting and paying the men composing their commands, received from the crown the means to support their troops. Arms thus became a profession, differing as much from the old status of feudal times as from the denationalized mercenary system which had supplemented it, yet partaking in some measure of both elements. With this the modern plan of standing armies entered on the phase which was to endure in some form for more than a century, and to play a great and often decisive part not only in international affairs but in domestic politics. For in it lay the means of making absolute the royal master of a well-disciplined and equipped force.

It seemed for a time that it would be impossible for any other force to contend against the all-pervasive French cultural influences which so dominated other nations. Every officer from lieutenant to marshal bore a French title; every dish from entrée to dessert, the steps of dancing, the terms of gallantry, the terminology of the arts of life were all tinted by Gallic infusion. Against this glittering pretension to absolute authority the contest seemed scarcely less hopeless, for it was armed with such powers, robed in such splendid garb, and adorned with such graces that many were blinded to its real significance, or terrified into submission. Yet at the very moment two other rivals for the approbation of Europe began to assert themselves. The one was the advance of science and of scholarship, the other the growing power of the English race.

Reaction
against
French
domination

In one sense they were co-workers in the same field. If Louis XIV raised to its highest point the older ideal of despotic monarchy, the English Puritan Revolution had already dealt a fatal blow to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Even while the French king personified the triumph of absolutism, his cousin and client, Charles II, had seen his Parliament filch from him no small part of the old powers of royalty, and develop new machinery to make popular control of Parliament more effective. Even while France attained the height of her authority on the continent

and her adventurers bore her influence deep into the heart of the American wilderness, England began to draw together the scattered threads of her imperial administration and push her slow-moving boundaries forward in the same direction, and to organize her financial and commercial interests to meet the crisis which was about to overtake her fortunes.

And even as the brilliant burst of literary genius and courtly grace, with the military and diplomatic ascendancy of the Grand Monarque, dazzled the continent, there prepared an intellectual movement, not bounded by the frontiers of any nation, which had begun to revolutionize the thought and was presently to affect the activities of the European world. In this England was to bear more than her share. Important as the Reformation had been in releasing half Europe from the domination of the Papacy and in establishing the rights of individual judgment, with whatever far-reaching consequences that involved, the last half of the seventeenth century saw the beginnings of a revolution no less profound because it was not clearly recognized. This was the working out of those doctrines and discoveries in science and politics which not merely altered man's whole conception of the universe, its ruler and its laws, but directly affected the theory and even the practice of human government as well as of man's intellectual processes.

—in letters
and politics

What Luther and Calvin, Copernicus and Galileo, Descartes and Bacon had been to an earlier generation, a new group of men, Newton and Locke, Spinoza and the Deists became to the Age of Louis XIV. What the Italian epic poet, Dante, had been to the fourteenth century, the Englishman, John Milton, was to the seventeenth. Perhaps no single figure so epitomized the spirit of the transition period of the English race as he. Author of the most beautiful of pastorals in his youth; his middle life was spent as the literary champion of the Commonwealth; his blind old age, reviving an ancient art, brought forth *Paradise Lost*. Filled with a Calvinistic theology, his great poem was at the same time instinct with the classical tradition of the Renaissance; while its imagery was drawn no less from the recent triumphs of

Milton
1608-74

science and the newly revealed splendors of the eastern world than from Greek mythology and Hebrew Testament. Thus clothing his conception of the fall of the angels, the creation and the fall of man, in the sonorous magnificence of a new blank verse, he gave Europe as imperishable a possession as did Dante or Virgil or Homer.

Scarcely less notable, no less pious, and far more widely read, was the work of Milton's contemporary, John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* remains the greatest of Christian allegories. Conceiving the Christian's life as a journey beset with dangers and difficulties, he clothed his parable in a style so clear and homely, yet filled with such imaginings, that it became the best-loved classic of the Christian life.

Spinoza
1632-77

What the English Milton was to literature, the Portuguese Jew, Spinoza, was to philosophy. With this grave solitary thinker, who, like his master, Descartes, was a resident of the Netherlands, European speculation entered another stage of its development. His basic conceptions were those of substance, attributes, and mode. Building on Descartes' dictum, "I think, therefore I am," he developed the idea of "attributes," by which God is figured to mankind in mind and matter and nature. His doctrines offered a logical clue to extricate European thought from the impossible situation in which it found itself between the old dogmatic assumptions of the so-called "revelation" which had ruled for centuries, and the advance of knowledge which made many of those older doctrines untenable to one who accepted scientific discoveries. To him God was not the creator nor the father of the world but the eternal universe itself. He strove to introduce reason for revelation, to unify the conception of God and nature and find what so many desired, a middle way between the old and new.

The defense of liberty of thought in speculative matters had thus advanced from the old Reformation school to that of the so-called Deists, who, like Spinoza, proposed to bring dogma and revelation to the test of reason and investigation, and introduce free inquiry into the realm of belief. It was now reinforced by that critical study of the Bible, which, in

Spinoza's hands, had begun the modern methods of analysis, comparison, and textual criticism that challenged the long dominance of the revelationists. Thus the whole field of theology was threatened with invasion by the spirit which had gone far toward solving some of the old mysteries of the universe. At the moment, therefore, when Europe found itself divided between the rival schools of French and English thought and practice in politics and administration, between Louis XIV and his enemies in international rivalry, and between two sets of antagonisms in colonial affairs, she found herself involved in a crisis of thought which was to prove a turning-point of her intellectual existence.

This was the beginning of that change which, pressing on from physical investigation into the study of politics and finally into theology, marks the real break between the mediæval and the modern intellectual world, and the emergence of modern religious thought. It was the natural and inevitable result of that scientific spirit which, from its earlier triumphs, had developed so greatly during the seventeenth century. Against it the anathema of St. Peter's and the protests of Protestant divines alike had thundered in vain, as it prepared to assault the citadel of dogma. It bore within itself, had its ecclesiastical opponents been able to recognize them, two elements which should have commanded their respect. The one was a crusading zeal, self-sacrifice, and moral courage worthy of the best days of the church itself. The other was the possibility of introducing into theology, which was naturally dogmatic and thus at no time wholly attractive to many of the freer spirits of mankind, something of that liberty which could replace its formulæ by a more vigorous appeal to the reason, and prevent the spread of dry rot which always threatens any system based on ceremonial and dogma. But it was not to be supposed that its opponents could see that what they so feared and denounced as atheism and pantheism was no real foe to the essence of their beliefs, however it attacked what it regarded as blind superstition. Still less could they comprehend that it might lead to even higher conceptions of the universe and

The
scientific
spirit

man and their Creator than did the Pentateuch, to whose legends the hierarchy so devoutly clung. Least of all could they perceive that it was no irreconcilable foe even to the mystical appeal which the church makes to the emotions and the springs of conduct, and which, in the last resort, is perhaps its real strength.

England

While then the conflict for temporal power went on throughout the European world, the struggle between science and dogmatic theology altered the basis of men's thought. And while Locke from his Oxford study put forward that political philosophy which justified resistance to arbitrary power and nullified the doctrine of divine right of kings, it was but natural that the land where freedom of thought was most fully recognized should find itself in the forefront of the scientific movement, as it was of the political. Thus as Italy had been the leader in the artistic renaissance, England became the leader in the development of science during this period.

—her
scientific
and
inventive
interest
——1660

From highest to lowest her people shared in this movement, which experienced, in consequence, a tremendous impetus. Among the members of the British Royal Society, chartered by Charles II as a scientific academy, were men of all ranks, professions, and beliefs. The king had his own chemical laboratory. His cousin, the once famous cavalry leader and admiral, Prince Rupert, divided his old age among naval affairs, company promotion, and science, to such effect that his name is perpetuated by such curiously divergent means as an Arctic land and that curious toy known as Prince Rupert's drops. The Marquis of Worcester issued his *Century of Inventions*, at once a record of achievement and a prophecy.

Boyle
1627-91

Above all, another apostle of experiment, Boyle, brought from his study of "the new paradoxes of the great stargazer, Galileo" that passion for physical science which in his hands produced the air-pump, and established aerostatics as a department of knowledge, with Boyle's law as its first principle. Proceeding further, he demolished the old doctrine of the four elements, earth, air, water, and fire, and the

spagyrist "tria prima." He substituted for them a "mechanical philosophy," which, virtually basing itself on what was later to be known as the atomic hypothesis, became the accepted doctrine of matter. His experiments were innumerable. From those on temperature and the circulation of the blood, on gas, magnetism, refraction, electricity, to his efforts to weigh light, they covered the whole range of physical chemistry. Identified with no primal discovery, he was none the less one of the greatest of scientists, the champion of the revolt against scientific as well as theological dogmatism and intolerance. And as the precursor, if not the founder, of the modern school of chemistry, his extraordinary position and achievements at once advanced and dignified the title of a man of science.

Boyle was but one of the more conspicuous members of an increasing group; and the mere list of the more eminent exponents of investigation in this period bears witness both to the extraordinary development of knowledge and the growing importance of scientific studies. Hooke—who divided with the Dutchman Huyghens the honor of inventing the compound microscope and the balance-wheel which revolutionized watch-making, who conceived a flying-machine and claimed to have anticipated Newton's great discovery—led the way in this movement. Gregory, with his reflecting telescope; the naturalist, John Ray, pioneer in systematic botany and zoölogy; Ward, with his theory of planetary motion; the universal genius of the scholar-scientist-mathematician, Barron; and the rising ability of Halley, whose observations had already begun to revolutionize the knowledge of the moon and tides, added their talents to the furtherance of the cause of science. In medicine Sydenham, "the English Hippocrates," the friend of Locke, cut loose from the domination of both philosophic schools of medical thought, and with his insistence on the "natural history of disease," on specific remedies for specific ills, set the curative art on a stage of its existence which, in a sense, laid the foundations for modern treatment. To these may be added the discovery by Leeuwenhoek of such different phenomena

The
scientists
1675-1700

1624-89

1628-94

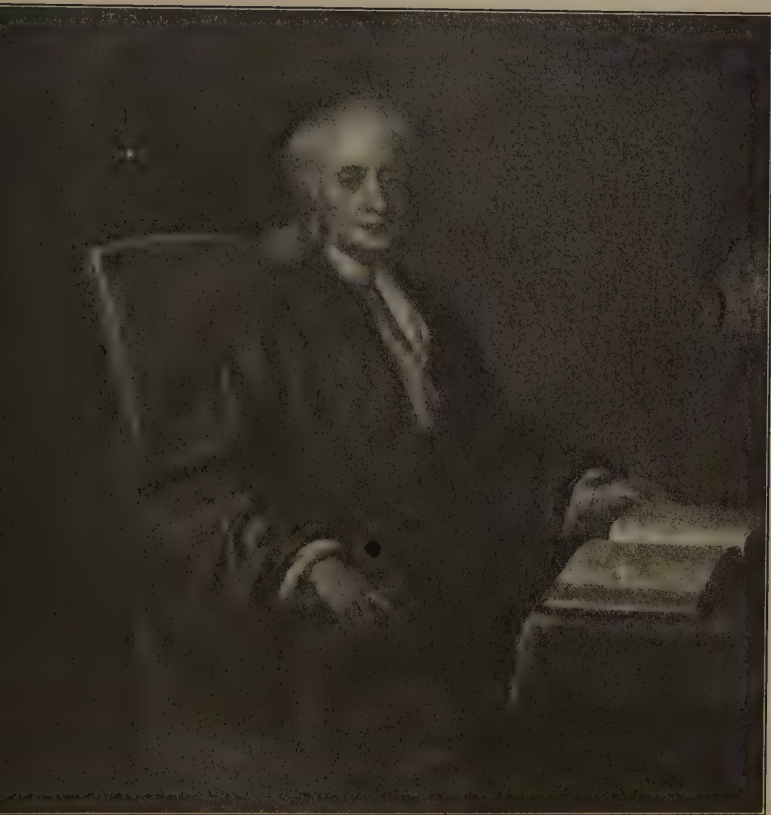
as the yeast plant and the construction of the eye, of bacteria, spermatozoa, and protozoa; and the labors of the greatest of microscopists, Malpighi, who, with Leeuwenhoek, completed Harvey's work. For by his discovery of the capillaries, the circulation of the blood which Harvey had "made a logical necessity" Malpighi "made a histological certainty."

The
phlogiston
theory

Among this varied expression of original genius two circumstances were conspicuous. The first was the development of a new theory in the field of chemistry which was destined to dominate the thought of that science for nearly a century. Beginning with the German chemist, Becher, and exploited by his countryman, Stahl, this phlogiston doctrine, as it was called, assumed that all substances contained two elements, one, phlogiston, which was inflammable or combustible, the other which could not be burned. The principles of this school of thought, which were based rather upon alchemy than on chemistry, were suggested or derived from the older classification of substances on the basis of fire, which, in some form, was still to play a considerable part in many fields of science, notably geology. And it was not until the eighteenth century was nearly gone that men were converted from this last and most successful of all attempts of the old alchemy to maintain itself in modern thought.

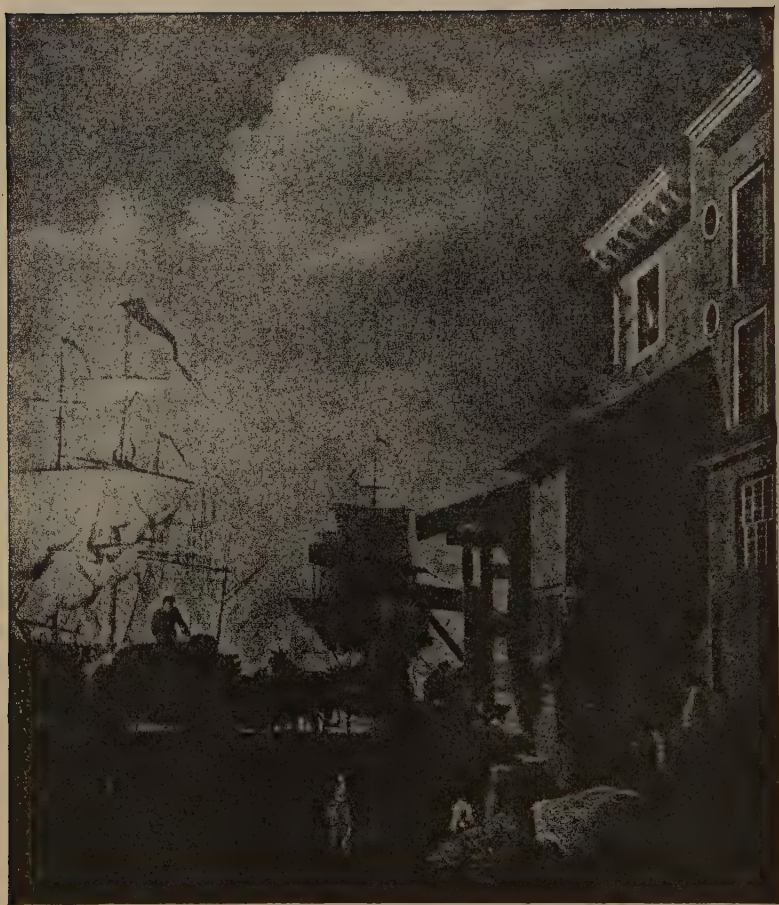
The law of
gravitation
—Newton
1642-1727

The second line of progress was upon sounder principles and found its chief expression in mathematics and astronomy. Here the great figures were the English Newton and the German Leibnitz. Newton's *Principia* in this period became, indeed, the gospel of a new scientific faith, and by the establishment of the theory of gravitation, through long observation and infinite calculation, marked the greatest advance in the knowledge of the universe and its laws since Copernicus. For in Newton's hands were finally combined the contributions of the earlier astronomers. Copernicus had perceived the revolution of the earth about the sun. Kepler discovered that its orbit was elliptical. Galileo determined the law of falling bodies. All these Newton fused into that theory of gravitation which explained the binding force of



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

From the painting by Vanderbank, National Portrait Gallery.



THE OLD EAST INDIA WHARF, LONDON.

After the painting by Peter Monany. Original in Victoria and
Albert Museum.

the solar system, and gave a clue to the laws of the illimitable universe.

To this he added another element of intellectual progress, whose credit he shared with Leibnitz,—the development of differential calculus or fluxions. It is not easy, perhaps it is impossible, to put into words, conceptions which express themselves in mathematical terms, since these, like chemical formulæ, form a language nearly if not quite untranslatable into verbal expression. To say that “Leibnitz deserves the highest credit for the introduction of the symbols $\int$ and dx ,” or that Newton’s great contribution was the invention of $\dot{x} \dot{y} \dot{z}$, conveys nothing to one not versed in a science which uses such symbols as expression of its mental processes. It seems impossible to define calculus in terms which make the definition intelligible to non-mathematical minds. But this much is evident, even to those meaner intellects which cannot grasp the intricacies of higher mathematics—the new science dealt with the idea of variation within limits, and with infinitesimal elements as exemplified in the rate of increase of a curve. It thus enabled men, for the first time, to consider quantitatively such problems as the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the movement of heat, and to arrive quickly and easily by one operation at such results as the content of circles and calculation of stresses, hitherto ascertainable only by long and cumbrous computations. The extension of mathematical processes into the region of the infinitesimal opened the “exact science” still further to the influence of the imagination, and provided it with a dynamic factor which enormously extended its intellectual strength as well as its practical use.

The inven-
tion of
calculus

This was emphasized by other discoveries. The Frenchman, Demoivre, driven from his country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, found in Newton a master; and, building on his work, applied trigonometry to imaginary quantities. To this Newton himself added the discovery of the binomial theorem and the further development of the theory of equations. With these, and other contributions of less note but much utility, the second great period of mathe-

The
general
progress of
mathe-
matics

mathematical development reached its climax. The arithmetical and geometrical learning of the Greeks, with the numeration and the algebraic inventions of the Arabs, had been introduced to Europe in the later middle ages. Between that period and the end of the seventeenth century the development of algebra and trigonometry, the invention of analytical geometry and logarithms, marked the beginning of modern mathematics. Now, with the work of Newton, Leibnitz, and their co-workers, the science entered on another and greater stage of its progress; and, so far from being exhausted, demonstrated that it was still not merely one of the most active agents in the practical affairs of mankind but one of the most fruitful fields of intellectual expansion.

Astronomy
and physics

While the progress of mathematical science was remarkable in this period, and crowned a century and a half of speculation and computation with the most "stupendous triumph of the human mind in the realms of exact knowledge,"—"the mathematical explanation of a primal law"—the development of pure intellect was not the only striking feature of the scientific renaissance nor was England alone in her devotion to its interests. Her position, indeed, was not a sovereignty but a primacy. In France the astronomical abilities of the Italian, Cassini, who determined the planetary periods, gave that nation a place in the great movement of discovering the secrets of the heavens. In Holland the genius of Huyghens, who developed Galileo's ideas into the pendulum clock, shared with Hooke the credit of inventing escapements for watches, and contributed to the triumph of his pupil, Newton, in his studies of accelerating force. He discovered the rings and the fourth satellite of Saturn, with a telescope whose construction marked the beginning of a new stage of optical discovery; and he developed the undulatory theory of light, whose proposition revolutionized that whole science, and had no small effect upon all scientific thought and practice.

—Huy-
ghens

—Leibnitz
1646-1716

Meanwhile in Germany the commanding and universal talents of Leibnitz, beginning with literature and theology, and continuing with philology and philosophy, summed the

content of intellectual achievement of his day. He disputed with Newton the invention of the powerful mathematical instrument of calculus, which enabled men to command by one general method the most difficult problems in geometry and physics. Thence he proceeded to the most perplexing questions which confronted the European intellect as the result of these great scientific achievements. What relation did they bear to revealed religion? How were they to be reconciled with the old doctrines of God and of creation, of the immediate direction of the affairs of man and nature by divine intervention? How were they to be considered in relation to the connection between mind and matter, body and spirit? With him was completed the circle which had begun with theology and had come round through science again, by way of philosophy, to theology. To him, as to so many of his kind, it seemed imperative to combine somehow the obviously conflicting claims of science and religion. His doctrines of ideas, his theory of "monads," intermediary between Descartes' dualism and Spinoza's monism, conceived of elements possessing individuality, able to perceive and to strive. Of these God is chief, and the soul of man a single monad, amid the complex monads of which he is composed. Among these various elements, in his somewhat fantastic philosophy, God had established a harmony, and fused them, like the mind and body, into "infallible unison."

—his
philosophy

Such was the third great effort of the human mind within a century, to find some explanation for the apparent conflict between the old theology and the new knowledge. This rapidly developing school of speculative philosophy, which sought a rational, or metaphysical explanation of the universe and man, already divided the field with revelation in matters theological. But its energies were not confined to the project of harmonizing religious belief with scientific knowledge. It was no less devoted to the explanation of the phenomena of the mind itself. And in its efforts to determine man's intellectual processes and capacity,—which was not only an extension of the work of the physiologists in the determination of the functions of the various parts of the

Rational-
ism

Psychology

body, but the far more subtle problem of the relation between mind and matter, and, in a sense, between the finite and the infinite,—they gradually developed the study of what was known to a later generation as psychology. This was the inevitable climax of that long process which had slowly but surely brought all fields of thought and matter and activity within the scope of human investigation. With it the intellect was recognized, not as an incidental attribute, but as a separate and powerful instrument in man's service; and it became, as well, one of the principal fields of the great controversy between the scientists and the revelationists.

Invention
1675-1700

This scientific advance went far beyond mere theory. If the concluding years of the seventeenth century are remarkable for the progress of mathematical and astronomical science, and the development of a new school of thought prepared to challenge the long dominant dogmatism of the church, they are no less to be remembered for the extension of man's physical resources in the field of invention. On every hand the ingenuity of mankind was aroused, and to this period we owe, not merely improvements in scientific apparatus, and the extension of man's knowledge and his mental capacity, but many devices of importance in every-day affairs. The progress of navigation, due to improved methods of construction, and especially to the growing knowledge of astronomy and the measurement of time, was particularly noteworthy. The increasing accuracy and wider use of watches and clocks, by the principle of the pendulum and the escapement device, evidenced that great concern for time and its measurement which distinguishes the European from most other peoples of the world. The first project for a diving-dress extended human capacities in another direction. The improvements of the age-old source of power, the water-wheel, whose newer forms were associated with the names of the Englishman Barker and the German Sprenger, indicated another line of progress which served to differentiate Europeans from all other peoples. The development of drainage, especially in Holland and in England, enlarged the resources of Europeans by the addition of vast tracts to their tillable

areas. Finally the improvement of canals and their construction, spreading again from Holland through the continent, marked the first advance in transportation since the fall of the Roman Empire.

To these was joined almost immediately another device, which, working along the new line of development that was to revolutionize the world, added another resource to Europe. While Louis XIV planned his last effort to impose his will upon the continent, from English hands proceeded the first successful attempt to combine the forces of fire and water into a new source of power. In the year of the Peace of Ryswick, one Thomas Savery secured a patent for a pumping engine driven by steam, which was perhaps suggested by the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*. The crude device was improved by Thomas Newcomen. And though its projectors were, perhaps, "neither philosophers to understand the reasons, nor mathematicians enough to calculate the powers and proportion the parts," none the less their "lucky accident" enabled them to put into men's hands the beginnings of the most powerful agency which had thus far in human history been subdued to his service. For this pumping-engine "designed to raise water by fire," which a later generation was to perfect, fitly crowned an age which marked the culmination of the great scientific movements. These, no less than humanism and absolutism, owed their origin to the fifteenth century, and now entered upon a period which was to see the triumph no less of science and invention than of popular government.

The steam-engine

1697

Closely connected with the development of the steam-engine, as with industry generally, was the question of fuel. For, to some time toward the end of the seventeenth or in the early years of the eighteenth century must be attributed the introduction into more general use of coal, which marks the great change between modern industry and the age which preceded. It was a matter of vital importance to all mankind. From the beginning of time men had used wood or charcoal made from it, almost if not quite exclusively in the manufacture of their most useful metal, iron, and its prod-

Coal

ucts. So long as wood was cheap and plentiful it had proved sufficient for their purpose in smelting and working ore and metal. But it had two drawbacks. It confined iron-working to those districts where it was possible to secure such fuel, and the supply was relatively limited. As time went on these hindrances became greater. The growth of population at once increased the demand for fuel and iron, while the supply of wood decreased in like proportion. For centuries the use of coal like that of peat had been relatively common for domestic purposes, but it was considered unhealthy, and its industrial function was all but negligible. Now, however, the scarcity of wood, the imperative necessity for greater quantities of iron, and the greater attention to mechanical appliances combined to compel a substitute for charcoal. It is probable that the use of coal on a larger and more practicable scale in iron-working originated in England. It soon spread through the continent, wherever it was available. And though it was not for generations reckoned as equal to the fuel which it supplanted, a multitude of minor improvements in the methods of its use gradually accomplished that revolution in the production of a metal whose infinite adaptations in later times transformed a world of wood into a world of coal and iron.

Statistics

That transformation was accompanied, especially in England, by two other phenomena belonging rather to the field of organized society, in its broader sense. These helped to complete a readjustment long needed in that realm. The remarkable commercial and industrial development of the seventeenth century was marked—as all such movements are marked—by changes in the thought and practice not only of the world of business, but of the philosophy and procedure of governments. To Antwerp is attributed the origin of that system of “securities” or shares of stock, which, developed especially among the Dutch, revolutionized the whole basis of commercial and industrial venture. The development of statistics attributed to the Dutch statesman, John de Witt, and the Englishman, Petty, became the basis not only of insurance, but of taxation and in some measure of adminis-

tration. Petty, with Child, and Sir Dudley North in the closing years of the century "raised the English school of economists to the first place in Europe and confirmed by their authority the doctrine of mercantilism in European thought." To the French minister Colbert must be allowed the distinction of putting into effect the principle of using the old revenue system of customs duties for the purpose of encouraging domestic industries, under the now familiar device known as a protective tariff.

That expedient, which owes its modern development as a national policy to the last half of the seventeenth century, was fortified by an economic doctrine which rapidly grew into a school of thought and practice that long dominated European commerce and politics, and has not wholly died out to-day. It was known as mercantilism, and under that name became the guiding policy of most European states during the eighteenth century, with profound results not only in the field of trade but in public affairs, national, international, and colonial. It was based primarily upon the fallacy that wealth, especially national wealth, was to be measured in terms of precious metals. It was reinforced by the equally fallacious observation that while Spain and Portugal had possessed great revenues from their oversea possessions, they had been powerful, and took no account of the fact that it was the decline of Spain's energy and internal economy rather than the decrease of her income from America which sapped her strength.

To this doctrine Mun's pamphlet on "England's Wealth by Forraign Trade" gave impetus; and its effect was to direct the attention of statesmen toward measures designed above everything else to keep the national store of specie intact or to increase it. To such height did this principle reach that companies trading oversea were long compelled to give security to bring back as much bullion as they took out specie. However these doctrines of the so-called mercantilist school varied in their application by different nations and at different times they were identical in the encouragement of domestic industry and commerce—in particular of exports—

Mercantil-
ism

and the discouragement of imports. They were no less notable for the negotiation of treaties favorable to these ends, and the development of navies and merchant marines, above all of colonies from which raw materials could be drawn and to which exports could be sent—in brief, commercial and industrial independence, and highly restricted intercourse. Such a system, apart from the obvious impossibility of its maintenance by all nations engaged in manufacturing and trade at the same time, had at once elements of weakness and of strength. It enormously increased the national spirit at the expense of international relationships and comity. It restricted the exchange of ideas as well as of goods, and developed national character as distinct from that of Europe in general. Finally, as events were to prove, it tended to alienate Europeans oversea from their home governments, and so hastened the great schism which was to divide the European world.

Clubs

At the same time another great change came over European, in particular English, life by the establishment of those social organizations to which we give the name of clubs. These were, and, in no small degree remain, the peculiar product of Anglo-Saxon character. The idea was, indeed, not new. The classical, especially the Roman world, had known such associations, though not precisely in their modern form. At all times the connection of men bent upon a common purpose, spiritual, intellectual, commercial, had bred societies of infinite form and number. But with the rise of city life and the peculiar condition of "loneliness in a crowd" which it produces, the gregarious instinct began to take shape, especially in London, in this organization which provided a meeting-place, the comforts of life, and a congenial society for its members. Its earliest forms were connected with those coffee-houses which the preceding generation had established in such abundance, and its earliest organization was loose in the extreme. But as its advantages to the individual, and its peculiar appeal to the nature of the Anglo-Saxon male, came to be recognized, it developed rapidly; and, within a generation, it had become a great factor in the life of

upper-class English society. Thence, as time went on, it spread, though slowly, to other nations; and though it has never taken the same hold upon them as among the people with whom it originated, it has remained a permanent and important factor in the lives of a large and influential section of society throughout the earth. A later generation was to see the transference of this principle, in different forms, to France. There, far more than in England itself, it was to play a great part in politics, and to become no small factor in the overthrow of the absolutist tradition so carefully fostered under the Grand Monarque.

The spirit of investigation and experiment was revealed in many varying forms. Whether expressed in the foundation of economics and psychology, in the enunciation of the theory of gravitation or in the establishment of national finance; in the triumph of parliamentary government or the invention of a steam-engine, it discovered new powers and new capabilities, no less than new theories and devices. With them and with the increasingly pervasive influence of capital, commerce, and colonies, the Age of Louis XIV becomes, in another view, the age of science and invention, of rationalism, of popular government and mercantilism, rather than merely another era of the aggrandizement of royalism, of nationalism, and of dynastic interests. And could one have looked forward a generation further, he might have seen in the development of these forces rather than in the more spectacular affairs of war and diplomacy, that the apparent triumph of the old order was but the prelude to its decline before the new elements of society. Whatever may be said of the years between 1661 and 1678 as the Age of Louis XIV, it is apparent that the period between the latter date and the beginning of the eighteenth century might better be named from William III. For it was the Anglo-Dutch spirit and practice which he personified that met the system of the Grand Monarque on more than equal terms. If Louis XIV crowned the long evolution of absolute statecraft, William III stood at the beginning of even greater developments.

The "Age
of Louis
XIV"

Popular
govern-
ment

Among these, in the realm of political theory and practice, one factor was pre-eminent. This was the principle of popular government, which, during the preceding fifty years, had found its greatest expression in England. It was the product of a long development of doctrine as well as of procedure. For it was the result of the growing strength of the middle classes, as well as of the philosophical speculation which provided them with a rational foundation for their claims to a determining share in public affairs. And it was due no less to the devotion to historical precedent and law, which had always been so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. This, it has been observed, was at once stimulated and reinforced by the activity of the lawyers, who found in the field of national affairs an opportunity to enlarge the scope of their talents and principles, which was all but impossible to their continental brethren.

Law

In some measure, indeed, this renewed activity of lawyers and this emergence of modern public law was evident on the continent throughout the seventeenth century. But there it took a somewhat different course. The power of the absolutist kings was too great for courts and lawyers, unsupported by an overwhelming body of public sentiment, such as existed in England, to have much influence in domestic affairs. But, beginning with Grotius, there had begun to develop those principles which govern the relations between states; and beside the evolution of diplomacy and diplomats which characterized that century, went on the rapid development of international law. To Grotius succeeded the Saxon

Pufendorf
1632-94

jurist Pufendorf, whose work, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*, continued the doctrines laid down by his great predecessor and added to them the principles enunciated by the English political philosopher Hobbes. This effort "to evolve from the study of human nature a system of jurisprudence which should be of universal and permanent applicability," based itself on the three sources of law, as he conceived them, reason, the old civil law, and divine revelation. He went still further in his inclusion not only of Christian but of non-Christian peoples in the bonds of common humanity;

and he anticipated the prophets of a later age in his declaration that the will of the state is but the sum of the wills of the individuals which compose it.

His labors represent another development characteristic of the last half of the seventeenth century—the tendency to break away from the French legal tradition which had dominated Europe for nearly two hundred years. From the time when the Italian jurist, Alciati, had settled in France on the invitation of Francis I and begun that long career of instruction which made his adopted country the center of European jurisprudence—and brought him John Calvin as a student—French legal primacy had been an acknowledged fact. “*The mos Gallicus* had become the fashion in the juristic world”; and it was hardly before the middle of the seventeenth century that this tradition began to disappear. Among the early evidences of its decline had been the work of Pufendorf and the development of “natural” law, which was to become the next phase in the development of jurisprudence and even politics. But if French legal eminence narrowed, it strengthened. The general reorganization which overtook France under Louis XIV included the field of law; and the labors of Domat and his fellows consolidated and systematized French law and procedure into greater unity and efficiency. With this general process of collecting and codifying the various legal systems then in vogue in Europe, modern jurisprudence may be said to have finally begun. And this, were there no other development of these years, would have made this age a notable period in European history. The process was naturally unequal and by no means thorough; but it evidenced in this field, as in so many others, that general tendency to seek new bases of faith and conduct for a society busy with the manifold problems of an existence altered in almost every particular from that which had dominated Europe two centuries earlier.

With Pufendorf there came an advance not only in law but in political philosophy. While the lawyers of the continent devoted themselves to the practice of their profession, they held to the old civil codes derived from Roman sources,

modified, as the generations went on, by the exigencies of their own environment, with little change in either principles or practices. Pufendorf, almost alone, contributed to that advance in the conceptions of jurisprudence and the state with which the English lawyers were so greatly concerned; and he, in consequence, became the model for a school of continental jurists whose labors paralleled the more political activities of the English lawyers. Continental law, indeed, unlike that of England, took no account of that system of court practice which, by the use of a jury, introduced what may be called a popular element into legal procedure. It took still less account of laws enacted by a legislature. And in this, as in so many other directions, the European world was sharply divided into continental and Anglo-Saxon lines of development. In the former the dictum held by Louis XIV and his contemporaries, *Suprema lex voluntas regis*, the supreme law is the will of the king, was almost universally prevalent. And nothing better illustrates the divergent principles at work in public affairs than the contrast between this motto and that of the English law, *Salus populi suprema lex*, the welfare of the people is the supreme law. In that contradiction lay the prophecy of ultimate conflict.

Locke
1632-1704

Finally this long evolution was crowned by the genius of the Englishman John Locke, who, no less in mental than in political philosophy, became the prophet of a new school of thinkers, then slowly rising not only to recognition but to dominance in the field of European thought. It is a coincidence of no ordinary interest that his great work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, appeared in the year of the English Revolution of 1688. Moreover, an exile in Holland, whither, as the friend and secretary of Shaftesbury, he had been compelled to flee, he became, in a sense, the co-worker and heir of that school which, from Descartes to Spinoza, found refuge in the nation that had stood as the champion of liberty and individuality against all arbitrary and absolutist powers from Philip II to Louis XIV.

To Locke the great guide was reasonableness. He denounced the efforts of those metaphysicists who, in their endeavors to understand the universe and its Creator, pushed their speculations beyond the reach of human intelligence. He opposed the efforts of those dogmatists who would have stifled all inquiry by their belief in revelation. He denied the doctrine of "innate" ideas, pronouncing for that of "experience"; which, in turn, he conceived of as a combination of observation and reflection. The soul, he declared, was an "empty tablet," gradually inscribed by the activities of life. And, as opposed to positive conceptions, he offered the doctrine of relative conceptions, of probabilities and presumptions, such as must confront real men living in a real world. With him, indeed, we come more nearly to psychology, which was to be the next advance in philosophy. In such fashion he approached the great social and political problems. Here, as in everything else, he loved order, and usefulness, and, above all, reason. As his essay on the *Reasonableness of Christianity* in some sort represents his religious attitude, so his *Letters on Toleration* and his *Treatises on Government* express his political views in the same spirit which infused his philosophy. These, in brief, concerned themselves with the doctrines of civil liberty. Advancing from the position of Hobbes, he became the champion of the individual in affairs of state as in those of faith. In each field he applied that reason in which he found at once the chief expression of his own belief, and the principal weapon against irrational assumptions of authority, whether in matters civil or ecclesiastical.

It was inevitable that he should find himself entirely hostile to such doctrines as those of the divine right of kings which Filmer had advanced, and among his contributions to political thought, the chief is to be found in the attack upon the *Patriarchia*. It was no less inevitable that in his teachings every school then marshalling its forces against the intrenched powers of autocracy and dogma should find comfort. He was himself as much opposed to that latitudinarianism which renounced every element of mysticism

—his
philosophy

and tended toward atheism, as he was to the party which founded itself on the pure dogma of revelation. He was no less the antagonist of that party which denied all political authority and tended toward anarchy, than of the champions of divine right; and, in consequence, this "apostle of reasonableness" contributed to the success of those who, from this time forth, sought to extend the bases of reason as against authority in every field. Thus he became the prophet of the reform and presently of the revolution which brought to ruin the principles and practices of the political school whose chief exponent was the French king.

In such fashion, as the seventeenth century came to a close, the issue was joined between the old school and the new in the realms of philosophical and religious thought, and in the theory and practice of government, at the same time that new elements of strength were added to the resources of mankind. It is a common device of those historians who strive to wean unwilling readers from the more stirring events of the world of action, the fine-spun schemes of diplomats, and the spectacular activities of captains and of kings, to emphasize the greater importance of these duller chronicles of scientists, inventors, and thinkers. To most men no literary art can make them comparable in interest with the dramatic vividness of battles lost and won, of great designs carried to victory or defeat, of the unending human comedy and tragedy whose conflicts form the undying theme of human interest. The study can never compete with the field of battle as the subject of history. Yet, in a wider view, the multitudinous activities of these untitled leaders of the common cause of humanity, engaged in this great conflict with the forces of ignorance and the dark, the struggle of these champions of liberty with those of intrenched dogma and autocracy and these discoverers of new knowledge and new power, take on an aspect no less dramatic, and far more important to the cause of progress than all the glittering triumphs of statesmen and generals. For the cause which they championed, the interest which they served, are those which went to make the world we call our own. As

The "new
course"

the great German philosopher observed, the object of universal history is the growth of a world community pursuing a common purpose, the ultimate purpose of man, the creation and diffusion of knowledge and beauty. And in the fields of knowledge and capacity, popular government, and freedom of thought, these pioneers of the forces of light drove their mines deep under that stately edifice of worldly power which, at the height of his glory, the Grand Monarque was raising before the eyes of men. That edifice was to endure scarcely a century. To its fall, as to the structure which arose in its place, it was the glory of these leaders of thought to contribute; and from their efforts, rather than from the achievements of those who filled the world's eye, came the next advance in the real progress of mankind.

Yet it would be a false view of history which ignored the leadership of France in the world outside of politics during the eighteenth century. Her "empire of art" became a greater reality than the dreams of domination of Louis XIV. The foundation of the French academy in the preceding century had been reinforced by that of the French academy in Rome, and after the death of the last great Italian sculptor, Bernini, the decadent Italian school was replaced by that of the French directed by the organizing genius of Le Brun. Under the patronage of royalty the Gobelins tapestry manufacture, with the Sèvres pottery, flourished; to Poussin succeeded Watteau and his followers. Buhl and his fellows evolved new and more magnificent masterpieces of domestic furniture. The oriental influence which had begun to make its way into literature with the translation of the Arabian Nights and other eastern tales was reflected in the field of art and furnishings; and France maintained and extended that primacy in the world of art which has since been her peculiar province in the lesser as in the greater things of life. To this, beside the evolution of her school of "philosophers," she added practical contributions. First among European cities Paris organized a police force, and to this d'Argenson added a regular secret service department. Thus in arts and arms and thought she set a pattern for Europe which it was not slow to follow.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE. 1700-1720

It has been observed that many of the apparent differences which seem to distinguish the tendencies of successive periods of history are due less to real divergence of aims than to changes in modes of expression. What to one generation is known as religious is not infrequently called political by another, and perhaps social by a third. But even if that were true the very changes in terminology indicate a certain shifting of the prevailing temper of men which accompanies or foreshadows a real alteration of spirit or purpose. Beginning with the period of the Thirty Years' War the conspicuous feature of the political development of continental Europe had been the rise of France and Sweden to the dominance of the European system. Between them they had prevented the establishment of the Hapsburg Empire as a real political unit. France completed the work begun by England and Holland in breaking the power of Spain. Sweden and the north German Protestants had limited Austrian influence to southeastern Europe. Their activities aided the English and the Dutch who had destroyed the monopoly of Spain and Portugal beyond the sea and in many quarters replaced it with their own ascendancy. Moreover, during the seventeenth century, even before the Thirty Years' War came to an end, the words Catholic and Protestant had begun to lose much of their force in politics. By the middle of the reign of Louis XIV there were still apparent in European affairs the feverish ambitions of princes and peoples which tended inevitably toward the recurrence of universal war. But those ambitions were no longer religious in name or fact; they were national and

The results
of the 17th
century

above all dynastic; and they were conditioned by the results of the changes which had taken place during the preceding century.

Those changes were far-reaching and profound. Within a hundred years the continent had been slowly transformed into a political structure whose outlines were more familiar to modern eyes than they had been during the sixteenth century. Since that time there had been evolved a group of powers, fairly stable in form and character; more highly organized as political and military units; more conscious of their existence and situation and of their relation to their neighbors; and better prepared to maintain or extend their power. Moreover, with few exceptions, they were controlled by royal houses, inspired by the spirit of "high politics." These made war and diplomacy the chief business of life. They were influenced by few considerations which we group under the name of nationality, and determined to reckon their greatness by the accumulation of territories and subjects. From their antagonisms arose the next stage of European disturbance, and its outbreak marks with much definiteness another age of public affairs.

Europe
at the
beginning
of the 18th
century

The national kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, France, and England, the Netherlands, the German and Italian principalities, the Swiss republic, and the Hapsburg power, amid the rivalries, entanglements, and alterations incident to a vigorous political activity, formed, from the Atlantic to the Oder and the middle Danube, a fairly well-defined and recognized system. Beyond this much was indeterminate. The lower Danube remained a land debatable between the Turkish Empire and its enemies. The Baltic states were in unstable equilibrium. Swedish ascendancy was challenged on every side. The pretensions of Denmark, the precarious position of Poland, the rising power of Brandenburg, the vast and obscure ambitions of Russia, combined to menace the peace of eastern Europe and pointed out that quarter of the continent as the probable scene of a great struggle for political predominance.

The
European
system

At the same time the more general causes of disturbance,—

Spain and
Sweden

the old Hapsburg-Bourbon rivalry, joined to the newer antagonism of the Anglo-Dutch conflict with France,—foreboded another era of European war. This was the situation of the continent after the Treaty of Ryswick; and scarcely had that treaty been signed when two concurrent circumstances threatened to disrupt the peace of the world. The one was the question of the Spanish Succession, a dynastic issue which involved the future not of Europe alone but of a great part of her possessions oversea. The other was the sudden revival of Sweden's energies under the impulse of the last great figure of the Vasa house, Charles XII, and the ensuing effort to regain its old supremacy.

The
Spanish
question

Of these the first was of more immediate importance and of wider scope. The circumstances were, on their face, simple enough. The King of Spain, Charles II, last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, was childless and near his end. For his possessions arose three aspirants, Louis XIV, Leopold I, and the Electoral prince of Bavaria, each basing his claim upon heredity with widely varying degrees of merit. Had other circumstances not complicated the issue, it might well have been determined by diplomatic processes. But the problem was not as simple as it seemed, for it was far less legal than political. England and Holland, the great naval powers, were equally unwilling to see the Indies revert to France or Austria; Louis XIV was no less opposed to the revival of the empire of Charles V; Leopold would not willingly permit the house of Hapsburg to be replaced by that of Bourbon on the Spanish throne, and France to cross the Pyrenees.

The
Partition
Treaties
1698

Under conditions thus pointing to inevitable war, Louis XIV and his diplomats moved to preserve French interests and avoid widespread conflict by a negotiation. As a result, a twelvemonth after Ryswick, there was signed the so-called first partition treaty. By its terms Spain, the Indies, and Spanish Netherlands were assigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Milan to Leopold's son, the Archduke Charles; Naples and Sicily, the Tuscan ports, and Guipuzcoa to the French dauphin. Had Charles consented to this division

it might well have saved Europe from war. But, angered by the disposal of his lands without consulting him, he gained the assent of England and the Netherlands, and made the boy prince, the Elector of Bavaria, his sole heir. But the boy died. French intrigue recommenced, and, in the last months of the seventeenth century, a new partition treaty assigned Spain and the Indies to the Archduke Charles; Naples, Lorraine, and Sicily to the Dauphin; and Milan to the Duke of Lorraine. Again Charles II, now under the influence of the French party and ambassador at his court, intervened; devised his lands to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou; and died, leaving to Europe a fearful heritage of war. Louis XIV hesitated a moment, but the dynastic impulse was too strong. He accepted the will and recognized his grandson as Philip V of Spain; sent him to his inheritance and prepared to fight. At the same moment the exiled James II died; Louis recognized his son as King of England, and, so far as western Europe was concerned, made the conflict inevitable.

March
1700

Nov. 1700

These, in brief, were the outlines of a long and bitter diplomatic duel which led to another catastrophe. At once Europe became an armed camp. Against the Grand Alliance of England, the Netherlands, and Austria were arrayed France, Savoy, Cologne, and Bavaria. And though, with the beginning of hostilities, William III died, the three leaders on whom the burden fell, the English Marlborough, the Savoyard Prince Eugene, and the Dutch pensionary Heinsius, proved worthy successors as opponents of the Grand Monarque. For ten bloody years all western Europe, save the prize of the quarrel, Spain, felt the pressure of the conflict. Beginning with the battle of Blenheim, where Marlborough and Eugene defeated the French and Bavarians, through Marlborough's victory of Ramillies, Eugene's at Turin, and their joint triumph over the French at Oudenarde, the first seven years of the war did much to humble France. The Archduke Charles was, indeed, unable to maintain himself against his popular antagonist in Spain, but Eugene's victory destroyed French influence in Italy and gave him Lombardy.

The War
of the
Spanish
Succession
1702

1704

1706

1708

1704 The English overran the Spanish Netherlands and seized Gibraltar, where for more than two centuries they have held the key to the Mediterranean.

1708-9 With the crowning catastrophe of Oudenarde, reinforced by the sufferings of the ensuing winter, whose severity further enfeebled France, Louis XIV sought terms. To the surrender of Spain to Charles; the border fortresses to the Netherlands; Strassburg and Breisach to the Emperor; to the recognition of Anne as Queen of England and the banishment of the Stuart pretenders from his realm, he gave assent. But with the last demand that he should help the allies drive Philip from Spain, his patience broke; France responded to his appeal and the war was renewed. But fortune still went against him. The overwhelming victory of Marlborough and Eugene at Malplaquet more than offset Philip's success in Spain, and Louis was driven finally to consent to pay troops to fight for Charles against his own grandson.

1710-11 But with this last humiliation the tide began to turn. In England, the Tories replaced the Whigs, and Marlborough fell from power. In Austria the Emperor Joseph's death set Charles upon the Hapsburg throne, and revived the fear of the empire of Charles V. In the Low Countries the French, relieved from the genius of the great English duke, began to win victories. And, as the balance turned in favor of Louis XIV, all sides again sought peace. After twelve years of war, the treaties of Utrecht, and, after another year of conflict, those of Rastadt and Baden, brought Europe again to equilibrium. With them ended Louis XIV's great attempt to dominate the continent, and, for the time being, French ascendancy.

The Peace
of Utrecht
1713

By this series of treaties, the greatest since Westphalia, England secured the Protestant succession to the throne; with Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Nova Scotia in America; Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean; and the so-called Asiento or right to furnish slaves to Spanish colonies. The Netherlands procured the right to garrison the Barrier or border fortresses, from Furnes to Namur; and the destruction of the French forts at Dunkirk. Austria

obtained the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, and Milan; with the status established at Ryswick. Spain kept her king, and rectified frontiers with Portugal in South America. Brandenburg was re-named the Kingdom of Prussia and gained Neuchâtel with part of Gueldres in exchange for her claim on Orange, which went to France. And, from the wreck of his ambitions, Louis XIV retained Lille and its neighbors, with recognition of his grandson's claim. The war between Spain and the Emperor went on, and the former endeavored to regain her appanages in Italy. But six years thereafter a quadruple alliance among France, 1718-19 England, Holland, and the Empire to maintain the terms of Utrecht compelled Savoy to exchange Sicily for Sardinia, 1720 whence her rulers took their royal title; and in return for imperial recognition of the Bourbons in Spain, the latter renounced their pretensions in Sicily and Sardinia.

Such was the result of the great conflict which absorbed western Europe in the first two decades of the eighteenth century—the substitution of Bourbon for Hapsburg in Spain and of Hapsburg for Bourbon in Italy; the transfer of the Spanish Netherlands to Austria; and the collapse of Louis XIV's ambition to dominate the continent. Two years after the Peace of Utrecht the Grand Monarque died, leaving his state all but bankrupt in wealth and strength; his projects, save for Alsace and a few border fortresses, brought to naught; and the glittering edifice of courtly despotism which he had raised little more than an empty shell. The fifth attempt to bring Europe under the domination of a particular set of forces and formulæ had failed. What Roman and Frank, Papacy and Empire and Spanish-Hapsburg power had been unable to attain had again been proved impossible, and again Europe had vindicated her ineradicable determination to rest her unity on a general community of civilization rather than on the supremacy of any single state or doctrine. Unity in diversity and balance of power had again been proved the pillars of the continental system.

But even the great war which filled the first two decades of the history of western Europe by no means exhausted the

The end of
the Age of
Louis XIV
1715

European
rulers and
states

importance of that period in the political development of the continent. The years which saw the collapse of Louis XIV's ambitions had witnessed a series of minor changes among his allies and his enemies, which, like his own great adventure, bore within them seeds of a new order and of new conflicts.

1714

Almost at the moment he left the scene of his activities the death of Anne brought to the English throne the Elector of Hanover as George I; and the failure of the rebellion which the Stuart pretender, James III so-called, essayed

1715

against his rival ensured not merely the triumph of the Hanoverian house but parliamentary and Protestant supremacy, with the dominance of its champions, the Whigs. This was the more significant in that, during the crisis of the great war just past, England and Scotland, after a century of personal union under the crown, had finally achieved a legislative union under Parliament. Moreover,

The Act
of Union

England had crowned her long connection with Portugal by the great Methuen treaty of commerce—and so, among other results, replaced Burgundy with port on British dinner tables.

1707

The Act of Union which took effect at the moment of the allies' triumph over the French was designed to compose the antagonisms aroused by the revolution, and the bitterness produced by the failure of the Scotch Darien Company. Thenceforth England was relieved in large measure from the danger which had long threatened her from her sister kingdom, and Scotland exchanged her partial autonomy for substantial share in England's wealth and power. The Elector of Saxony had long since become king of Poland, and this circumstance, with Hanoverian kingship in England, the elevation of Savoy and Brandenburg to like rank, altered the titular situation of the continent.

1697

But the effect was deeper far than that. Thenceforth Prussian ambition tended to translate its title into fact, and to extend this new-won dignity over increasing territory to the further disturbance of European peace. The personal union of Poland with Saxony and of England with Hanover tended to involve those extra-German states in the ambitions of the Hohenzollerns. Thus, among the remoter results of

the War of the Spanish Succession, these dynastic changes were to bear fruit in another no less far-reaching conflict, on whose event the fortunes of the European world during the next generation were to depend.

Meanwhile, however, another series of events divided with the War of the Spanish Succession the interest and the energies of European peoples. These centered in the so-called Northern War. During the years that England and Holland, Spain, Austria, France, Savoy, and German states made their half of Europe a battlefield, the circumstances of the east were of no less importance and of even greater dramatic interest, while they were intensified by a personal rivalry which succeeded the long duel between William III and Louis XIV. This was the struggle between Charles XII of Sweden and his enemies, of whom the chief was Peter the Great of Russia. And what the eastern conflict lacked in dynastic importance it more than made up in a spectacular quality which far exceeded the subtler antagonism of Bourbon and Orange, and in a tragic intensity strengthened by its romantic adventures and its picturesque background.

Its earlier course followed closely the developments of the western war. At the moment that the Peace of Ryswick was signed, Charles had ascended the Swedish throne and Peter finally gained the ascendancy over his turbulent nobility. At the moment that the partition treaties were being drawn, Russia, Denmark, and Saxony-Poland signed a not dissimilar agreement to wrest from Sweden those provinces which the house of Vasa had combined, during the preceding century, in its attempt to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. And the summer that saw the culmination of French intrigues which led to Charles II's will and the final alignment of the western powers, witnessed the joint attack of the allies on Sweden. With it began the Northern War, which, running parallel with the War of the Spanish Succession, determined the fortunes of the east, as the conflict between Louis XIV and his enemies determined those of the west.

The allies, counting on the weakness of Sweden under the rule of a boy-king but fifteen years of age, had promised

The
Northern
War

1697

1698-9

1700

Charles
XII

1700

themselves an easy triumph. Never was expectation doomed to greater disappointment. While the Saxons advanced upon Livonia and the Danes invaded Schleswig, Charles landed unexpectedly in Zealand, threatened the Danish capital, and extracted from the astonished Danes the Peace of Travendal and their withdrawal from hostilities. Hastening thence across the Baltic, where the Russians were besieging Narva, the Swedish king fell on their army and overwhelmed it.

1701-

Thence he turned against the Saxons, compelled them to raise the siege of Riga, invaded Lithuania, took Warsaw, defeated the Poles and Saxons in two successive engagements,

1704

and caused the election of his Polish adherent, Stanislaus Leszczinski, in place of Augustus of Saxony, as king of Poland. Following his advantage, he drove the Saxons before him and, at the instant that Marlborough's victory of Ramillies gave the Austrian Netherlands to the allies, Charles compelled Augustus to renounce his Russian alliance, abdicate the Polish throne in favor of Stanislaus, and supply the Swedish army for the next campaign.

1706

This rapid succession of brilliant achievements now brought the romantic figure of the Swedish boy-king to European eminence. In the six years which comprised the first period of the War of the Spanish Succession, Charles XII had conquered and divided his enemies, raised Swedish arms to a height they had not attained since the days of Gustavus, and regained Sweden's pre-eminence. From this achievement he turned to complete his triumph by the conquest of Russia; and all eastern Europe was absorbed in the fierce rivalry of the great antagonists.

Peter the
Great and
Charles
XII

Seldom have two national leaders been more unlike than Peter the Great and Charles. The one, of loose morals and violent disposition in private, ruled public matters with unlimited patience and deliberate resolution. The other, passionless and of rigid private morality, pursued impossible political visions with incredible obstinacy. While Charles, with marvelous military skill, overwhelmed his enemies by rapid and brilliant strokes which dazzled the imagination, he allowed his hatred of the Saxon-Polish king to lead him

from what should have been his chief object, the crushing of Russia. While the Swedes were busy in Poland and Saxony, Peter founded a new capital, St. Petersburg, among the Neva marshes, besieged and captured Narva, and trained an army with the aid of his west-European engineers and officers. When Charles turned from Saxony against Russia, he found his march to Moscow rendered impossible by the devastation of the country. Lured from that enterprise by the Cossack hetman, Mazeppa, who renounced his Russian allegiance, Charles marched southward into his new ally's country, the Ukraine, where he wasted time and energy in the siege of the Russian fortress of Poltava. There Peter, with an overwhelming force, fell on the exhausted and starving Swedes, defeated and destroyed their army, and at one blow demolished the edifice of Swedish supremacy. Thus, by wholly different means, the great antagonists arrived at the crisis of their careers, whose results reflected the influence of their respective characters.

The succeeding events brought those antagonisms into higher relief. As Eugene and Marlborough overthrew Louis XIV's last army at Malplaquet and marched into France, Charles XII took refuge with the Turks. As the fall of Marlborough and the death of the Emperor Joseph turned the tide in favor of the French, Charles' new allies advanced upon Russia, and surrounded Peter's army on the Pruth, where the Czar was preserved from destruction only by the bribery of the Turkish leaders. The Peace of Pruth restored Azof to the Turks and guaranteed the safe return of Charles to his kingdom; but the infatuated hero refused to depart, and harassed the patience of the Porte for three more years, while his rivals improved his absence to annex his lands. Augustus drove the Swedes from Poland; the Danes, though they failed to conquer the southern Swedish provinces, took Schleswig from Holstein-Gottorp, together with Bremen and Verden, which they gave to Hanover for her aid against Sweden. Peter the Great occupied the Swedish provinces along the eastern Baltic from Livonia to Finland; the Prussians occupied Stettin; the Poles and Danes invaded Pomerania.

1703-4

1708

1709

1709-10

The Russo-Turkish War and the Peace of Pruth 1711-

1714

The
Northern
War and
the Peace
of Nystadt
1714-18

1719

1721

Such was the result of Charles XII's obstinate sojourn among the Turks. His return, which coincided with the Peace of Utrecht, was signalized by an alliance of all the northern powers against him. For four years, amid negotiations with Russia and expeditions against Norway, which had improved the opportunity to revolt, Charles struggled on against his enemies until an assassin's shot ended the stormy and disastrous adventure of his reign. The crown, deprived of many of its earlier prerogatives, devolved on Charles' sister and so to her husband, the Duke of Hesse-Cassel; and the long northern rivalry was ended by the treaties of Stockholm and Friedrichsburg, crowned presently with the Peace of Nystadt. By them Sweden lost Bremen and Verden to Hanover; Stettin, West Pomerania, and two islands to Prussia; Livonia, Esthonia, Ingermanland, and part of Karelia, with some islands, to Russia. Though she regained Finland, exchanged her conquests with Denmark, and received money indemnities, her defeat was scarcely measured even by her lost territories. Shorn of her Baltic provinces save two, weakened, discredited, she fell from her high place, and the same twelvemonth, which finally confirmed the peace of western Europe on the basis of the terms of Utrecht, saw Sweden removed from the ranks of first-rate European powers, and her throne occupied by another of those German houses which, in this period, supplied kings to half the thrones of Europe.

The
Austro-
Turkish
War and
the Peace
of Passa-
rowitz
1714

1716-17

This was not the end of the excursions and alarms which vexed the continent in this warlike period. The Swedish king's adventures not merely roused the Cossacks against their masters, they inspired the Turks to dreams of fresh conquest. Revived by their experience against the Russians, they turned again to attack the decaying power of Venice. From her they wrested the Morea, the last of her mainland possessions; and only the intervention of the Empire preserved her remaining island ports. But the pacification of the west brought Austria's great captain, the Prince Eugene, against them, and before his genius they gave way. His victory of Peterwardein and the ensuing siege and

capture of Belgrade not merely drove them finally beyond the Danube but secured Hungary against the danger of further attack. By the ensuing Peace of Passarowitz, Venice 1718 was compelled to cede the Morea, but she retained her conquests in Dalmatia, while Austria obtained the Banat of Temesvar, Belgrade, and part of Servia, with western or Little Wallachia. Thenceforth these Danubian territories were to be no longer a land debatable, but a military frontier against the declining power of the Ottomans.

These were the chief political readjustments resulting from the great wars that convulsed the continent in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In large measure those conflicts conditioned the development not only of Europe's polity but of her civilization. Yet they by no means fully determined that progress. The Northern War, indeed, played its part in the evolution of the Russian empire which now began to take an active share in European affairs. But the energies of Russia's ruler and his subjects were not bounded by the exigencies of war. The alienation of the Spanish empire from Hapsburg to Bourbon, though destined to great ultimate consequence, had little enough immediate effect, even where it was known, upon the millions of its subjects in South America. The transfer of the English succession from Stuart to Hanover scarcely affected the perpetuation of established Whig policy in England itself or in the colonies. And the accession of a Saxon ruler to the Polish throne, of a Hessian to that of Sweden, even the conveyance of Spanish appanages in Italy to Austrian princes, were of far less concern to the progress of the continent than the activities of the masses from whose energies that development came.

Political
results

Russia
under
Peter the
Great

To this there was one striking exception. Of all the far-reaching influences then at work re-shaping the world, none was of more consequence than the development of those lands and societies scarcely reckoned within the European circle a century before. And of the influence of monarchs on history there is no better example than that now afforded by Peter the Great of Russia. It is scarcely too much to say that

1697-8

with his visit to western Europe, his country entered European politics. Converted to the merits of the western civilization, he strove on his return to introduce its practices among his subjects; to increase the royal authority, to reorganize the army, now first drilled, organized, and equipped after the western fashion and supplemented by the establishment of a navy. The substitution of a royal council for the council of boyars or nobles, the organization of administrative departments, the division of Russia into local governments, the revision of taxation and the reform of the church, no less than the encouragement and supervision of commerce, witnessed the fierce reforming energy of the great Czar. The foundation of a new capital, St. Petersburg, on the Baltic, his effort to gain access to the Black Sea, and the ensuing conflicts with Turkey and Sweden, like the extension of Russia's relations with western powers, expressed more than its ruler's determination to revolutionize and expand the Russian empire. With its expansion, the European system of government and society began to extend in a new direction far beyond its earlier confines. To the Tartar hordes which had so long pressed hard on Europe's eastern frontiers was now opposed a power which, though it still partook of Asiatic influence, became at once an outpost and an aggressive exponent of European civilization against its ancient enemy.

1720-1

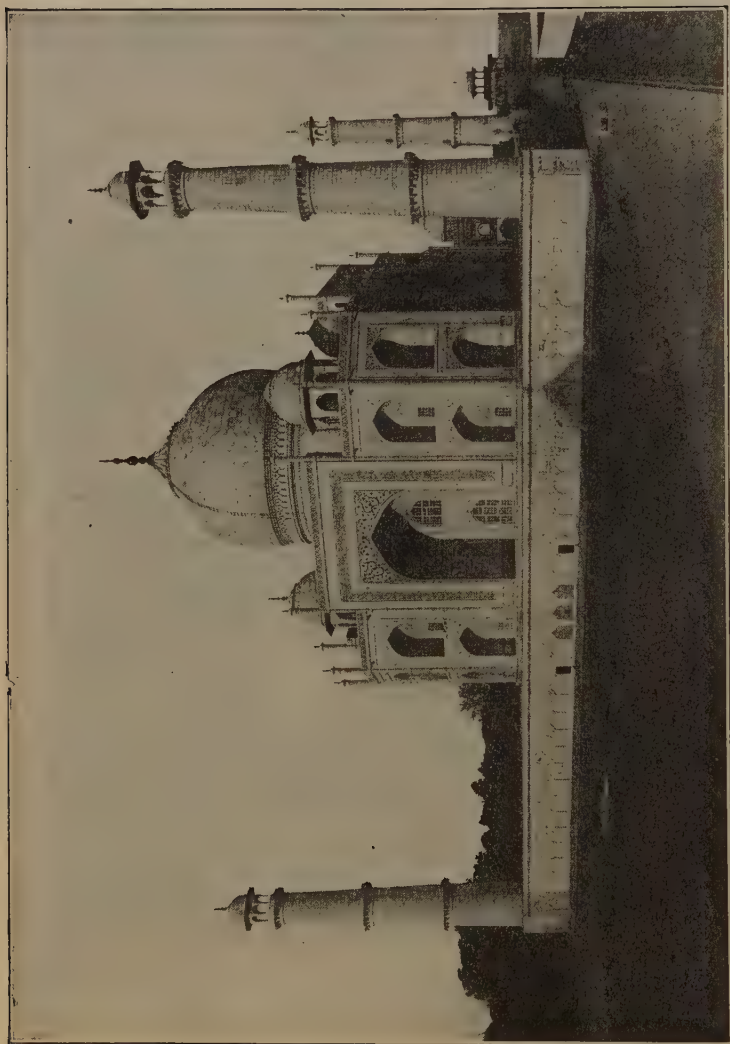
Russian
advance
into Asia
1700-25

This influence soon spread outside the formal bounds of the European continent. Far beyond the lines of its conflicts, Russian explorers and adventurers contributed to the same result. In their progress the Czar's encouragement and the impulse of science bore an equal part. The seventeenth century had seen Russian adventurers in Kamchatka and the discovery of the easternmost projection of the continent. Now, at the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, came the promise of a new advance. Two expeditions failed to locate definitely the New Siberian islands, but the extension of Russian influence to Kamchatka was strengthened by the discovery of the Kurile islands, by new information regarding Japan, and by the survey of the Sea of Okhotsk.



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

This citadel of the old capital of the Czars was surrounded by a wall about 1492. The churches show the Russo-Byzantine type of architecture and are of various dates. The Great Palace (on the left) was built after the destruction caused by Napoleon's occupation. (Photograph copyright by Underwood & Underwood.)



TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA.

Built by Shah Jehan as a mausoleum for his favorite wife. It is sometimes said to be the most beautiful building in the world, and is a perfect type of oriental architecture.

Before his death, Peter the Great took one more step. This was the project of exploring that remote region where the eastern and western continents were all but joined. With that, the way was finally prepared for European advance through Asia to America. Though the great Czar did not live to see it, the next step of Russian progress carried his people across the narrow strait which divides the eastern from the western world, and, in the remote regions of the north Pacific, finally brought them in touch with those powers which were even then re-shaping the destinies of North America.

Upon that continent, meanwhile, the impulse of the War of the Spanish Succession had fallen with peculiar force, and no circumstance better illustrates the new unity of Europe, than the extension of that conflict beyond the sea. Nowhere in the colonial world were the three states chiefly concerned, Spain, France, and England, more powerful; nowhere were the antagonisms of their colonists more sharply defined, and nowhere, in consequence, was the conflict waged more bitterly. The Peace of Ryswick, which had ended the first stage of the struggle for the continent, had effected barely more than such a truce as the treaty of neutrality which preceded the Revolution of 1688, and the colonies had hardly waited the death of the Spanish king and the resumption of hostilities in Europe, to fly at each other's throats.

For this there was cause enough in the circumstances of American affairs, apart from European rivalry. The Peace of Ryswick was scarcely signed when the English and French each strove to anticipate the other in the seizure of the mouth of the Mississippi and the settlement of Louisiana. At the same moment, a Scotch company, under direction of the promoter of the Bank of England, Paterson, made a costly and futile attempt to found a colony at Darien. This provoked Spanish resistance, and resulted in a failure which severely strained Anglo-Scottish relations until the two nations were joined by the Act of Union. In South America the Spanish-Portuguese rivalry blazed up afresh, and, beside these new causes of antagonism, the old conflict for fisheries

The War
of the
Spanish
Succession
oversea

1698

1707

and the possession of lands east of the Kennebec, added fuel to the flame of Anglo-French antagonism in the north.

Queen
Anne's
War

The result was a speedy renewal of hostilities. Eugene had scarcely invaded Italy when the Carolina colonists made a futile attack on St. Augustine; and William III was scarcely in his grave before the arrival of a new governor, Dudley, in Boston, not only revived the old quarrels between the province and its executive, but set New England in train for war. The succeeding decade took tone from these events. The French secured their hold on Louisiana and hurled raiding parties against the English frontier. In New England, Berwick, Haverhill, and Deerfield were in turn destroyed; on the south, the Spaniards and French invaded Carolina and threatened Charleston. And when the Tuscaroras took advantage of the disturbances to attack the Carolina outposts, it seemed for a time that the Franco-Spanish allies might gain in America what they lost in Europe.

1698

1704-6

1707

1710

1711-12

But the advantage did not ultimately lie on the side of England's antagonists. A colonial force from New England failed to take Port Royal, but, three years later, the aid of an English fleet reduced that stronghold, now re-named Annapolis. And though an expedition against Canada, a twelve-month later, was not successful, the English colonists found themselves no longer in much danger from their foes in that quarter. Meanwhile the southern colonies were even more aggressive. The Spanish and French were expelled from Carolina with great loss. The Tuscaroras were not merely defeated but driven from their homes, and the broken remnants of their tribe, flying from English vengeance, took refuge with the Iroquois.

The North
American
colonies
1713-20

With the Treaty of Utrecht peace again fell on the western world. Acadia remained in English hands and the Five Nations subject to their rule. The colonists' position thus strengthened, they turned to other tasks. The seven years which followed were absorbed in regulating relations with each other and with the Indians; in the suppression of piracy, and the settlement of boundary differences. Here they were

no less successful. In Carolina the Indians were finally driven into Spanish territory; in which as well as in New Providence the last remnants of piracy and buccaneering were put down. Carolina, indeed, remained a storm-center to the end; and the final effort of the Spaniards to crush this English outpost was accompanied by the beginnings of a movement to overthrow proprietary government, with which there commenced a new chapter in the history of the English colonies in North America.

The effects of the War of the Spanish Succession were felt in regions remote from the conflict in North America or even the Caribbean. Far to the south, the struggle for a foothold on the north bank of the Plata had meanwhile broken out with new vigor. From Buenos Ayres the Spanish governor led a force against the Portuguese post of Colonia. The Jesuits, relieved of the fear of Indian raids, left their island post at Sariano for the mainland; and for a time it seemed that Uruguay, or the Eastern Province, as it was called, might come at once into the hands of Spain. That hope the Peace of Utrecht defeated and Portugal resumed for a brief period possession of Colonia and projected the occupation of Montevideo. At the same moment the Creoles of Santa Fé finally overpowered the Charruas, who had held back their advance for a century and a half, and found their way to and across the Uruguay. With this, and the foundation of the river towns to secure their frontiers, the history of the Provincia Oriental, or Uruguay, may be said to begin. And at the same time that English colonists made good their position in North America, Spanish and Portuguese divided between them the rich and long debatable lands east of the Plata. Thus at the opposite ends of European empire in America were now determined the lines of future development.

In other quarters the rival South American powers found no less rewards. Though the Brazilian Portuguese were finally balked by their Spanish rivals of the Argentine in their efforts to take complete possession of the Uruguayan lands, they found rich compensation elsewhere. In the last decade

The South
American
colonies
1700-20

1716

Uruguay

Minas
Geraes

1692-5

of the seventeenth century, Paulista prospectors had finally reached the long-suspected gold deposits about the head of the San Francisco River. As the European war broke out, a mining rush such as the world had not seen since those of Zacatecas and Potosi poured thousands of colonists and Portuguese into this field. The province of Minas Geraes rose as by magic between Rio Janeiro and Pernambuco. From its mines there flowed into Europe a stream of gold unparalleled since the Spanish conquest a century and a half before, and there was added to the European world a new province whose treasures from then till now have enriched resources of capital.

The
Pacific
coast

1700-20

At the same moment that these two widely different areas of Uruguay and Minas Geraes were thus opened to European energies, another series of circumstances extended at once the bounds of their influence and settlement in the New World. Among the Spanish provinces of western and northwestern South America there came, indeed, little change save that effected by the transfer of the slave trade from Portuguese to English hands by the Treaty of Utrecht and the increase of commerce with England and France as a result of the smuggling caused by the war. A slow and steady immigration, chiefly from northern Spain, populated Chili with a sound and hardy peasant stock, while Peru, for the time, scarcely altered its condition or its activities. But in its dependency, Upper Peru or Bolivia, the discovery of gold deposits by adventurers from the Brazilian fields, pushing up the Madeira and the Beni, paralleled the gold fever in Minas Geraes. East of Lake Titicaca, the mushroom town of Sorata soon rivaled Potosi, and, though its placer deposits were soon exhausted, the years of the great war pushed Spanish activity far to the north of La Paz through the headwaters of the Amazon, to exploit still other sources of wealth. With such wide extension of territory and the gradual growth of population came administrative change, for the creation of the viceroyalty of New Granada, including Bogota and Quito, at once indicated the further separation from Lima of the great northwestern Andean provinces.

1718

Yet it was not an age of unrestricted success on every hand. Venezuela, her placer gold deposits exhausted, her trade wrecked by the war, fell back in the race for the time being, even though the slow advance of her llaneros and their herds in the interior laid foundations for greater future prosperity. Central America endured a not dissimilar experience under the virtual embargo which England's control of the sea enforced during the war; nor were the islands in much better case. There, as in the Pacific, the exploits of Dampier and Woodes—like the extraordinary attack on Rio de Janeiro by Guay-Tronin which, in the depopulation incident to the gold rush, only saved that great port from French hands by a huge ransom—revealed another element in the situation, of much moment thereafter. Relieved from the attack of buccaneers, the Spanish posts now felt the pressure of English naval commanders, which in the ensuing century was to play havoc with Spain's old monopoly. 1711

The
Caribbean
lands
1700-20

These incidents of the world-wide war, productive of heroic exploits and profitable adventures, recalled the days of Villagagnon and Drake; as the concurrent events in the north reflected the old rivalry of Virginia and New France. Yet it was not in these that real progress lay, nor, save for Uruguay and Minas Geraes, was the chief advance made by the Spanish in South America. At the opposite end of their great empire another movement became the principal feature of importance in this period. This was the expansion of Mexico. While the slow and laborious progress of society went on through the Americas with slight regard to European war, while from Araucania to Lower California the missionary priests pressed forward their line of missions preparing the way for Spanish occupation, the greater activity lay toward the north. There, from the outlying districts of New Spain, the "internal provinces," founded in the preceding century and a half, New Biscay, New Estremadura, and New Santander, a slender stream of missions and pioneers began to push north and east across the fertile plains of the New Philippines or Texas. In that vast region, by the time that Europe was fairly settled after its great conflicts,

The
expansion
of Mexico
1700-20

scarcely one of the rivers which made their way across its wide prairies into the Gulf lacked an outpost of Spanish influence, from San Antonio on the Rio Grande to San Miguel de Cuellas on the Sabine. And with its occupation during this period, Spain reached her widest bounds east of the Rocky Mountains in North America.

French
advance
in North
America

1717

If she hoped to retain her hold upon that quarter of the world it was high time her colonists bestirred themselves. Already the great project of La Salle, which had contributed to this display of energy by threatening their hold on northern Mexico, had found successors. Even as the Spaniards advanced, they found a formidable antagonist, and their pioneers met everywhere the agents of a rival power. But two days' march from San Miguel, La Salle's compatriots established, simultaneously with the Spanish settlement, a post at Natchitoches on the Red River, which was at once the symbol and the culmination of an extraordinary burst of expanding energy. For what Spain had been to Central and South America in the sixteenth century, what England had been to the Atlantic coast of North America in the seventeenth, France now became to the Mississippi basin and the Great Lakes; and there, as she had already challenged England in the maritime provinces of the St. Lawrence mouth, she now challenged the Spaniards in the Missouri region.

The Great
Lakes
1679-1738

1720-22

Her earliest efforts following the explorations of the preceding generation had been directed to the west and north. In the first years of the great European war, Canadian officials had despatched agents along the way pointed out by Noyon, and that Sieur Greysolon Du Lhut, whose name the metropolis of Lake Superior perpetuates, toward the watershed of the great northwest. With de la Noue's foundation of a post on the so-called Kaministikia River, there began a fresh advance through a well-watered region to Lake Winnipeg. With this they tapped the heart of that rich fur-bearing region. Still they were not content, and the reports of Babe and Charlevoix, building on this achievement, pointed the way to that long-sought-for goal, the western sea.

Yet despite such a wide extension of her Canadian frontiers, her chief advance lay in that field first mapped out by La Salle. For its accomplishment the French had two great advantages. The first was their highly centralized colonial system. With scarcely more than fifteen thousand colonists, they were cut off from the direct road to the west by their enemies the Iroquois, and opposed by them and by the English simultaneously. Yet they had been able to hold their own against this joint attack, and retaliate against vastly superior forces with vigor and success, and to make the greatest territorial gains of the entire period. This was in large measure due to the second of their advantages, the courage and resource of their adventurous pioneers. Before the European war began these bold spirits had founded a fort at Kaskaskia in the country of the Illinois, and another at Biloxi, where the alertness of d'Iberville anticipated the English in securing the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi valley

1699-1700

Scarcely were these outposts established when the Canadians hastened to strengthen their lines by other posts. In the last years of the seventeenth century Kaskaskia was reinforced by the neighboring settlement of Cahokia. The first year of the eighteenth century saw the fortification of Detroit. A twelvemonth later the Biloxi settlement was transplanted to the convenient harbor of Mobile, and in later years the northern line was further reinforced by the foundation of Vincennes to secure the line of the Wabash River. Thus, from Quebec and Montreal through Niagara and Frontenac, Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, France held the waterways and portages which comprised the only practicable routes through the great wilderness which lay between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Hardly were the treaties signed which set the seal on the provisions of Utrecht, when the establishment of Fort Chartres on the Mississippi just below the mouth of the Missouri, added another link to the lengthening chain by which France held her new empire in leash. Beyond that line, the posts of Mackinac, the missions, and the itinerant traders and priests, at once strengthened her hold on the lake region and brought her in closer touch with

1701

1720

1670

the western tribes in common cause against their mutual enemies the Iroquois, who strove to exercise their suzerainty over the great region north of the Ohio. Such was the far-flung if loosely woven empire which now took form in North America.

The
Le Moynes
1698-1720

It was peculiarly fortunate for France that at this juncture the mantle of La Salle and Joliet fell on the shoulders of a family worthy to wear it. To the Le Moynes—five brothers, of whom the two best known are remembered by their titles of Iberville and Bienville—she owed whatever of success she found along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf. Three times the indefatigable Iberville, through whose efforts the English had been foiled in their attempts to obtain a foothold on the Gulf, visited this region to confirm French title by discovery and occupation; while Bienville, created governor of the scattered settlements, extended them to the Red River. Under their direction the Mississippi's course and delta were mapped, and settlers found to occupy the posts. Against the English seamen, who here as elsewhere in the Gulf of Mexico, endeavored to cripple their rivals, they combined French forces with Spanish to protect the infant colony. Against the English traders and the hostile Chickasaws, their friendship with the Choctaws preserved those settlements on the land side; and it seemed not unreasonable to hope that by joining hands with Canada they might, in time, forestall the English and confine them to the region between the Alleghenies and the coast.

Louisiana

Louisiana indeed grew slowly. Ten years after its foundation it numbered scarce four hundred souls; nor was this surprising. It was cut off from free communication with Europe by English naval power; and, remote from Canada, it found its only markets in the Spanish colonies, and garden vegetables its chief product. But in the twelfth year of its existence, a twelvemonth before the Treaty of Utrecht, came a change. On a great French promoter-merchant-capitalist, *Sieur Antoine Crozat*, Louis XIV conferred monopoly of trade for fifteen years within the region bounded by the Wabash, Carolina, and New Mexico, now constituted as a

1712

colony subject to New France. With this came new activity; Bienville's energy as "commandant of the Mississippi and its tributaries" established a post at Natchez and secured the Red River district against the approaching Spaniards, and to his new venture Crozat contributed men, money, and supplies. But trade proved small, expenses large, the jealousy of a new governor, Cadillac, transferred from Detroit, ripened to open quarrel with Bienville; and Crozat, discouraged, presently gave up his charter. Yet this was not the end. The patent was conferred upon another grantee, the so-called Company of the West, and with this there opened 1717 a new chapter in the history of France and her colonies; a chapter whose events were so romantic and so intertwined with the developments meanwhile in Europe itself, that it forms one of the most significant and illuminating episodes of the entire period.

Few circumstances in European history are more astonishing than the results which flowed from the transfer of trading privileges in Louisiana. They were, indeed, symbolic of the times. The conclusion of the great European wars had left the continent in a state of disturbance and unrest unparalleled since the Peace of Westphalia. On every hand sprang up adventurers, high and low, eager to seize some advantage for their country or themselves from the unstable situation of affairs. In Spain the ambitions of Alberoni threatened the peace of the Mediterranean world; in the north the intrigues of Goertz and Gyllenborg involved not merely the Baltic powers but the British Isles, then disturbed by the efforts of the Pretender, James III so-called, to wrest his inheritance from George I. In France the abilities of Dubois endeavored to regain some of the prestige Louis XIV had lost. In Spain the Dutchman Ripperda, embracing diplomacy and Catholicism, succeeded Alberoni as prime minister, and falling from power there, ended his public career as the Mohammedan vizier of the Emperor of Morocco.

The age of
the adven-
turers
1713-30

These men were typical of a period which placed a Hanoverian on the English throne by a Whig *coup d'état*, replaced the antagonism of England and France with an alli-

ance, and revealed the hostility of Jesuit and Jansenist, of court and Parlement in place of the overpowering supremacy of crown and church under Louis XIV. They were the legitimate successors of the greatest adventurer of them all, Charles XII. Nor were they alone. In finance and colonies the preceding generation had made extraordinary strides. The foundation of the Bank of England and the National Debt was paralleled by the French occupation of Louisiana and the project of founding a colonial empire there. The revulsion from war, the desire for sudden wealth so characteristic of such a period, combined, with the developments in the world of credit, to produce an era of speculation which swept over western Europe like a pestilence.

The
South Sea
Company
1711-20

Its first manifestation was the ill-fated Scotch Darien Company. The next was the so-called South Sea Company under the patronage of the English minister Harley. To restore public credit by extinguishing the floating debt, this company undertook to assume its burden in return for a grant from the government of six per cent. on the amount, drawn from the customs revenue and reinforced by a monopoly of the South Sea trade. It extended its operations, till it presently proposed to assume the whole burden of the national debt upon like terms. Against the opposition of the Bank of England and leading financiers, and in spite of the fact that only one ship was ever sent to the South Seas, Parliament lent itself to the proposal. With this a speculation craze began. The company's shares rose to ten times their value, fortunes were made in a night. Great frauds were perpetrated, till, when the bubble burst, thousands were ruined, and public confidence all but destroyed before a new minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and his associates, managed to readjust finance on a firm basis.

John Law
1671-1729

1716-18

At the same moment France experienced a like fate. Thither in the years following Utrecht had come a Scotchman, John Law, who, after some years of banking experience in Holland, set up a private bank in Paris in imitation of the Bank of England. Dazzled by its success, the regent, Orleans, adopted Law's plan for a royal bank and soon proceeded to charter

Law's Company of the West. As Law's operations extended, he obtained the monopoly of beaver skins in Canada, and absorbed the East India Company. He was created Duke of Arkansas. The shares of his great corporation were rapidly taken up and an era of inflation began. When, within two years, its privileges were extended to a monopoly of the trade with China, the Indies, and the South Sea, the demand for shares of the Company of the Indies, as it was re-named, rivaled the English frenzy. It was even amalgamated with the national bank, and granted rights of coinage and farming the taxes. But over-issue of paper had produced a false prosperity, and the stoppage of payment by the bank brought about a crisis in French finance coincident and similar to the collapse of credit in England. Company and Bank went down together. Law fled from France; and the nation he had, perhaps unwittingly, deceived was compelled to readjust its finances by slow and unprofitable liquidation of its debts. 1720

Such were the beginnings of European experiments in high finance. Their earliest effect was disastrous. In them the establishment of national credit combined with the lure of huge profits from the colonies to produce a craze for speculation. But when that craze was past and sober second thought at last prevailed, the ultimate result was to alter the whole basis of Europe's financial theory and practice. State banks and national debts, stock issues and operations, the interdependence of home countries and their colonies, became a part of the fabric of that widening society, and political economy one of its most clearly recognized functions.

By such circumstances the twenty years which followed the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession were distinguished in the field of politics and the now closely allied realm of finance and colonies. The great circle of European power in the western hemisphere was now all but complete, with the discovery and exploitation of the north and west, the opening of the Ohio and Mississippi, the trans-Mississippi regions, and the Pacific coast. The entry of Russia into the concerns of Europe and farther Asia, and her progress across the straits into America, marked a new

The results
of the
period

era in her own history and that of the world. No less the emergence of Brandenburg-Prussia from German into European politics presaged the reshaping of policies and powers in both fields. And, though for the time being it was of less consequence, the erection of the duchy of Savoy into the kingdom of Sardinia was prophetic of scarcely less important revolution in the more distant future. The final triumph of the Whigs in England, with the accession of the Hanoverian line and the union of Scotland and England; the introduction, in whatever modified form, of new ideas into the Spanish monarchy, with the transfer of power from Hapsburg to Bourbon hands; and, still more, the connection thus established between France and Spain, were of no less importance to Europe on both sides of the sea. At the same time the relative decline of France and Sweden left the field open for new forces and new powers to assert themselves, and new issues for statesmen to face. Finally, the developments in the colonial and the commercial fields gave to this situation fresh form and direction. It now became apparent that the period which endured the two great wars had brought about not only a shifting of the European system greater than it had experienced in two centuries, but had ushered in an age which differed from its predecessor scarcely less than that period had differed from the era of the Thirty Years' War. For the Age of Louis XIV marked at once the crown and culmination of a development already giving way to far different theories and practices even in the world of politics.

Two movements in particular characterized the coming age. "The problem of Utrecht was how to set the equilibrium of states against the private interests of the dynasts;" and, in effect, the Peace of Utrecht created a "dynastic deadlock" as well as registering a national protest against those personal absolutisms. To its negotiators Fénelon presented a memoir against altering the European system; but even while it sat there appeared the Abbé St. Pierre's Project of Perpetual Peace, founded on the earlier conceptions of Crucé and of Sully's "Great Design," proposing international agreement and action in place of a system of dynastic alliances.

CHAPTER XXX

IMPERIAL EUROPE. 1720-1742

THE contrast between the first two decades of the eighteenth century and the twenty years which followed, forms one of the striking antitheses which from age to age sustain our interest in the evolution of mankind. The opening years of the century had been filled with wars which reached to every corner of the continent and involved the greater part of European possessions oversea. Then the figures of William III and Louis XIV, Charles XII and Peter the Great, Eugene and Marlborough, occupied the center of the stage. Scarcely had they gone when the whole aspect of politics and the whole character of its chief directors were changed. To soldier-statesmen succeeded men of peace, Walpole in England, Fleury in France, the Emperor Charles VI, and Frederick William of Prussia. These, however they differed from each other in private qualities and public policies, were of one mind in seeking to avoid another general European war. In consequence no such universal catastrophe as had just taken place broke the long era of relative peace; and though from time to time one state or another became involved in conflict with its neighbors, but one war of any great importance occurred in the two decades following the Peace of Utrecht.

The age
of the
pacifists
1720-42

Yet if the period in which their activities fell was an age of peaceful rulers, it was none the less an era of feverish political activity; an activity, however, which found its chief expression not so much in the open fields of war and politics as in the darker realms of intrigue and diplomacy, conspiracy and rebellion. Seldom if ever among the many tortuous and complex epochs in which European interests crossed each other in a tangled maze of conflicting ambitions, have inter-

—and the
intriguers

national affairs been so subject to the influence of scheming diplomats and restless adventurers as in the years between 1721 and 1742. This is not to be wondered at. The circumstances under which Hapsburg was replaced by Bourbon in Spain, and Bourbon by Hapsburg in Italy; the reversal of the rôles of Sweden and Russia in the northeast; the dynastic changes which brought a Hanoverian to the English throne and a Saxon to that of Poland; the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg; and the existence of pretenders or rival heirs to half the crowns of Europe, offered a fertile field for the devices and desires of a crowd of ambitious spirits, high and low. On the one hand, in consequence, stood the exponents of settled peace and the establishment; on the other, those who would have gladly seen the dying waves again lashed into storm.

England
and France

This was the situation, in particular, of the two greatest western powers. England, now dominated by the Whigs, was absorbed in securing herself against Jacobite designs and the results of the South Sea Bubble, while striving, under Walpole's guidance, to preserve and increase the fruits of her exertions. France, feverish from the hemorrhage of war and the excitement of the Mississippi Scheme, fearful of the ambitions of Orleans and Philip V, consumed with civil quarrels and the open licentiousness which succeeded the decorous vices of the court of the Grand Monarque, found little energy to devote to outside interests. Both joined, therefore, to oppose further disturbances and after long enmity found themselves allied against those who threatened their peace.

Spain

1714-66

What France and England lacked in disturbing elements, Spain meanwhile more than supplied. There the ambition of her successive ministers, Alberoni, Ripperda, and Patiño, with the power behind the throne, the queen, Elizabeth Farnese, the Italian wife of Philip V, strove mightily to revive the glories if not the strength of Spanish power. Through an infinity of negotiation, and alliances, first with Austria, then with France and England, Spain's intrigues had for their object the accession of Elizabeth's son to Parma and

Piacenza with the reversion of Tuscany; and this result the shrewd diplomacy of the queen finally achieved.

These were not the only nor even the most important of the negotiations which filled European chancelleries with business in those years. The introduction of a Spanish dynasty in Italy, which was the most spectacular political event of the decade that followed the great European settlement, was accompanied and largely aided by the simultaneous efforts of the Emperor to obtain Europe's assent to an extraordinary document. This, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, was intended to secure the throne to his daughter Maria Theresa, in defiance of that so-called Salic Law, which had long dominated dynastic settlements among the western powers of the continent. To this result the situation of England and France, each equally desiring peace, contributed. For this Charles sacrificed Italian principalities to Spain. And, to the accomplishment of his design, the genius of Eugene and the exhaustion of the Turks, with the disturbed condition of Russia after the death of Peter the Great, conduced no less than the peaceful, parsimonious policy of Frederick William, which slowly made Prussia ready to play a greater part in international affairs.

The
Pragmatic
Sanction

1713

Yet with all the vast network of intrigue and diplomacy which centered in Charles VI's design and the ambitions of "the termagant of Spain," Elizabeth Farnese; with all the efforts of England and France to hold the balance even, at home and abroad; the ultimate importance of the period lay outside the realm of politics, largely outside of European boundaries, and wholly beyond the merely dynastic problems with which it chiefly concerned itself. Not merely did the arts of peace receive new impetus, commerce and wealth increase, and city population, that sure index of a material prosperity, grow more rapidly than at any previous time; not merely did new schools of thought find opportunity to intrench themselves. New forms of comfort and luxury were developed, as the growth of wealth found opportunity to express itself. Already an agrarian revolution was under way, an industrial revolution was preparing; and, above all, new

The arts
of peace

worlds beyond the seas were being thrown open to European enterprise, to reinforce the old world with their resources and opportunities.

India

1707

Of these, two in particular were now coming to occupy European attention. The first was India, where an event, midway of the great wars just closed, was to be of supreme importance to the whole colonial world. This was the death of Aurungzebe, last of the great Mogul emperors. The name doubtless meant little to the men directing European destinies in the days when Russia and Sweden came to death grips; when in the Netherlands and Italy French generals strove to make head against Eugene and Marlborough. To men engaged in conflict for European supremacy a change in Asiatic rulers seemed of small significance. To Europe generally Mahratta and Mogul, Nawab and Peishwa and Nizam, if known at all, were merely curious collocations of vowels and consonants; Aurungzebe as mythical a name as that of Jenghiz Khan. Apart from half a dozen ports and provinces, Goa and Calicut. Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Bengal, with Pondicherry, Delhi and Agra, and that synonym of wealth, Golconda, the geography of India was scarcely better known to most Europeans than that of central Africa. Yet Aurungzebe's death not merely revolutionized affairs in India; it was of the same nature as those events which had made possible the Spanish conquest of America. It was fraught with something of the same importance to the European world; and the names which seemed no less barbarous than those of Montezuma and Atahualpa two centuries earlier, were soon to be a part of European knowledge.

It is not surprising that, though India was the first Asiatic land to come within the circle of European interests, its vast interior should have remained for more than two centuries all but unknown to Europe in general. Its distance no less than the size and strength of its great native states precluded conquest. The nature of the enterprise which planted factories along its coast and fought for trade, was alien to political expansion; and the adventurous companies, even when they came in contact with the central power, remained its

suppliants or tributaries, existing in no small degree on sufferance. That India, like Europe, was not a state, much less a nation, but an area, occupied by rival peoples, cultures, and faiths was scarcely realized. That, like Italy, it was divided against itself and subject to foreign conquerors, from the day when the migrating Aryans overran the northern plains before the dawn of history, through Alexander's conquests to the comparatively recent invasions of Afghans and Turks; these facts were not as yet a part of European experience.

Still less was her internal history understood, though on it hung the situation which was now about to confront the European world. When the Portuguese had first landed at Calicut, the two great powers which shared Indian allegiance, the Mohammedan sultans of Delhi in the north and the Hindu rajahs of Vijanayagar in the south, were each, after three centuries of existence, on the point of breaking into groups of semi-independent states. Thus the petty sovereignties which the Europeans had first encountered, felt little obligation to any central authority. But scarcely had the Portuguese established their trading empire when India saw a new conqueror. Under a descendant of that Timur the Lame whose arms a century earlier had spread his power from the Ganges to the Hellespont, and from the Volga to the Persian Gulf, a fresh horde of so-called Moguls, half Tartar and half Turk, had swept from the Jaxartes through Samarcand and Afghanistan into the Punjab. There, at the moment that Luther defied the Papacy and Cortez conquered Mexico, the Mogul leader, Babar, had crushed the Sultan of Delhi at Panipat. Repulsed by Afghan rulers of Bengal, the Moguls had returned under Babar's grandson, and conquered the Afghans on the same field where thirty years before the Delhi sultan had been overthrown. In the ensuing half century all India north of the Deccan had come under the rule of the contemporary of Elizabeth and Philip II, Akbar, surnamed the Great.

Its
situation
1498

1526

1556

When the Dutch and English arrived in India, therefore, they found the peninsula divided between the Mogul empire,

the small Hindu states of the Deccan, and the still smaller principalities along the coast. The first English agent, Fitch, had visited Akbar's court at Agra. His successor, Roe, found Akbar's son, Jehangir, on the throne; and the authority of these rulers was invoked for trading rights against the privileges of the Portuguese which had been derived from the lesser princes of the coast. Meanwhile, the Mogul power made its way, and when, in the year Cromwell died, Jehangir's heir, Shah Jehan, was deposed by his son, Aurungzebe, it approached its culmination. For, by that able if bigoted ruler's conquests at the close of the seventeenth century, the whole peninsula, save for Mysore and some small border states, owned the Delhi sovereignty. Before such power Europe was impotent. The "Great Mogar," with his "thousand elephants and thirty thousand horses," his "myriads of troops and strong places," offered no opportunity for conquest to trading companies little concerned with land, much less with political supremacy.

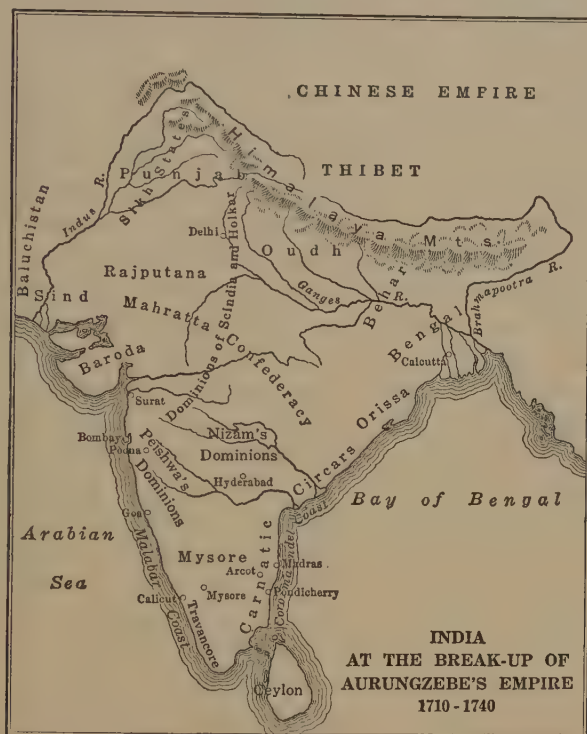
The
death of
Aurang-
zebe
1707-40

But Aurungzebe died, and the effect on India was not unlike that of Charlemagne's death upon Europe nine hundred years before. Against the ambitions of peoples within his far-flung boundaries, eager for independence; against Hindus resenting Mohammedan supremacy as much as Lombard, Arian, or Saxon pagans resented Frankish and Athanasian dominance; against rulers like the Mahratta chief, Sivaji, "whose death was worth more than a great victory," Aurungzebe had long contended. With his removal the Empire began to disintegrate. Like the lieutenants of Alexander, the Mogul viceroys aspired to separate sovereignties, and local rulers and adventurers raised their heads. Nizam and Nawab were transformed from viceroys to all but independent princes. Rajah and Sultan and Peishwa, as these subordinates were called, resumed their place in Indian polity. In Hyderabad the Turcoman Nizam ui Mulk, in Oudh a Persian adventurer, in Mysore the local family, became supreme; and Bengal's Nawab, almost alone, remained true to the puppet emperor.

Among these one power became predominant. Along the

western Ghâts, through the hill country, five hundred miles from north to south in central India, where the Maharashtra, or "great kingdom" of a Hindu race, the so-called Mahrattas, had once been, the rebellion of Sivaji in the late seventeenth century had begun a Hindu revival which presaged the fall

The
Mahrattas



of the Moguls. Upon Sivaji's death, the Brahman ministers 1680- of his incompetent successors had become mayors of the palace under the title of Peishwa, and from their separate sovereignty at Poona claimed the allegiance of all Mahratta tribes. These meanwhile spread from their hill fastnesses till by the middle of the eighteenth century their wild riders' boast that they had "watered their horses in every stream from the Kaveri to the Indus" showed at once their strength and the disorganized weakness of central India. One of

their leaders carved a kingdom from Nagpur, Orissa, and Behar, and invaded Bengal. Another became the Gaekwar or prince of Baroda on the west. Another took Malwa and centered his authority in Scinde; while princes of Sivaji's own house seized Sindhia and Tanjore, fell upon Hindustan, and made themselves masters of the Emperor's person. In such fashion Mahratta rule replaced the Mogul empire throughout central India.

1740

England
and France
in India

All the advantage hitherto in the struggle for Indian preponderance had been with the English, whose spirit, organization, and resources had outstripped the French in the commercial field. But, in the altered situation of affairs, it was by no means sure that the French genius for diplomacy and war, their gift for dealing with non-Europeans, would not more than compensate for their defects in trade; for it was evident that new methods must be devised to meet the crisis in Indian affairs. France had failed thus far to found her colonial power on the two firm bases of trade and emigration. But those qualities which she had clearly revealed in other fields, the daring of picturesque adventurers, the skill in treating with savage chiefs, the personal ascendancy of individuals—if ever there was a field opened for these, it certainly was India during the eighteenth century.

Such was the situation of Indian affairs as the great European wars came to a close. It was an opportunity for intervention and conquest such as the world had scarcely seen since Aztec and Inca fell before the Spanish arms. Yet, for the moment, no European power moved. Nor was this to be wondered at, since, even had the intricacies of Indian politics been better understood, the years which saw the great peninsula convulsed with the fierce rivalries of its ambitious leaders found Europe busy readjusting her affairs in the light of the late wars and the no less disturbing political and economic situation which ensued. Holland was now an English satellite; and Portugal, since the great Methuen treaty which bound her closer to her old ally by strong commercial ties, was scarcely more. Neither England nor France was inclined to enter on new wars for the time being; to each it

1702

seemed sufficient to preserve amid the general anarchy what they had managed to secure. In Madras, as in Calcutta and Bombay, men like Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the great Chat-ham, maintained the English power. In Pondicherry and Chandernagore, men like the young Dupleix were learning the lessons of Indian politics, and waiting their opportunity to extend French influence. In both, the more cautious commercial elements held back from meddling with affairs which might well cost them all that they had won.

For, however ignorant Europeans were of Indian politics, the value of Indian trade was well understood; and apart from the old English and Dutch East India companies, new efforts were being made to take advantage of that source of wealth. Law's energy had created from the moribund East and West India companies, with those of China and Senegal, a new and more vigorous French Company of the Indies. Among the enterprises to which the Emperor Charles VI had lent his countenance was an Ostend Company financed by Flemish capital from his new subjects in the Netherlands and manned by old employees of the English and Dutch establishments. And when those maritime powers made its suppression part of their price for giving their assent to the Pragmatic Sanction, its officers took service in a new Swedish company for Indian trade. Meanwhile, the so-called inter-lopers, or independent traders swelled the rivalry for this rich and increasing commerce; till it grew only too evident that trade must presently give way to war and politics, if Europeans were to keep their hold upon the ports which made that commerce possible.

Yet if this growing interest in India revealed one aspect of Europe's attitude toward new sources of wealth and power, concurrent developments throughout the western hemisphere were scarcely less significant of other phases of European energy. There, too, the war's conclusion brought its great problems; for there, to complicate the older rivalry of England, France, and Spain, appeared a new aspirant for North America as Russian traders and adventurers made their way southward from the frozen north. Not merely were the two

Indian
trade

1731

The
Americas

Americas the scene of far-reaching explorations, and of a huge increase of trade and population; they soon became political centers of the first magnitude. Their expanding peoples, coming to blows over conflicting territorial and commercial claims, drew Europe in their train; and presently began a series of intercolonial wars which inevitably widened to international conflict.

The
English

Among these rival colonists the English, hemmed in on every side, revealed the most varied activity; and scarcely were the great wars at an end when they turned to the problems which confronted them. The first was the imperative necessity of securing their frontiers. The second the no less pressing problem of asserting their rights. It was but natural that each should find early expression in the newer and outlying colonies. Of these the Carolinas were the most conspicuous; and there, in consequence, the conflict began.

Carolina
1719-29

That province had been founded half a century earlier under a company whose proprietors still claimed their older, arbitrary rights, and it had filled up with a peculiarly independent element, opposing with increasing bitterness the exactions and pretensions of their rulers. The close of the war brought opposition to a head. They formed an association, refused to obey the governor, elected a new executive, and defied the proprietary force. In the face of such spirit and concurrent danger from the Spanish, whose armed expedition had only been destroyed by the New Providence authorities and a convenient storm, the English Council was not disposed to risk rebellion by supporting the proprietors. The old charter was, in consequence, withdrawn; a provisional royal government was set up; and a governor appointed by the crown. This action was confirmed by Parliament, the proprietors yielded their political rights and for the most part disposed of their holdings. The temporary arrangement became permanent. The province was divided into North and South Carolina, and the two royal colonies took their place among their fellows under the new form of government. In such fashion began another era of colonial activity.

With this and with the settlement of the boundaries between Virginia and North Carolina, and between Connecticut and New York, there came a fresh enterprise. For scarcely had the new colonies been formed when English power spread beyond their boundaries. On the west and south their borders were open to occupation and attack by Spanish and French. Their sparsely settled or uninhabited stretches of forest and plain could scarcely be administered from the older settlements; and here in consequence a new burst of energy found field for its endeavors. James Oglethorpe, sometime member of Parliament, had drawn from his investigation of the prisons in which men were confined for debt a lively sense of their horrors and of pauperism generally. From this he sought remedy in colonizing schemes. To him and his twenty associate trustees, aided by parliamentary grant and private subscription, were chartered the lands between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, with ultimate reversion to the crown. Four years after the Carolinas were finally established, Oglethorpe came out with his settlers to found his first post at Savannah. The colony, named in honor of the first Hanoverian king, Georgia, was a unique experiment. For military no less than for humanitarian reasons no negro slavery was permitted. Freedom of conscience and worship was assured to all but Roman Catholics; rum was forbidden; the Indians were made friends. As spiritual advisers, the Wesleys, now busy founding the new English sect of Methodists, were secured; and Charles Wesley came out as Oglethorpe's secretary, succeeded in time by the evangelist Whitefield. Scotch Presbyterians and German Moravians swelled the population of the little colony, whose vigor and strong military character made it at once a most effective barrier against the Spaniards of St. Augustine, with whom it came almost at once to blows. When, six years after the foundation of this last of the thirteen original English colonies in North America, war was begun with Spain, it was by the resistance of Oglethorpe and his few followers that the attack from St. Augustine was repelled. In this, no less than the humanitarian principles of the new colony, it justified itself;

Georgia

1733

1739

and as its population spread through the broad and fertile coast plains along the slow-flowing rivers to the uplands beyond, it formed at last an impregnable barrier against all dangers from the south.

The
English
and the
Indians
1713-30

1725

1726

Its history was characteristic of the period. Throughout the long and straggling frontier of the English settlements danger was imminent. Against the French who stirred the Indians to resist the oncoming wave of English occupation, the governor of New York built a post at Oswego on Lake Ontario and prohibited trade between the natives and the French. Against the Abenakis, angered by the progress of the New England pioneers and fired to resistance by French Jesuits, war was declared and they were pushed back further in the wilderness. Against the Yamassees in Florida, the Carolinians, defying the Spaniards, sent a punitive expedition. And with the Iroquois, whose Five Nations were now increased to six by the admission of the Tuscaroras seeking refuge from their southern enemies, the governor of New York entered into engagements of friendship at the same moment that Massachusetts made final peace with the eastern Indians. Thus, by the re-establishment of peace, and the extension of English protection to all of the Iroquois, the Indian question seemed for the moment at an end, at the same time that the foundation of outlying forts and colonies gave further security to the older settlements. And these, taking advantage of this situation, turned to the problem of maintaining their rights against the mother country and the development of their own resources.

The
English
colonies
and the
home gov-
ernment

For it was not the nature of an English colony to acquiesce without protest in the extension of a home authority which, during nearly half a century, had sought a wider exercise of its powers; and the conflict, long brewing, had now reached a critical stage. Its origin was simple enough. The New York governor, Burnet, who was transferred to the Massachusetts post, had not been able to suppress a quarrel that had broken out between his predecessor and the colonists; which revealed, in its progress, a fundamental issue in the colonial world. This had arisen over the most fruitful sub-

ject of contention, a fixed salary for the governor. It had already involved the crown authority. And not even the “explanatory charter” which, new to colonial experience, conferred on the executive the right to suppress debate and to limit the term of adjournment of the general court,—by which latter device the astute colonists sought to circumvent the governor,—had quieted resistance. The question hung undetermined, and the flame was fanned by the arrest and trial of a New York printer for a libel on the governor. Thus amid unparalleled prosperity which in these twenty years doubled the population of the colonies and more than doubled their wealth, amid a wide extension of their boundaries, and the repulse or subjection of their enemies, there remained the grounds of an insoluble dispute. Was the authority of the crown and Parliament to be increased and confirmed by the establishment of a royal executive, independent of colonial control; or were the colonies to determine for themselves their obligations and relations to the home authority? Such was the question which, in varying forms, had taken its place among the problems of English colonial government. Despite its local character, it was to become in no long time a vital issue of world-politics.

Matters such as these troubled the chief rivals of England little or not at all. While Englishmen found their energies divided among the formation of new colonies, farming and planting, the slow winning of the wilderness, resistance to their hostile neighbors, and the assertion of their rights against the mother country, France, acting on wholly different impulses, made a spectacular advance. Hardly was the ink dry on the treaties of Utrecht when her rulers prepared to secure their hold on North America. After the genius of their race and age, their first thought was of war. On a promontory jutting out between Gavarus Bay and a still smaller harbor near the southeastern point of Cape Breton Island was begun the fortress of Louisburg, the “Dunkirk of America,” as Quebec was the Gibraltar. To its construction and defense were detailed French engineers and troops, the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia were drawn from

1728-9

1734

New
FranceLouisburg
1720

their homes to populate the new town. Vast sums were spent, and gradually the English saw with dismay the frowning walls of one of the most powerful fortresses in the colonial world threaten their position on the north Atlantic coast. Against it the feeble post of Annapolis was all but helpless and not until the foundation of Halifax in the next generation did it endure a rival.

The
French
Empire

1749

The building of Louisburg marks the beginning of a new Anglo-French struggle for the St. Lawrence mouth, northern New England, and the West, which was to absorb the next generation. From this outpost of French influence, the long line of fortifications continued with Quebec and Montreal. These guarded the middle St. Lawrence, and became the headquarters for a propaganda carried on by officers and Jesuits, which kept New England frontier settlements in constant apprehension of savage attack and against which they, in turn, aroused their own allies. Beyond Montreal, Fort Frontenac had for forty years stood at the outlet of Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence, and Fort Niagara held the passage from Lake Erie to Ontario. In due course of time Fort Rouille, now Toronto, was set to connect this line of forts with another group which was to stretch southward to the Ohio and west to the Wabash and Illinois; while beyond these still lay others which controlled the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Thus, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi delta, there ran a network of stations, guarding the great highways of that vast wilderness, the rivers and lakes, holding the portages between the waterways, and, for all purposes of trade or war, giving to France the mastery of the whole region through her hold on these strategic points.

The
French and
the trans-
Mississippi
region
1720-42

This was the first project of the rulers of New France. Their next was still more daring; for, starting from this line, they pressed boldly forward to seize the more remote interior. As Frontenac and La Salle had directed the occupation of the great Middle West, and Radisson had led the way to Hudson's Bay; so now a new group of adventurers introduced French influence into the trans-Mississippi region. The occupation of the mouth of the great river furnished at

once a basis of operations and an inspiration for further exploration, designed to find gold mines and open trade with the Indians, or the Spaniards of New Mexico. To these men, and still more to those who were then tempting the dangers of the northern wilderness, was added that hope of finding ways overland to the Pacific which had succeeded the long-cherished delusion of a water-route thither. Already Le Sueur had found his way to a new tribe of Indians who dominated the southwestern plains, and the names of Sioux and Dakotah took their place in French vocabulary beside Iroquois and Illinois. Already the French had made war and peace with the Wisconsin tribe of Antagomies, and their neighbors, the Winnebagoes and the Sacs. Already transient posts had been set up and trade begun in beaver skins, as well as buffalo. Already scattered individuals and groups began to make their way west from the Mississippi and up the Missouri to the vast plains beyond. Traders venturing too far had been seized by the Spaniards and carried to Mexico. In brief, the opening of the Far West was begun. 1699-1700

Now it was taken up by other hands. From Natchitoches, La Harpe and his men pushed up the Red River and crossed to the Arkansas. Du Tisne found his way through the country of the Missouri to the Osages and Pawnees beyond; and Bourgmont was despatched to build a fort on the Kansas against the Spaniards, who, with Comanche allies, had attacked the French. To him succeeded the Mallets, who, by way of the Kansas, all but reached the Rocky Mountains, and so opened the central plains to trading enterprise. Finally the mission of Charlevoix, despatched by the French agent to secure news of a way to the Pacific, had led to a post on Lake Pepin; and from that beginning came the next great exploit of the French advance. One Pierre de Varennes, surnamed La Vérendrye,—Canadian-born, sometime lieutenant in the armies of France, and nearly killed at Malplaquet,—returned from his adventures on the continent filled with the project of cutting across the rich fur trade which the English of Hudson Bay enjoyed and turning its current toward Montreal. Through Lake Superior and so to Lake 1719-21 1724 1739-40

Vérendrye
1731

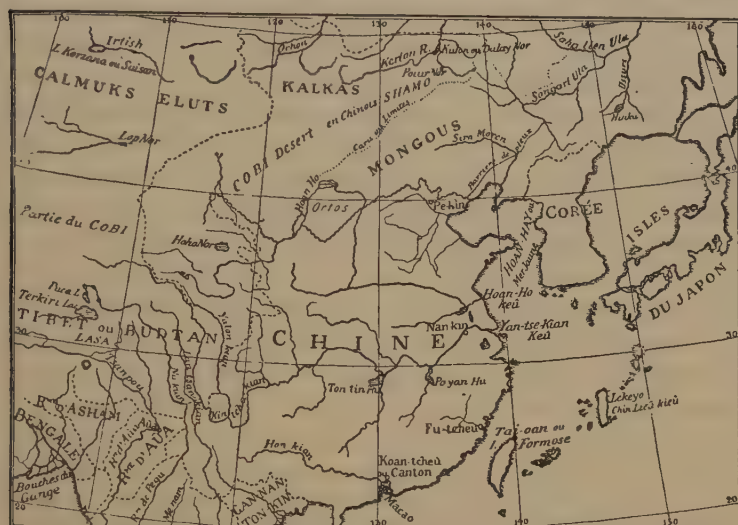
1738-42

Winnipeg and the Kaministikia "great portage," his first trip led to failure. Once and again he tried, till he had explored a great part of the vast northwest, diverted no small part of the English trade to French hands, and established posts from Rainy Lake to Winnipeg. This achievement he finally crowned with a greater exploit. From the Assiniboin he made his way to the upper Missouri and the Yellowstone, where, guided by successive tribes, then new to European eyes,—Mandans, Crows, Horse, Fox, and Bow Indians,—to the borders of their old enemies, the Snakes or Shoshones, he beheld the northern Rockies, the Bighorn Mountains. In such wise was the trans-Mississippi region of America laid bare to Europeans, and the bounds of Louisiana extended to the headwaters of the Missouri. And though the Vérendryes were oppressed and robbed by the government they served, and died in poverty and neglect, they had done their work. It had begun in the years that the intrigues of Elizabeth Farnese had made her son the Duke of Parma; it reached its climax as that son secured the throne of Naples, whence he ascended to the throne of Spain. To contemporary European eyes that royal pilgrimage would have seemed incomparably the greater of the two events. Yet it may be doubted whether, in the long resolution of affairs, it can compare with the exploits of those all but unknown adventurers who blazed the trail of European progress in the western hemisphere and added an empire to the crown of France.

France
and Spain
in America

For even in the remotest fastnesses of America the influence of European royalty was felt. Wherever French adventurers penetrated west of the Mississippi they met the power of that people on whom France had bestowed a king; and if the statecraft of the Italian queen of Spain had been a powerful factor in her native land, that of her French husband, Philip V, had been no less important in America. Everywhere the French had gone they had come in touch with Spain. The tales told them by northern tribes of bearded men who worshipped in strange houses and of books whose leaves rustled like husks of corn; the stories of stone buildings beside the great water and the far sterner evidence of the

attack and capture of stray traders by white men, revealed how, in that distant quarter of the world, the powers so lately allied found their new interests far from identical. For, toward the north, Spain's outposts were being slowly pushed forward on the lines laid down by her adventurers two centuries before. From New Galicia her traders and priests



Sketch map of northeastern Siberia and China, re-drawn from d'Anville's *Atlas* (cf. p. 353). This includes much of the information derived from the Russian advance, and is noteworthy for the general accuracy of the Chinese Empire and adjoining regions.

now occupied the lands far to the north and west of the old provincial capital of Santa Fé. Thence they had already begun that occupation of the Californian coast which was to give it wholly into their hands. Here, as elsewhere in Spanish America, was felt something of that revivifying influence which the French prince had brought to his kingdom to reinforce colonial enterprise.

Spanish and French soon found rivals in their contention for the farther west; for southward to meet them, meanwhile, came the Russian advance. It had been long prepared. The

Russia in
America
1725-41

beginnings of this new burst of exploration lay in the reign of Peter the Great, and scarcely had he died when the plans he had approved began to be carried into effect. Under the impulse of the government, of the St. Petersburg Academy, and of individual enterprise, the Siberian wilds were surveyed and mapped, the coast line about the northeastern extremity of the continent explored and charted. Much of this work was under the direction of the most famous of Russian explorers, whose name the strait between Asia and America perpetuates, Vitus Bering. The work was not limited to the mainland. One voyage carried the Russians to Yezo, the northernmost of the Japanese archipelago, and revealed to European eyes the curious tribe of so-called hairy Ainus, to the perplexity of ethnologists then and since. Finally, with the discovery of the Kurile Islands, and of Mount St. Elias on the American side, Alaska was brought to Russian knowledge and influence. With this, trappers and traders pushed forward on the track of the explorers, and, at the moment that the French made their way across the plains between the Mississippi and the Rockies, Russia confirmed her hold on the northwestern shores of the American continent and began to advance southward along the coast.

The Hud-
son's Bay
Company

But the reviving energy of colonial enterprise was not confined to those adventurous spirits which from four quarters advanced to the possession of the North American interior. Far to the north the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company extended their trading operations deep into the heart of the great northwest. And far to the south, meanwhile, their fellows and their rivals, the smugglers, invaded the long-guarded preserves of Central and South America. Nothing, indeed, better exemplified the altering status of the colonial world and its problems than the activities which found their chief expression during this period in Spanish America.

Spanish
America
1720-42

To this, three circumstances simultaneously contributed. The first was the disorganization of Spanish administration due to the war. The second was the more efficient policy of the new Spanish Bourbon house of Philip V. The

third was the increased attention paid by other powers to this great field, as typified by the transfer of the Asiento to English hands and the temporary permission obtained for French ships to trade with Spanish colonies. The results of these new stimuli upon the colonies were soon manifest. The revenues from the mines which had slowly declined during the seventeenth century, were improved by the revival of prospecting and the discovery of new deposits. The relaxation of the old Cadiz monopoly not merely increased customs receipts from a nominal sum to a substantial figure for the time being, but even after the restoration of the old conditions, which had been demoralized by the war, left its result in a greater commerce, legitimate as well as illegitimate. The more enlightened policy of the Bourbon government relieved some of the worst abuses of colonial administration. The income from the colonies gradually increased. And improved conditions and new opportunities, as in the English colonies of North America, brought a fresh wave of immigrants to the south seeking in the New World relief from the conditions of the old, and a more open field for their abilities and energy.

Into the fertile valleys of southern Chili, as into the far-reaching plains of Texas, into the mining districts of Peru, the plains and plantations of the Orinoco and the Plata, poured this fresh stream of colonial blood. The effect was immediate and permanent. Little by little the warlike Araucanians were pushed back and Spanish occupation spread southward through Chili, founding outposts and cities as it went. The Portuguese effort to control the peninsula which commands the northern shore of the Plata was foiled, and the town of Montevideo was founded and fortified, as the strategic key to Uruguay, and the outlet for trade of a growing Spanish population along the Parana and Uruguay. Farther north, the Jesuit theocracy of Paraguay, which had its chief connection with the outside world through Buenos Ayres, was transferred to the protection of that government from the overlordship of Asunción. At the same time the Charruas, who had long held the Europeans back in the

Spanish
expansion
in South
America

1717-26-
1770

lands between the Uruguay and Parana, the so-called province of Entre Rios, were finally crushed by the Creoles and another rich field opened to Spanish settlement.

Reorgan-
ization

With this came, naturally, administrative change. Among the many results of Bourbon accession to the Spanish throne, an altered colonial policy was not the least. It had become apparent that Spanish South America could no longer be administered properly from Lima. It was no less apparent that new regulations were necessary to meet the situation created by the war. In consequence, as soon as Philip V was secure on his throne, the temporary erection of New Granada into a viceroyalty, comprehending the provinces of the northern coast, marked the beginnings of a reorganizing policy, which was made permanent two decades later. With the elevation of Bogotá from the rank of audiencia to that of viceroyalty over the mountain districts of the northwest, that policy was confirmed as the first step in a far-reaching change which lasted through the century. In like measure more intelligent control of administration and revenue accompanied increase of population and resource. Municipalities grew in number while retaining their older comparative independence in local affairs. The growth of trade and common interests which established agents in Spain for the colonies revealed a like tendency; so that Spanish America, like the English settlements, and on not dissimilar lines, emerged from the great war into new paths of progress. It was not well nor wisely administered, perhaps, even allowing for the all but insuperable difficulties of the case, racial, geographical, economic, and historical; but in comparison with what had gone before, its situation was incomparably improved.

Brazil
1706-50

The same could scarcely be said for Portuguese America. The accession of John V during the great European war had brought to the throne a monarch who was intent on marriage alliance with the Spanish house, and who found in the erection of Lisbon to a patriarchy, and the title of the "most faithful" king, ample reward for a devotion to the Papacy which impoverished his own country and despatched on a last

crusade against the Turks the fleet with which his Brazilian subjects might have been able to maintain themselves. For these, meanwhile, were hard pressed by their rivals on the west. What the Anglo-French rivalry for northern New England and the West was to North America, the struggle between Spanish and Portuguese colonists for Montevideo and the Uruguayan region was to the southern continent. There, amid the internal disturbances which outlived the war, the Brazilians strove, with less and less success, to maintain themselves against Spanish advance, till the final outbreak of open conflict brought to an end a long period of raid and counter-raid, and finally determined the balance of power in that quarter of the world.

These circumstances in the West preceded and accompanied the outbreak of new wars, which, beginning almost simultaneously in Europe and America, were to involve the whole European world in desperate and far-reaching conflict for supremacy. They were the culmination of a twofold rivalry, half European, half colonial, in their origin. First was the long-standing antagonism of Hapsburg and Bourbon which set the spark to the inflammable material, whose center was the Polish throne. The death of Augustus II of Saxony and Poland, just twenty years after the Peace of Utrecht, brought forward two candidates for that uneasy crown. A majority of the Polish nobles, influenced by France, chose Stanislaus Leszcynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV. A minority, dominated by Russia and Austria, chose Augustus III. With that, the continent again flew to arms. In Italy, the allies—France, Spain, and Sardinia—drove out Austria from all but Milan; along the Rhine they wrested Lorraine from the Empire. In Poland, the Russo-Austrian alliance remained supreme. Five years of war and diplomacy, which found expression in the Peace of Vienna, confirmed Augustus in possession of the Polish crown. Stanislaus was compensated by Lorraine and Bar, with their reversion to France upon his death. The Duke of Lorraine, now the husband of the Hapsburg heiress, Maria Theresa, was indemnified by Tuscany, whose Medicean rulers now opportunely became ex-

The War
of the
Polish
Succession

1733

The Peace
of Vienna
1738

inct. Spain received from Austria, Naples and Sicily, with Elba, while Austria regained Parma and Piacenza, consolidating her power in the north, and securing fresh guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Political
readjust-
ment in
Europe
—Russia

These were the most obvious political results of the War of the Polish Succession; but it was now clear that behind them lay a readjustment of European powers. France and Spain, under their Bourbon kings, obviously tended toward a community of interests and policy; and the Austro-Russian entente, which expressed itself in a joint attack on Turkey as soon as the Polish war was done, was even more significant of a new era in European affairs. For the first time in history Russian troops appeared in western Germany. And this, no less than the fact that the long-coveted port of Azof rewarded her enterprise against Turkey and so gave her a foothold on the Black Sea, revealed the fact that another state was thenceforth to be reckoned with in European polity.

—The east
European
states

That circumstance was further emphasized by the decline of all her neighbors save one. Sweden had fallen from her high estate with the death of the last great Vasa, Charles XII. Poland, as the war had clearly shown, was now the pawn of her rivals and on the way to be their victim. Prussia alone, among the northern powers, showed signs of increasing vitality. On the south, Turkey now lost her old monopoly of the Black Sea; and in so far exhibited strong symptoms of decline, despite successes against Austria. And the house of Hapsburg, compelled to relinquish Belgrade with parts of Wallachia and Serbia to its ancient enemy, as result of the ill-omened Turkish war, found, at the same moment, that though Charles VI had secured Europe's assent to the Pragmatic Sanction, it had lost by the death of Eugene the best security for the success of that agreement, and of its position in general. Though Austrian Hapsburg divided Italy, save for Sardinia, with Spanish Bourbon, and so seemed more secure in that quarter, a braver spirit than the old Emperor might have looked forward with well-founded anxiety to the accession of his young daughter to the headship of such wide and disunited realms.

1736

That contingency was not long delayed. Scarcely was peace signed with the Turks when, in the same twelvemonth, the Prussian king, the Czarina, and the Emperor himself were removed from their earthly activities. Two years later Walpole, after the longest lease of power ever vouchsafed to an English prime-minister, was driven from his place. Fleury soon followed; and the next act of the European drama fell to the hands of very different characters from those who, for twenty years, had striven with more or less success, for peace. In Prussia the young prince Frederick II inherited the treasure and the army collected by his father, with whatever ambitious dreams the Hohenzollerns entertained. Russia for the moment fell into the nerveless hand of Ivan VI, then, by a military revolution, into those of Peter the Great's daughter, Elizabeth, the third of those extraordinary women rulers of that empire during the eighteenth century. In Austria the girl Maria Theresa succeeded to the dangers and perplexities which characterized the Hapsburg rule. In France frail mistresses and feeble ministers inherited the influence which Fleury had enjoyed over the weak Louis XV; and in England the young Whigs, who had begun their attack upon Walpole on the issue of war with Spain, replaced his policy of *Quieta non movere* with the more ambitious projects of Carteret and Pitt.

In some form, indeed, the character of the incoming period had already begun to define itself in far distant fields. Before the Peace of Vienna had been signed, colonial hostilities in North and South America had continued along the whole Atlantic coast the rivalries of the continent. These were primarily due to the activities of the colonists themselves. Now that their adventurous spirits had made their way through the wide wildernesses which had long separated their outposts and so remained the best guarantee of peace, it was apparent that the aggressive elements of either side could be restrained from conflict hardly or not at all, when they met on the remote frontiers of empire. No less active in promoting hostilities were the smugglers. The greatly relaxed control of trade during the War of the Spanish Suc-

The new
rulers
1740

1742

1740

1740-1

1740

Europe
and
America

cession had brought in its train not merely a huge increase of trade with maritime powers, particularly England and Holland, but a feeling that such commerce was a right. That feeling was confirmed by the transfer of the Asiento, or slave trade, to English hands; and it was acted on by a host of free-traders, or smugglers, long after the war ceased. The old traditions of the buccaneers, moreover, had been carried on by pirates who, like the famous Captain Kidd and Black-beard of an earlier generation, though they harassed all commerce impartially, had a peculiar weakness for Spanish ships.

The War
of Jenkins'
Ear
1739-48

It was inevitable that when, on the accession of Philip V, Spanish administration was rescued from the chaos into which it had fallen, reorganized and administered with more energy, the coast-guards and free-traders should come to blows. As France and Spain developed a greater community of interests, the simultaneous fortification of Louisburg and Montevideo, the efforts of Quebec and St. Augustine to check English advance, and the activities of the Spanish against Brazil, strengthened at once the older ties between England and Portugal in opposition to their common enemy. This roused the English, in particular, to war. When, a year after the Peace of Vienna was finally signed, an English captain, Jenkins, prompted by Walpole's enemies, appeared before the House of Commons to exhibit the mutilations which Spanish coast-guards had inflicted on him, England was roused to wrath, and the "War of Jenkins' Ear" brought the long period of colonial rivalry upon the European stage. Thus at the moment that Spain's arms and diplomacy had given her rulers a fresh hold on Italy, she found herself at war in America.

1739

What with the Spanish besieging the Brazilian outpost of Colonia and Portuguese attack on Montevideo—the Louisburg of South America; the English of Carolina fighting the Spaniards of St. Augustine; projected attacks upon the southern colonies by Caribbean governors; Oglethorpe's new colony of Georgia and Brazil's fortress of Rio Grande do Sul against the Argentine, that conflict had been long under

way. Upon England's entry into war it took another turn. Vernon had boasted in Parliament that he could capture 1739 Porto Bello with six ships; and, given a squadron, he made good his boast. But his initial success was not continued. Anson, indeed, despatched to the Pacific, made his way to Manila and took the Acapulco galleon with a cargo valued 1740 at half a million pounds. But he lost all his ships save one; and a greater attack on Cartagena failed through disease and dissension among its leaders. For their part the Spaniards were even less successful; and the military efforts of each side were still more futile than their naval operations. Ogle- 1740-42 thorpe besieged St. Augustine and the Spanish governor of Florida launched an attack on Georgia, with equal ineffectiveness. Joint British and colonial attack upon Cuba broke down; and the war ended, as it had begun, in petty reprisals and border skirmishes.

Long peace had weakened the offensive strength of either 1740-42 side. The distances were great; the prizes small; and, save for two circumstances, one of merely curious interest, the war would have been of less consequence than the concurrent struggle of Brazil and Argentine for the land debatable between them. The Spaniards, convinced by Anson's great exploit of the dangers of the galleon system of voyages, abandoned it during the war, and finally replaced it with permits for individual ships. Vernon, finding the long-established custom of serving out neat rum to the sailors inimical to discipline and efficiency, replaced it with a more diluted drink, and thus added "grog" to the English sea-service and vocabulary; an initial step, as it was to prove, of far-reaching reform in naval service. Its results

Wholly different as these circumstances were, the latter in particular evidenced a certain tendency toward the regulation and betterment of human relationships. This was especially noticeable in England. There the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the 1698 last years of the seventeenth century had been followed by the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the 1706 Gospel, whose work was now becoming evident in North

America. There too was being felt the influence of men who, like the greatest of Anglo-American administrators, William Johnson, began that remarkable tradition of English relations with non-European subjects, which was to become a leading characteristic of the spread of the British Empire. And, however incongruous it may seem, however unrelated apparently to these other movements of its time, it is perhaps not unworthy of observation that in this period were first formulated the rules of the English national sport of boxing or "prize-fighting." Their adoption, like these other phenomena, exhibited the same tendency toward the amelioration of ruder customs; and the introduction of reason and laws even in that field which seemed on the surface remote from both.

Altered
position
of the
colonies

Even so trifling a circumstance as this serves to illuminate the changing standards of a period; since, like Oglethorpe's restrictions in his colony, it typified an altering concept of social order and efficiency. The abandonment of the galleon trade revealed a similar spirit; for that revolutionary policy marked the decline of an older commercial system in its last stronghold. And, wider still, the war was typical of changes now evident in world-polity. Long dragged in the train of the European powers, the colonies had been drawn into alien rivalries despite their inclination or their interests. Now they had come to play a recognizable part, not merely in causing but in initiating such conflicts. The era of inter-colonial war had now begun on a scale which made it a powerful factor in international affairs. Henceforth it was increasingly difficult to separate colonial from European politics. The "line," beyond which Europe's relationships and law were almost inoperative a century earlier, had disappeared; and Europe, at home and oversea, was now all but one. Hereafter it was scarcely possible to touch this vast web of interests at any point without producing a reaction throughout the whole. And, in particular, the powers at the center became peculiarly sensitive to disturbance on the remotest edge of their empires.

This was not confined to politics and trade. The great

currents of European thought and practice, however unequally they reached into the extra-European world, were not without their influence, especially upon the communities of European blood. And the conceptions of those more distant societies, in turn, not infrequently produced reactions upon the old world, no less important because they were not always recognized. In the main, they differed fundamentally from the earliest reflexes of colonial influence. Those had reinforced the absolutist, military, and reactionary elements in the old world society, by lending their strength and resources to the less liberal powers of the continent. Now it was the progressive elements which gained. And, among the manifold influences which went to the reshaping of Europe during the eighteenth century, not the least were those which radiated from the North American colonies.

CHAPTER XXXI

RELIGION, INTELLECT, AND INDUSTRY. 1700-1750

IF there is one characteristic of European peoples more extraordinary than another in the field of intellect it is the amazing discrepancy between their actual and their recorded history. Had their development been confined to those concerns which fill their annals to the exclusion of almost every other topic,—the ambitions and activities of their rulers, war and diplomacy—the story of the three hundred years which culminated in the careers of Louis XIV and Charles XII would resemble nothing so much as the accounts of the rise and fall of Tartar and Zulu tribes, the exploits of Jenghiz Khan and Timur the Lame, of Chaka and Dingaan. Where there are a score of volumes on the elaborate and, for the most part, futile intrigues over the disposition of the inheritance of Charles II of Spain, there is scarcely one on the evolution, in the same period, of the mightiest agent of the modern world, the steam engine. Where there are a hundred narratives of the battles of the wars with which the eighteenth century began, there is hardly to be found a tolerable account of that economic revolution which then commenced to alter the whole basis of civilized society.

Fortunately for Europe and mankind in general, however, the long coil of bloodshed and intrigue from which the system of European states had begun to emerge by the close of the seventeenth century, had been but one manifestation of the energy of its peoples during that period. The growth of commerce and industry, with the attendant leisure and opportunity which wealth engendered; the consequent development of letters and learning; the progress of science and invention; and the gradual transformation of an age of faith and authority into an era of doubt and investigation,

had now altered the whole aspect and tendencies of life and thought, and created the beginnings of a truly modern world.

Had a belated traveler, left over from the time when Prince Henry the Navigator and Poggio Bracciolini began to extend European knowledge and power into the realms of the unknown, made his way across the continent in the days of the treaties of Utrecht and Nystad, he would have found himself confronted on every hand with evidences that a revolution had taken place in the world he had known three centuries earlier. He would, indeed, have traveled scarcely more rapidly than in his own day, since, though roads were better, horses' legs or men's had improved but little, and canals, though they increased the facilities, contributed nothing to the speed of transportation. But the wagon-trains, the post-riders, the vehicles of all sorts which he met would have seemed a striking contrast to the pack-horses, the pedlars, the pilgrims, and men-at-arms with which his own time had been familiar. These, no less than the châteaux and country houses which he passed, the decaying or decayed castles and monastic establishments, the cities stretching far beyond their mediæval walls, with their great warehouses, dockyards, and wharves would have argued not merely an increase of population and wealth but of a peace unknown to feudal times, and a commerce impossible to that earlier period.

He would have seen peasants working in fields whose methods of cultivation and whose crops had changed but little from those of his own day. But once within the walls of the inns or private houses he would have been tickled with a hundred dishes unknown to his generation. The plate and napery and furniture, knives, forks, and spoons, china and glassware, even the tables and chairs would have seemed amazing to one accustomed to the semi-barbarous furnishings and cookery of the early fifteenth century. He might have felt a certain loss of the more picturesque side of life. The men's broad-skirted coats, knee-breeches, stockings, and buckled shoes, their marvelous waistcoats, their shirts and neckwear, their wigs and three-cornered hats, might have seemed to him a poor exchange for doublet and curt-hose.

Comparison with Europe of the 15th century

The women's hoopskirts and high dressed hair might well have roused the awe if not the admiration of one who remembered the simpler and more graceful robes of an earlier time.

An artist or an architect, he would have been scarcely less amazed at the marvels of color and form which looked out at him from canvas and fresco, than at the domed and pilared neo-classical monuments which had replaced the graceful Gothic arches of his day. A soldier, he would have been as much surprised at the absence of armor as at the musket and pistol, the field and siege artillery; the fortresses which had replaced the mediæval castles; the size and discipline of the national armies. A man of affairs, he would have been absorbed by the contrast between the volume and methods of public and private business and that of his own time, the huge increase in circulating medium, of banks and credit, of national finance, no less than in a world-commerce unfamiliar to his experience. For he would have heard on every hand of distant lands, their very names unknown to him, now forming part of the great European world.

Above all, had he been a scholar or scientist, he would have been confounded by a new world of thought and speech. He would have met with no universal tongue, which, like the Latin of his own day, served as a common medium of expression among the different peoples of the continent. He would have found no universal church; and, in place of the narrow circle of accepted truth, half-scriptural, half-Aristotelian, of his time, he would have been confronted by a body of knowledge and a variety of opinions no less overwhelming in range than in content. New faiths, new processes of thought, new doubts, new methods of attaining truth, would have assailed him on every hand. In his own day men had greatly feared that they might sail over the world's edge into space; they had feared still more that too great daring of the spirit might bring on them the terrors of eternity. Now, neither the dangers of the earth nor the fear of the church held them back from adventures all but inconceivable to mediæval minds. They looked about a world now tolerably well known; they viewed a sky no longer the

unknowable abode of spirits, but filled with the visible evidences of a universe in which earth and man played very different parts from that conceived three centuries earlier. The natural had largely replaced the supernatural in men's thought; this world, the next. Dogma and revelation had largely given way to reason, investigation, law; and superstition had been modified to faith or even to doubt in matters still beyond the intellect to solve. In such a world the mediæval mind would have found itself at loss; and a man of the fifteenth century might well have dreamed that Revelation had come true, that he beheld a new heaven and a new earth.

But had he been a statesman, considering rather the inter- Politics
action of rulers and states upon each other than these deeper matters of man's daily life, he would have been far better able to understand the world about him. Europe had changed, indeed, in its concepts of government and international relationships, and still more in the formal conduct of its business. Public affairs were now on greater scale and involved a different set of powers from those he knew; but the motives behind them still remained the same, and political methods were not so widely different from those in other ages, that he would have found himself wholly at fault. Feudalism, indeed, was no longer in evidence as an active factor in polity, since the nation or the state had replaced it in affairs. Yet one who had witnessed the earlier conflict between England and France could have conceived, despite its different scope and circumstance, this second Hundred Years' War in which the Peace of Utrecht brought a truce. He who had seen the first Frederick of Hohenzollern become the first Elector of Brandenburg could well have understood this later Frederick who from that dignity now became the first king of Prussia. He who had lived in the days of the Great Schism and the death of Huss would have been able to comprehend something of the ecclesiastical division of western Europe into Catholic and Protestant communions. Nor would one who had seen the house of Hapsburg ascend the imperial throne have been wholly at a loss to understand the situation

of that dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Given the knowledge of the great geographical discoveries, he could even have understood the conflict for lands beyond the sea which had become a part of European history. Beside these things, material, and especially intellectual, advance would have appeared but little short of the miraculous. For the ambitions of princes and peoples are among the oldest motives of politics, while the elements which gave Europe of the eighteenth century a different character from that of the fifteenth lay chiefly outside the scope of their activities.

Among these the developments in science and literature, philosophy, and theology were not alone. In the preceding generation, not even the glitter of the Grand Monarque had quite obscured the triumphs of Newton and Leibnitz, nor the advance in the art of war surpassed the triumphs of the men of peace. So in the era of European war and diplomacy which followed, the skill of the inventors and the progress of society rivaled the activities of the diplomats and the productions of the men of thought and letters.

Letters

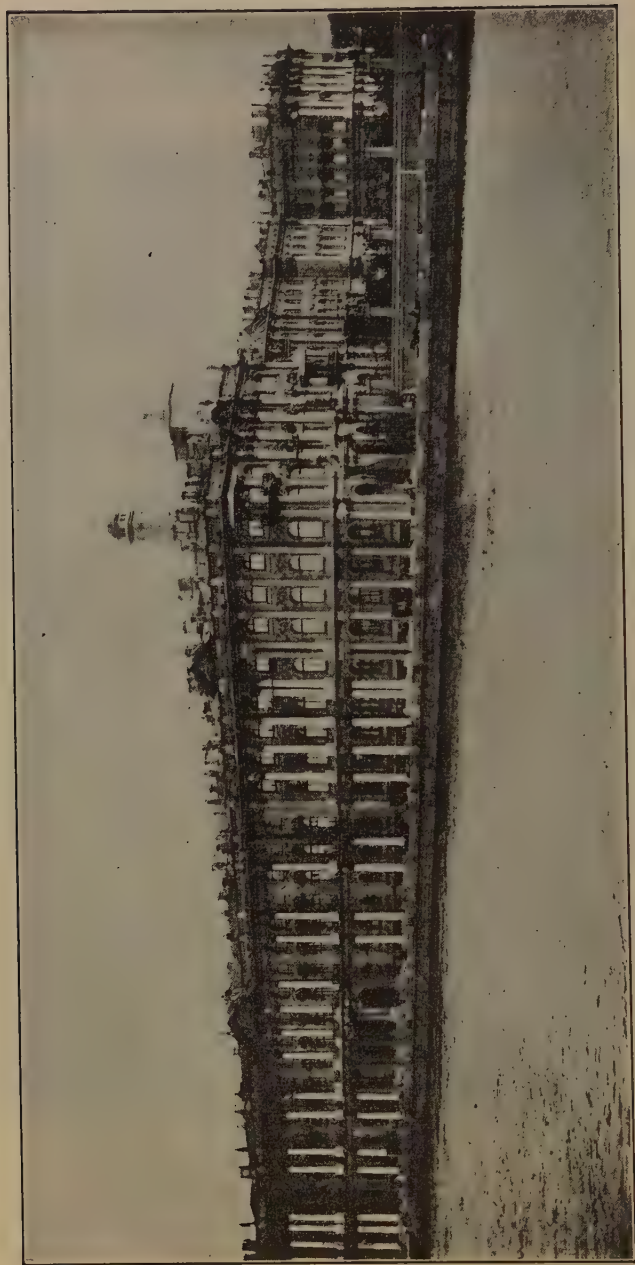
These last, indeed, were by no means contemptible, though even while France under Louis XIV and the Regency rose to courtly and literary eminence there were signs of an approaching change. The vigor of that movement, which had signalized the earlier years of the great king had exhausted itself, and his power had not been enough to raise up genius worthy of comparison with what had gone before. The dramatic talents of the court favorite, Crébillon, were far from equaling those of Molière and Racine, and fell below them in morals as in inspiration. The novels of Le Sage, crowned by his masterpiece of *Gil Blas*, which introduced the so-called picaresque romance into European literature, surpassed, indeed, the earlier efforts of Madame Lafayette. But the poems of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, or memoirs of St. Simon, with all their interest, scarcely reached the heights of the masters who had preceded them. And even the delicate beauty of Watteau's painting, in its courtly medium of fans and furniture, its charm of artificial shepherds and shepherdesses playing at a return to nature, lost

1715



LES CHAMPS ELYSÉES.

After the painting by Watteau. Compare with Raphael's *La Belle Jardinière*, Vol. I, p. 176.



THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG.

something of the strength it might have shown in a freer and less sophisticated atmosphere.

None the less his paintings, in which were mingled the artificial and the simple life, revealed a spirit destined to revolutionize the life and thought of European society; and, in its very failure to create a perfect illusion of simplicity, showed the direction in which European taste was rapidly tending. This was almost immediately made manifest in other fields. Scarcely was Louis XIV in his grave when the appearance of a new drama, the *Henriade*, introduced a new figure into European literature, the young Voltaire, as he chose to call himself. During his imprisonment in the Bastille, he had meditated this dramatic conception of the first Bourbon, Henry of Navarre, and with it gave a new turn to French literature. Scarcely were the treaties confirming the Utrecht settlement signed when the *Lettres Persanes*, from the pen of another author, as yet unknown, Montesquieu, began not only a new genre of letters, but inaugurated the attack on the formal authority which had been crystallized in the preceding reign. And scarcely had Orleans assumed the regency when the long quarrel between the Jesuits and the so-called Jansenists came to a head in the latter's appeal from Papal authority to that of a general council of the church.

Such an incident was peculiarly significant. The growing strength of reactionary influence during the later years of Louis XIV had found expression in the destruction of Port Royal, the center of Jansenist influence. Simultaneously with the Peace of Utrecht, the Pope, inspired by the Jesuits, had issued the Bull called *Unigenitus*, condemning the Jansenist propositions. But not all the power of Pope and Jesuits, backed by the influence of the aged king and the half-hearted acquiescence of the Parlement, could stifle discussion or prevent a schism in the Church of France. A third of the French bishops refused assent to the Papal-Jesuit contention. The liberal Catholics, the literary men, now relieved from the repression of the Grand Monarque's later years, above all the rising school of so-called Philosophers, among whom Voltaire and Montesquieu were conspicuous.

Voltaire
and
Montes-
quieu

1722-3

1721

The
Papacy
and the
Jansenists
1713

rallied not so much to the support of the Jansenists as to the attack upon the Jesuits and the tyranny of authority. With this France entered on a long controversy which was to affect the whole future of her thought and practice in political scarcely less than ecclesiastical affairs.

Clement
XI

Of all the figures of the time, perhaps that of the Pope who issued the pronouncement against the Jansenists best typified the forces then at work remaking Europe—for upon him they bore the hardest. The career of Clement XI was, in fact, the tragedy of the old order. An able and accomplished man, he found himself impotent before the forces which dominated his time. He desired to remain neutral in the War of the Spanish Succession—and he was compelled to recognize first Philip V, then the Archduke Charles as king of Spain! In the Peace of Utrecht, almost alone among the powers of western Europe, the Papacy was ignored, and its various claims on Italian territory were not even given the courtesy of consideration. His Papal interdict on Savoy was treated with contempt, and his reaffirmation of Papal infallibility in matters of fact met with perhaps even less success than his condemnation of Jansenist heresies or his advocacy of the more humane treatment of criminals. He was the symbol of an age already past, and in his day the office which he held sank to the lowest point it had reached since the Reformation.

Classicism

The situation in which he found himself was typical of Europe at the close of the great national wars from which she was beginning to emerge. It was a curious compound of the old and new. The neo-classicism which, since the Renaissance, had gradually replaced scholasticism in the European mind, had reached its culmination. The splendid burst of natural vigor which succeeded the humanistic revival in arts and letters had, after the manner of all things human, hardened to a school. The educational leaders of Europe had replaced the mediæval trivium and quadrivium with a system chiefly confined to classics, mathematics, and theology. In letters the influence of Boileau, “the legislator of Parnassus,” had served to crystallize a tendency toward formalism as

1636-1711

against flexibility, and conformity to rules as opposed to spontaneity. His *L'Art Poétique*, and the *Essay on Criticism* of the Englishman Pope, alike condemned the winged Pegasus of the two preceding centuries to tread the roads laid out for him through the far-spreading fields of poetry. Prose followed the same course, and the last years of Louis XIV, like the Age of Anne, revealed a powerful impulse toward formal models in the two chief centers of European literature. For,

"Song from celestial heights had wandered down
Put off her robe of sunlight, dew, and flame,
And donned a modish dress to charm the town.

She saw with dull emotion—if she saw,
The vision of the glory of the world."

In architecture the same tendency expressed itself. The influence of Palladio had gradually made its way through western Europe and to those eastern states where French models were now increasingly accepted as the acme of taste, till its heavy hand was evident on every building. In France, beside the extravagance of Versailles, was seen Perrault's completed masterpiece, the Louvre, with the Hôtel des Invalides and the Pantheon; in England, the Cathedral of St. Paul's—whose dome and portico echo the glory of St. Peter's—reflected the same Palladian influence. The services of Marlborough were rewarded by a palace which in Vanbrugh's hands became a model of massive magnificence, and the epitaph of that architect, "Lie heavy on him, Earth, for he Laid many a heavy weight on thee," might well be taken as the motto of the whole neo-classic school. The Great Elector's buildings in Berlin exhibited the same monumental character. Even in the newly erected Russian capital, French architects carried out the principles of the Italo-Vitruvian school, whose triumph at once destroyed the beautiful pointed Gothic, which it now replaced, and obscured the glories of true classic models which it professed to represent. Domestic architecture took tone from the same influence, as beside the spired châteaux of France rose the square monoliths of city

Architect-
ure
1675-1740

and country house; and in England the neo-Gothic Tudor was replaced by Jacobean and now by Georgian formality.

Formalism

Social affairs had followed much the same course. From the court of Louis XIV had flowed a stream of ceremonial which, paralleled or imitated by the rulers of the continent, and taken up by society in general, tended to rob human association of every symptom of spontaneity and make men's intercourse a series of formalized observances from which meaning had fled. The clothing in which society lived, and, in so far as it could, moved, was peculiarly ill-adapted to any practical purpose. The elaborate and beautiful silk coats and waistcoats of the men; the still more marvelous costumes of the women, which the improvements in the weaving industry, and especially the extraordinary increase in the use of silk provided, contributed at once to the gayety of plumage and the wealth of that nation to which Colbert's foresight had introduced the manufacture of silk. The powdered wigs of the males, indeed, paled into insignificance beside the vast and towering head-dresses of the female leaders of society, but together they made this the golden age of hair-dressers.

Manners and amusements took on the same tone. The freer and livelier dances froze into the stately minuet. The card-table became not merely the scene of gambling but a kind of social shrine. The use of snuff became universal, and snuff boxes claimed the talents of goldsmith and miniaturist. Duelling maintained and even increased its vogue; and the code of honor became continually more rigid. The stage revealed the same tendency. Shakespeare was discredited by the critics as rude and uncouth. When his plays appeared at all—and no amount of formalism could quite drive them from the stage—they were too often enlivened by the appearance of Hamlet and Lady Macbeth in full eighteenth-century costume! The result was an age of dullness which in France was rendered endurable by the taste which adorned it with some saving graces, but which in many quarters, especially in the lesser German courts, reached depths scarcely supportable to even their habitués, however inspirited

with the vastly increasing use of the more potent beverages of this "age of port."

Even great fields of intellect were infected with the same formality, and as one passes from the more spontaneous literature of the seventeenth century into the more dignified productions of its successor, he is acutely conscious of a decrease of interest in the form if not in the matter of much that held the attention of a more sedate era. It was, indeed, productive along certain lines, as the development of anti-quarianism testified. In others, notably in education, it had become conventional almost to sterility. But in all it revealed that tendency toward form, that devotion to ceremonial, which, whether expressed in stately mansions and formal gardens, or in the verses which were inspired by Pope or Boileau, marked a movement which had lost its vigor.

Yet by that curious law of human no less than of physical evolution which gives to every action its inevitable and equal reaction, at the height of this new reign of formal authority a change prepared. The development of absolute and national kingship which reached its height under Louis XIV had been accompanied by the revolution which drove the Stuarts from the English throne. The French effort to dominate Europe had been foiled by the reassertion of its unity in diversity, expressed in grand alliances and the doctrine of balance of power. Now in the world of intellect the same phenomenon was observable.

The
reaction

This was particularly true in the realm of theology. There the assaults of science in the two preceding centuries had driven men to one of these alternatives: complete rejection of all discoveries which trenched in any way upon the doctrines of revealed religion; or the rejection of dogma where it was weakened by the new knowledge. From this arose a fresh antagonism bearing little relation to the older divisions of Catholic and Protestant. On the one side, however they differed among themselves on questions of theology and ecclesiastical supremacy, were ranged the champions of orthodox belief. On the other stood the growing company of those who under whatever name, deist, philosopher, agnostic,

Theology

unbeliever, atheist, free-thinker, scientist, accepted the conclusions of investigation and reason. These, either rejected wholly church dogmas; or held judgment suspended; or strove to reconcile reason and dogma. But they looked toward the substitution of some intellectually defensible doctrine of universe and man and their creation and Creator for irrational belief. The old predicate, "I believe, therefore I know," found itself confronted by the new, "I know, therefore I believe." Cutting across all bounds of race or faith, the principle made way. Whether one said with the English Shaftesbury, "A wise man has but one religion, but what it is a wise man never tells"; or, with the French Voltaire, observed that "if there were no God it would be necessary to invent one"; or declared with the Swedish botanist he "thought God's thoughts after him," the principle was the same. Rationalism, having established itself in thought, had begun to make headway against a blind belief. In the words of the English poet, Pope, whose formal versification aptly typified the spirit of his times, it came to be recognized that "order is Heaven's first law."

With the efforts to discover the secrets of the law and order of the universe there came, inevitably, a definite break with that theology which for more than a thousand years had reckoned such subjects beyond the limits of human prerogative even more than of human capacity. The theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had spent an infinity of energy in argument as to whether man was or was not a free agent, whether the course of every individual was predetermined from the beginning, or whether he had a choice dependent on his own will, wholly or in part. That long and bitter controversy which has, in some sort, conditioned all theological and philosophical speculation, in all places and at all times since thought began, has, indeed, an endless fascination. It is, like all such abstract and metaphysical problems, insoluble. But this much is certain. Whatever the ultimate fact, men have acted as if they were free agents; and upon the doctrine of free-will, whether consciously or unconsciously, have been based man's material

achievements. And it is not the least significant commentary on the relation between known faith and human practice that among the believers in predestination have been some of the most active and successful examples of the influence of a determined will to achieve.

At this juncture there appeared another of those antagonisms on which the religious life is based—reason against revelation, or perhaps better, mysticism against materialism. It was revealed in an almost coincident attack from two quite opposite directions, and by two wholly antagonistic elements, on the existing ecclesiastical establishments, Protestant no less than Catholic. Since the convulsions of the sixteenth century, and in the face of scientific progress in the seventeenth, the churches had tended to entrench themselves in system and dogma equally removed from the rationalism of the scientists and the zeal of the fanatics. Though they differed from each other, they had tended toward uniformity themselves and grown from a concern of the spirit into a school or cult. Such is the tendency of human thought, and such, inevitably, brings further reaction. By the eighteenth century “the church,” whether Protestant or Catholic, tended to become not so much a spiritual force as an “estate,” a social institution, which, like the aristocracy, was a static element, desiring only to be let alone. Liberalism, on the other hand, was less a party than it was the mass of educated men. The eighteenth century, in consequence, saw a scientific renaissance, like the fifteenth-century classical movement, which produced, not paganism, but indifference, or antagonism.

The
scientific
renaissance

For men filled with the restless and skeptical impulse which science had brought, the churches took far too much on faith. For men to whom the universe and life remained a vast, insoluble mystery, the churches seemed far too practical and material. From the beginning, the mystic and the scientist had found themselves equally opposed to the establishment, and the preceding centuries are full of their conflicts. Copernicus and Galileo, German Anabaptist and English Quaker, alike had found themselves outside the law

The
mystics

no less of Reformed communions than of Roman. Now, with the triumph of science and a freer thought, across the broadening gulf between belief and knowledge one element found expression for its state of mind in mystical concepts, the other in an effort to explain man's relations to the universe and its Creator on rational grounds.

The
Moravians

1720-

1733

1741

Sprung from the older stock of German and English dissent, new shoots grew side by side in friendly emulation. One group of German Lutherans, denied by their brethren, looked back to Huss as their founder. These, owing their strength rather to their simple pietism than to the Augsburg confession which they professed, were known from the place of their origin as Moravians. Under the leadership and protection of a Saxon nobleman, Count Zinzendorf, they now began to extend their labors outside their old confines. From the first their missionary impulse was strong. During the War of the Polish Succession they despatched a mission to St. Thomas and began a work in Greenland which brought that cheerless and long-neglected land within the circle of Christianity. In British North America they found a fertile field for their energies. At Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, beside the Quakers who welcomed them, Zinzendorf established one of those "communities" in whose peculiar organization the Moravian spirit found its characteristic expression. From there, as well as from Georgia, where some of them had joined Oglethorpe's colony, their missionaries soon pushed past the frontier to rival the zeal of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes between the Ohio and the Great Lakes.

The
Methodists
1720-42

They were not alone in their advent into the western world. Beside them settled in Pennsylvania the adherents of that German sect, known from their Reformation founder as Schwenkfelders. In later years these bodies were reinforced by others who, like the so-called Shakers, with their celibate communities, added another element to religious experience and to New World society. Hither, also, came the leaders of another and, as it was to prove, a greater communion, not uninfluenced by the Moravians, the so-called Wesleyans or Methodists. These were the product of that

serious Puritanism not unknown even within the Anglican establishment. They owed their origin to a little religious society which began in Oxford undergraduate days, and under the influence of two of its original members, John and Charles Wesley, and the eloquence of its apostle Whitefield, had slowly expanded into a new communion. All three of these founders were connected with Oglethorpe's experiment in Georgia, where their relations with the Moravians at once inspired and affected their further development. Based on a doctrine of personal salvation by conviction of sin and conversion, they relied on the emotional appeal of exhortation by itinerant ministers. The new gospel, preached wherever men could be gathered to hear, in churches, houses, marketplace, or fields, appealed to classes little touched by an establishment which rejected the new society as it had earlier expelled the nonconformist "denominations."

Like the Moravians, to whom they owed so much, the Methodists revealed a missionary spirit as fervid as that which had fired St. Dominic and St. Francis five centuries earlier, and still inspired their followers in the remoter districts of New Spain. Along the far-reaching frontiers of the English colonies, no less than in the more thickly settled districts, and in the cities and countryside of England, their itinerant ministers and circuit-riders spread a network of congregations, keeping pace with the expansion of their countrymen abroad as they sought to bring the gospel to the neglected elements at home. They were reinforced by men who, like Isaac Watts, the great hymn-writer and William Law with his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, profoundly influenced this so-called Evangelical movement. Their labors were supplemented by those of other remarkable men, one of whom attained a peculiar eminence by his labors in this eighteenth-century religious reformation, or rather revival, which was known in the English colonies as the Great Awakening.

This was the Scandinavian mystic, Emanuel Swedenborg. He began his intellectual life with an interest in science, and his contributions and prophecies make him a

1686-1761

Sweden-
borg
1688-1772

prodigy of his times. He anticipated the discoveries of the palæontologists, suggested the nebular hypothesis of the formation of planets, advanced theories of light, of molecular magnetism, and cosmic atoms,—even proposed the principle of a flying machine which a later generation found practical. Though a man of the world, he advanced from science through philosophy to “soul analysis” and so to a new revelation upon which a new sect founded itself. Combining, as he did, eminent talents for practical affairs, great scientific attainments, and those mystical qualities which made him seem more than human to many men of his generation, he was not merely one of the most extraordinary characters which Europe has produced, but a symbol of the extraordinary period in which he lived.

The
rationalists

The older ecclesiastical establishments felt more than the pressure of the men of greater faith, for, at the same moment of this far-reaching religious revival, beside Moravians and Methodists, Schwenkfelders and Swedenborgians, the men of reason made their way into the arena of theological controversy. Apart from the conflict which seemed then inevitable between dogma based on revelation and doubt based on reason—between science and religion as it has come to be incorrectly known—the efforts of the philosophers from Descartes through Spinoza and Locke to Leibnitz, had endeavored to find a reconciling formula between knowledge and faith. Thus they developed another school, the so-called Deists. They denied revelation and based their belief on a Creator as demonstrated by the discoveries of science and the “natural constitution” of the universe. Their beginnings lay chiefly in England, where the teachings of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the preceding century were continued by Locke and taken up by a group which included the political leaders, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke. Thence these doctrines spread to the continent where, in this period, they found their greatest champion in the chief man of letters of his time.

Voltaire
1694-1778

This was the Frenchman, François Marie Arouet, better known by his assumed name of Voltaire, whose brilliance

was then bringing him into European view. He had already won his spurs as a dramatist, and a visit to England put him in touch with a new intellectual and political world which he, in turn, with Montesquieu, now introduced to the continent. Gifted with an almost inconceivable fecundity of genius, and a delightful style, versatile, original, epigrammatic, unconventional, he was inspired with a sardonic wit which made him the most effective and formidable of champions. In society, in the state, above all in the church, he found himself continually in conflict with constituted authority, for he was, essentially, the spirit that denies. A poet and a dramatist inferior only to the greatest France produced, a story-teller and a moralist, an essayist and a philosopher, his epigrams became the subtlest weapons in the armory of those forces opposed to the shams of existing authority. An historian, he directed that branch of letters into new channels; a dabbler in experimental science, his tendencies were continually toward doubt. Above all a satirist, he became the most followed and feared of all free-thinkers. No dignity was too high, no superstition too sacred to escape his barbed wit, no cause too hopeless to enlist his support, no individual too humble to engage his protection, no device of authority too subtle for his adroitness in evading its penalties. And, amid the mixed meanness and greatness of the man, the intellect of Voltaire became a dominating influence in European thought.

He was but one, though the most eminent, of a class now making a place for itself in affairs, the men of letters. "The thinking heads of all nations had in secret come to a majority and rose fiercely against restraint," challenging the ecclesiastical and even the political authorities for leadership and popular allegiance. It was as yet, indeed, impossible for scientists, even inventors, to live by the exercise of their talents. Letters was not a wholly independent profession. The private patron or some separate source of income was necessary, for public support as yet scarcely enabled a man to live by his pen. But the preceding hundred years had seen a rapid development, especially in the west. Printers

Letters
and
philosophy
1700-42

had grown into publishers; newspapers and periodicals were now an element in the daily life of thousands; and literature was fast learning to walk alone.

The result was notably conspicuous in England. As the Age of Louis XIV brought forth a Boileau whose *Art Poétique* had molded French poetry on more rigid lines, and the Age of Anne had found its characteristic expression in the rhymed epigrams of Pope; so, following the triumphs of Rochefoucauld, La Fontaine, and Fénelon in French prose, the English essayists Steele, Addison, and Swift had founded a new school of English literary expression. As Voltaire had crowned the line of French satirists, Swift, whose talents fell short only of Voltaire's, filled a like place in English letters. At the same time Defoe, turning from political pamphleteering, where his ability had ranked him all but equal to Swift, continued the tradition established by Mrs. Behn and Madame de Lafayette, with the publication of his immortal story of *Robinson Crusoe*. This was followed by other tales from his own pen and by those of his imitators and successors. And in the year that saw the European panorama change with the exit of the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, came the issue of Samuel Richardson's more ambitious experiment in fiction, the story of *Pamela*. With it and its companion-piece, *Joseph Andrews*, from the pen of another journalist and pamphleteer, Henry Fielding, the modern novel was born. Thus, as the classical school reached its climax, from the side of journalism there sprang a new form of writing destined to play a major part in the future development of letters. Simultaneously, the English *Gentleman's Magazine*, following the example already set in Holland and in France, added another element of strength to the growing power of the press with the beginning of the periodical. As these forces were added to the newspaper, which was now firmly established, a new age of literature began.

Music

But if the novel of life and character, as distinguished from the mere romance, pointed the way to fresh developments in the world of letters, a concurrent event in the field of music

led to scarcely less far-reaching results. This was the development of the oratorio, a dramatic form of religious music which, originating in Italy, found its highest expression in the hands of Bach and his fellow-countryman, Handel. The one, in Germany, now advanced from his triumphs in the newer forms of suites, preludes and fugues, so-called, through the choral, to the great Passion music which crowned his fame. The other, meanwhile, in England, turned from his earlier successes in church music and opera to the same form, and in a brilliant succession of oratorios, beginning with *Esther* and culminating in the *Messiah*, brought this kind of choral and solo work to a pitch of perfection only equaled by his contemporary and never since excelled. With it, music, like literature and art, became more truly democratic. This was the more marked since the progress of the musical instrument makers had been particularly notable in the century preceding. In the hands of Stradivari the violin had just attained a perfection of form and tone which even now remains unequaled. The seventeenth century had seen the invention of the harpsichord, and in the years following the great wars of Europe the genius of the Italian inventor, Cristofori, gave Europe its first pianoforte. These, with the many improvements in wind and string instruments, made possible a new world of music.

1716-42

These were but a few of the notable phenomena of a period characterized by innovations in almost every phase of human endeavor. It was an age of scholars only less eminent than those who had shed luster on the three preceding centuries; and memorable for discoveries scarcely less noteworthy than those of the Renaissance; yet in each case with a difference peculiarly characteristic of the eighteenth century. At the same moment that the Northern War had come to an end, the site of the city of Herculaneum, buried under the ashes of Vesuvius in the first century of the Christian era, was found and a beginning made of those great excavations which from that day to this have added to our knowledge and enriched our artistic life with the material treasures of antiquity. Another generation saw Pompeii similarly recov-

Archæology

1719-38

ered, and the science of classical archæology firmly established as an adjunct of history and art. The study of inscriptions, so-called epigraphy, received fresh impulse; and, with it, advancing from the achievements of Du Cange who, in the generation just past had bridged the gap between ancient and modern speech with his great mediæval Latin glossary, other scholars enlarged the knowledge of that past. Art tended to follow the same impulse; and this age of antiquarians revealed no more typical figure than the engraver Piranesi, whose burin preserved an almost infinite number of the architectural remains of classical antiquity.

To the work of Montfauçon and others on Greek handwriting, or palæography, was added one on Roman script issued by the order of Benedictines to which he belonged, and whose services to knowledge were so eminent. These increased the knowledge of the past no less than the material which Italy now supplied in the edition of her chronicles by Muratori; while his countryman, Maffei, reconstructed the history of Verona and revised so-called diplomatics contributed by Mabillon to the modern science of documents, and Dumont began his *Corps Universel diplomatique du droit des gens*. Nor was this industry confined to Romance nations. England issued the Latin text and the translation of Bede, and continued that study of Anglo-Saxon which the seventeenth century had begun, by publishing her early chronicles. Still more, she related scholarship to practical affairs, by bringing together and printing, for the first time, collections of debates in Parliament, the description of her older institutions, and her treaties in Rymer's *Fœdera*, which were of no less importance to her publicists than to her scholars.

This was, indeed, the great, outstanding, characteristic of the period; the mingling of the intellectual and the material. If the Renaissance had been peculiarly an age of the discovery and editing of manuscripts, the eighteenth century renaissance was the age of the antiquarians. And if the earlier period had seen its chief advance along the lines of pure science, and mathematics in particular, this period revealed that tendency toward transforming those principles into

Scholar-
ship
1700-50

Applied
science
and
invention
1700-50

practice, and relating science to industry. The extraction of gas from coal, the extension of the principle of Newcomen's steam pumping-engine to the propulsion of vessels, Hadley's sextant, and the thermometers of Fahrenheit and Réaumur, witnessed the growing tendency to enlist scientific knowledge in the affairs of life as the age of invention approached. No less the experiments in cattle-breeding, in fertilizers, crop-rotation, soils and methods of cultivation which had set England on the path to agricultural revolution, promised at once an increase in the resources of the oldest of civilized pursuits and a surer foundation for the support of population whose rapid growth was already in evidence throughout Europe. In view of this it was at last coming to be recognized that "he who made two blades of grass grow where one grew before" was a factor thenceforth to be considered in the world's affairs.

Through all of this activity, particularly on the side of science, two general principles were observable. The first was the decline of the classical tradition as well as of mediæval ignorance and superstition. Each of these, in its way, had been an opponent of progress. The triumph of rationalism over the blind dogmatism of the middle ages had been powerfully aided by the introduction of the learning of the Greek and Roman world into the content of European thought and knowledge. That learning had been so pre-eminently helpful in the destruction of theological obscurantism, it had been so tremendously stimulating to the intellect, that, naturally enough, its value had been exaggerated. The long ascendancy of the church fathers had been replaced by that of the classical philosophers. Augustine and Athanasius, Origen and Tertullian gave way to Ptolemy and Pliny, Galen and Hippocrates, who thenceforth had dominated men's minds scarcely less than their predecessors.

Every department of life had been influenced by this change. Theology and education, science and scholarship, philosophy and literature fell before the new conquerors. In some measure this was essential to European progress; and from it flowed that impulse which set Europe on the

The
decline of
classicism

path which led through the Renaissance and the Reformation to a modern world. But men had scarcely begun to perceive that, however valuable the content and method of the ancients, their learning neither exhausted the field of knowledge nor was without its errors. Thenceforth, beginning with the second quarter of the sixteenth century, there had been carried on a twofold conflict. On the one hand the apostles of the modern school combated the ignorance of mankind and the superstition engendered by mediæval theology. On the other, they were compelled to struggle with those who adhered as blindly to the dicta of the classical writers as their predecessors had clung to the dogmas of the church.

The
scientists
and phi-
losophers

In general, the burden of this long contention was borne by those men to whom was given the name of scientists, and they became the chief opponents of authority, whether classical or theological. They were aided by that group to which was ascribed the vague and generic name of philosophers, and from these proceeded the great antagonisms which marked the seventeenth century in particular. Little by little they made way. Before reason and investigation the authority of Pliny and Ptolemy, Galen and Hippocrates declined, Aristotle lost his ascendancy over the European intellect; and classical learning was infused with modern discovery. The classical tradition lingered longer in other fields. Education was still almost wholly dominated by it, architecture revealed its peculiar forms and characteristics, literature and scholarship were deeply tinged with its influence. But by the middle of the eighteenth century it had ceased to be the prevailing note in that scientific and philosophical activity upon which a great part of European progress depended. To it succeeded the devotion to "nature" which was to play as great a part in the future. This was due in part to actual progress, in part, no doubt, to changing taste. "Fashion perishes of its own vogue, and that vogue in turn by its own vogue." Man's mind revolts against monotony as it shrinks from too violent change; and the very progress of knowledge tends to destroy the forces which gave it birth.

Another of the principal factors in this change was that scientific advance is not, like the changes of taste, and even of politics, an erratic force. It is a cumulative process. With the invention of printing and the gradual diffusion of culture, the development of knowledge was secured as the investigators of each generation were enabled to build upon preceding labors and transmit their discoveries to their successors. Moreover, their work had another advantage. Especially as the eighteenth century came on, science contributed more and more to the practical side of life, increasing the capacity of men to achieve results in many fields which added at once to the comfort, the safety, and the satisfaction of the community. If the seventeenth century was the era of pure scientific discovery, the eighteenth century is pre-eminently the age of the beginning of what came to be known as applied science, whose results were clearly apparent in nearly every field of material endeavor, in manufacturing, in agriculture, in commerce, even in war and government.

There are an infinite number of examples of this, and if the period of the early eighteenth century gave to the world no such discoveries as those which illuminated the generations from Galileo to Newton, science, like scholarship, entered upon an era scarcely less important. In it there is perhaps no more eminent figure than the Swedish botanist, Linnæus. He was a great collector and a great teacher, but he was much more. His *Systema Naturae* appeared in 1735 and a dozen editions were required in the ensuing generation. It was the beginning of that classification which characterizes the century; while his so-called "binominal" system of nomenclature, to indicate genus and species, became the standard for science to our own day. This scientific activity was not confined to cataloguing and classifying the knowledge of natural phenomena which established the so-called systematic branches of science. Nor was it unrelated to the antiquarianism and annotation which characterized much of the scholarship of the period. Human knowledge, indeed, had increased so greatly in the two preceding cen-

Linnæus
1707-78

turies that such a process was as necessary as the concurrent preparation of dictionaries and encyclopedias in almost every conceivable field which accompanied this general stock-taking of the intellect, preparatory to another advance. But beside this apparently mechanical work went on a very real advance in attainment. The very collection and arrangement of material suggested new relations and new lines of investigation; and these suggestions were multiplied by the solution of problems whose answers pointed to still other questions in a field whose limits were the universe itself.

Growth of
intellectual
and cul-
tural or-
ganization

This was accompanied by another phenomenon which characterized this epoch of intellectual progress,—the establishment of an extraordinary number of organizations and institutions to perpetuate and further the knowledge and skill acquired, to ameliorate suffering, and to stimulate interest in such work. In this great field all peoples, classes, and interests combined. France, England, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, royal and noble patronage, learned societies and individuals, joined in the movement. The earlier unity of western Europe which had been claimed by the Empire, and in large measure provided by the mediæval church, had broken down. Politically it had failed; religiously and intellectually it had been scarcely more effective. But as every nation took its place in the concurrent progress of science, letters, art, and scholarship, the field of intellect offered a more substantial meeting-place than any which had thus far appeared. Unlike the genius of individualism which had filled the seventeenth century with great discoveries, the eighteenth century used its talent for formal organization to systematize knowledge and develop co-ordination in its pursuit. For all Europe joined forces to conquer the realms of the unknown and make the world more endurable for the race.

The accomplishment of this task was aided by the encouragement of wealth and influence directed to these ends. The foundation of the Academy of St. Petersburg gave Euler an opportunity to continue the work of Newton in mathematics; while Maupertuis found his labors in the same field sup-

ported and encouraged by his appointment to the presidency of the Berlin Academy. Buffon's intendency of the French royal gardens and museums enabled him to embark on the great task of classifying animals, which paralleled and supplemented Linnæus' work under the auspices of the Stockholm Academy, and laid the foundations of systematic zoölogy beside those of systematic botany. And with these great contributions to biology that science was fully embarked upon its long and important career.

Such activity was not confined to the foundation of academies and museums, nor the appointment of savants to their management. It took the form, among other things, of an extraordinary revival in the foundation of hospitals, unequaled since the middle ages. As the church in that period had exercised its humanitarian functions in this field among others, so now science roused itself to the same task, under far different conditions, if not from different motives. London, Paris, Edinburgh, Dublin, Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Lisbon, New York, and Philadelphia, with a score of lesser places, set up new hospitals, lying-in wards, lectureships in medicine, clinics, and many sorts of practical instruction in healing. To this the wars which produced so much suffering contributed; and among the destructive results entailed by the ambitions of Prussia, the establishment of an improved system of medical and surgical arrangements for the army was perhaps the most substantial good which they produced.

Two fields of scientific activity were conspicuous in their progress during this period. The first was chemistry. If the mid-eighteenth century were notable for nothing else, it would be memorable for the contributions of investigators like the Swedish pharmacist, Scheele, who, in his humble laboratory, probably made more important discoveries than any single individual before or since. The organic acids, so familiar to modern practice under the names of tartaric, oxalic, citric, and gallic; manganese, chlorine, baryta; estimates of the proportions of oxygen in the air, which had so long puzzled mankind, rewarded his patient labors. In his hands technical chemistry, upon which so much of the rapidly

Chemistry

1742-86

approaching age of industrialism was to depend, took on new life. Still greater, on the more purely intellectual side, were the researches of the young Lavoisier, to whom the final overthrow of the long-lived phlogiston fallacy was due. With these men modern chemistry may be said to begin. And while it is futile to make the trite moral comparison between the labors of such men as these and the spectacular achievements of captains and kings, in their respective contributions to the comfort and capacity of the race, one may, at least, claim a place for them in the history of Europe beside the mistresses of Louis XV or even the conquests of the great Frederick.

Geology

The second of the sciences which showed signs of renewed vitality was geology. For almost the first time since Agricola wrote his great treatise on mineralogy in the sixteenth century, the constitution of the earth came into the active consideration of the European mind. This had profound results not only upon practical affairs and scientific progress, but, ultimately, upon such an apparently remote field as that of theology. It began, naturally enough, with conflict of theories regarding the origin of the rocks; and it had not gone far before it developed two schools of thought. On the one hand, the Vulcanists or Plutonists, as they were called, attributed geological action to fire, and so formed the igneous school, which held to a belief in a fiery central core to the earth. On the other, the Neptunists contended for the formation of rocks by crystallization or sedimentation from water. To this was added the study of fossils which, from the time of Leonardo da Vinci, had attracted the interest of intellectual men. And it was no long time before these elements were combined into speculation over the origin and the age of the planet. This, naturally, brought the new science into conflict with the adherents of the first chapter of Genesis, a conflict comparable to and perhaps even more bitter than that between the revelationists and the followers of Copernicus in the preceding century.

Character of the 18th century

The age now well under way has been declared to be a "bankrupt century." Viewed merely from the standpoint

of politics perhaps few periods have better merited such a title than the decades which followed the conclusion of the great wars. Yet an era which saw France push the bounds of European power through the Missouri valley, Russia secure the north Pacific coast of North America, Spain advancing to meet them both, and the English colonies doubling their population and their wealth, can scarcely be reckoned of no value to even political history. Still less can an era which boasts the names of Voltaire and Montesquieu, Fielding and Richardson, Handel and Bach, the Wesleys, Swedenborg, Linnæus and Buffon, with all their fellow-workers, be counted as nothing to the advancement of the race. Little as men had gained by the transfer of sovereignty from one royal house to another, in those realms beyond the reach of princeling and diplomat the world revealed, in this eventful period, the dawn of a new era of mankind.

There is a law of nature which decrees that the very success of any organism tends to bring about its extinction. The sedge at the lake-side gradually builds up soil by its decay and makes the foundation for other forms of vegetable life which replace it. The pine forest, by its too great crowding, dwarfs and stunts its own members. Excess of human population brings its attendant evils of dirt and pestilence, of degradation and starvation, unless relieved by artificial means. The frontiersman pushes forward into the wilderness until frontiersman and frontier alike disappear; the pioneer clears the land and makes it cultivable and habitable by increasing numbers—and there are no longer pioneers. The same is true in many fields, even in that of intellect, where it is strengthened by other forces; and it was peculiarly characteristic of eighteenth-century thought and literature.

The classical influence which had set Europe on a new stage of its progress during the Renaissance had followed the natural course of such movements. It had triumphed over scholasticism through its product, humanism. It had become the dominant element in European intellectual life; it had grown into a cult, with fixed rules and inflexible standards. It had become formalized, and it had begun to lose itself in

blind alleys of repetition and imitation. In some degree the same tendency had overtaken society. The courtliness which had made such progress in the preceding century had become so formalized as to make human intercourse all but unendurable to the more intelligent or the more original members of society. Government and war took the same course. The one lost its energy in routine; the other turned soldiers into disciplined machines. Class distinctions hardened into caste; and the very virtues of organization for which the eighteenth century was distinguished threatened to stifle originality in those who submitted to its restrictions.

In no small degree this was true of literature. As the eighteenth century came on, the formal essay and still more formal verse replaced the more spontaneous fashions of the seventeenth century. The regular beat of rhymed pentameter and hexameter overpowered the freer measures of an earlier age. The artificial seemed about to conquer the natural. Had there not come a revolt against all this, the world might, as during the middle ages, have been reduced to formal sterility. But the spirit of individualism was too strong by this time to submit to mere authority. Revolt stirred on every hand; and originality, however discouraged by those who directed the business of life, continually burst the bonds of convention. The charm of formalism, whether in dress or gardens, in letters, art, and manners, which must always appeal to one side of human nature, did not, indeed, disappear. But beside or against it the tendency toward deviation from the prescribed path continually made way. Under the dominance of classicism, romanticism made its feeble beginning. The middle ages again found expression in literature and scholarship; to the court painters and their splendor of robes and trappings succeeded the pastoral painters, then the "natural" school. Against the artificial conventions, naturalism began to make head in every field. To the reign of reason succeeded the appeal to nature and the law of nature. In this the dictators of letters as well as the political absolutists found their most dangerous enemy. The first third of the century saw archæology revolutionize scholarship, and journalism revive litera-

ture, while state and church felt the disintegrating influence of Montesquieu and Voltaire, and political economy altered under the assaults of the Physiocrats. And, especially in England, there began that movement which was to produce a revolution against the literary establishment.

“Men felt life’s tide, the sweep and surge of it,
And craved a living voice, a natural tone.

From dewy pastures, uplands sweet with thyme
A virgin breeze freshened the jaded day,
It wafted Collins’ lonely vesper-chime,
It breathed abroad the frugal note of Gray.”

Thus, at the very moment when classicism, absolutism and formalism were most in evidence, from the ground which they themselves had so largely prepared, sprang new forms of thought and practice which were to challenge and finally to overthrow the older order.

Moreover the age of the miraculous was passing with that of mere authority, and nowhere was this more evident than in recording the history of the past. With the appearance of Voltaire’s *Essai sur les Mœurs* social history may be said to begin, and though the “catastrophic” school of historiography paralleled the development of that same principle in geology, it was accompanied and modified by the philosophic principles which began to supersede the old “providential” doctrine of human development. To this the great Italian thinker Vico added the idea of a “science” of history, of much revolutionary significance, and the encyclopedic genius of the French philosopher Bayle developed in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* that school of minute, critical, intensive study upon which true scientific work must of necessity be based. To these succeeded in another generation Herder with his *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity*, and the development of these social-scientific-philosophical schools found expression in a fresh burst of historical activity, of which at least one masterpiece had not been matched since the days of Thucydides.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. 1742-1763

AMONG the many diverse events which make a period memorable in history none is more striking than the rise of a state to equality or supremacy among the powers of the world. Preceded almost invariably by a long period of slow development; precipitated by the advent of some extraordinary circumstance, or the ambition and ability of some individual; and culminating, for the most part, in a great convulsion, a final arbitrament of arms with its vast expenditure of energy, treasure, and blood, and the relative decline and readjustment of the other powers of the polity into which the new force thrusts its way, this recurrent phenomenon of history appears at once the chief motive of progress and of destruction in the drama of politics. In the two hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the discovery of the seaways east and west, and the expulsion of Asiatic influences from western Europe, various nations had undergone this great experience. Spain and Portugal, England, Holland, Sweden, and France, in turn, had found their way to the forefront of affairs; while the house of Hapsburg had maintained a precarious primacy in central Europe. As the seventeenth century had worn to a close, two other powers, Russia and Brandenburg, had appeared above the horizon of continental politics, aspiring to like eminence, while Europe shaped itself from mediæval chaos to the semblance of the modern unity in diversity of a system of nations.

Of these various states some, like England, had found sufficient energy and resources to maintain the position of first-rate powers. Some, like Sweden, had sunk to second place. Some, like Holland, had fallen still lower in the political scale. Others still, like Prussia, building on their own develop-

The rise
and fall
of states

The
dynastic
interest

ment or on the weakness of their neighbors, had risen from insignificance to well-defined importance in the European system. At the same time an increasingly complex dynastic interest which in the preceding centuries had spread its network over the continent had given to certain families a position wholly out of proportion to the importance of their original possessions or even the ability of their members. In such fashion, beside the ascendancy of Hapsburg and Bourbon at opposite ends of Europe, the minor princely houses of Germany, in particular, improved their fortunes until the eighteenth century saw Germans on more than half the thrones of Europe. A Hanoverian won the English crown; a Saxon that of Poland. Two German princesses in succession occupied the Russian throne. A duke of Holstein-Gottorp took the place of the Vasas in Sweden; and these, with marriages innumerable, made Germany then, as now, "the breeding ground of royalty" for the continent. At the same time the house of Bourbon, whose younger branch now held the Spanish throne, divided the greater part of Italy with the Hapsburgs; while the house of Lorraine, uniting its fortunes with the latter by the marriage of its head to Maria Theresa, replaced the Medici as rulers of Tuscany.

Lorraine was not alone in its rise. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the house of Savoy, pursuing its policy of "well-timed treacheries," had finally taken advantage of its position to extend its boundaries by the possession of the island of Sardinia, and to increase its dignity by assuming the title of king from this new territory. Almost simultaneously the head of the German house of Hohenzollern had exchanged his title of Elector for that of King of Prussia, derived from his ducal possession outside the borders of the Empire.

His policy, like that of Savoy, was not merely symbolic of the times in which he lived. Far more than that of the Italian principality, it was prophetic of the immediate future. Yet beyond his title and his policy there was but little in the history of his house portending the part it was about to play.

Founded some seven centuries before, like Austria itself, as an outpost against peoples chiefly of Slavic blood on Germany's eastern frontier, Brandenburg's history, in Hohenzollern hands, had been a record of slow expansion. Unlike its Suabian neighbors, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns had thus far played a minor part even in German history. They had never achieved the imperial dignity, their conquests had been neither so extensive nor so profitable, their alliances had not brought them the wide territories nor the royal dignities their rivals had enjoyed. From the title of counts of Zollern they had advanced to that of Burggrafs of Nuremberg; from that, in the fifteenth century, to Markgrafs or border counts of Brandenburg; and to the dignity of Elector. The Reformation put in their hands the duchy of Prussia as a lay fief. The Thirty Years' War gave them four bishoprics in western Germany. The long conflict with Sweden secured to them the Baltic lands of Pomerania, and, at the Great Elector's death, the Hohenzollerns held throughout northern Germany scattered possessions almost from the Rhine to the Vistula.

These, with their Brandenburg homeland along the lower Oder, and a group of claims upon their neighbors' territories, formed an extraordinary state, consisting, it has been aptly said, of frontiers to be filled in as opportunity presented itself. The country was, for the most part, barren and poor. The policy of its rulers, in particular the Great Elector, had been directed toward its improvement in material resource, no less than to expansion. Especially in the seventeenth century it had been reinforced by Protestant immigrants fleeing from persecution in France and Germany; its marshes drained, its barrens populated and tilled; its industries strengthened. Still it was poor, and its importance lay chiefly in an army out of proportion to its resources, which made it a formidable foe, and in the shrewd, none too scrupulous policy of its ruling house. Such was the power now equipped with a long hoarded treasure, a warlike people, and a powerful army, which came into the hands of its new ruler, Frederick II.

Nothing in that young man's early career gave promise of his real character or aims. A youth spent in pursuit of music and literature was varied by bitter quarrels with his martinet father, after the custom of his house. The composition of bad poetry, the doctrines embodied in his essay, *Anti-Machiavel*, seemed to presage an era of Prussian renaissance. Still less did the accession of the Hapsburg princess, Maria Theresa, young, charming, inexperienced, premonish war; while Russia, disturbed by faction and conspiracy, till the Czarina Elizabeth came to the throne, seemed as impotent for offense or defense as France, subject to the caprice of royal mistresses. Moreover, the old Emperor had secured Europe's assent to the Pragmatic Sanction which guaranteed the peaceful succession of his daughter to the throne, and seemed to insure a new lease of life to the great house now extinct in the male line.

Frederick
the Great
and Maria
Theresa
1740

Never was the appearance of affairs more deceiving than at the outset of this fifth decade of the eighteenth century; and never did man more deceive himself than the Emperor Charles VI. Scarcely was he in his grave when, taking advantage of the apparent weakness of his house, three claimants to the Austrian inheritance appeared, the Elector of Saxony, the King of Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria. Each based his claim upon heredity; but each relied upon the inability of the archduchess to defend herself. And, as if this were not enough, the frivolous court of France, eager to share the triumph and the spoil, entered the lists against its old antagonists, and the last of the great dynastic conflicts of Europe, the War of the Austrian Succession, began its long and bloody course.

The War
of the
Austrian
Succession
1740-48

But before arrangements were made between France and Austria's other enemies, before the allies could put their forces in the field, a sudden and unexpected blow from a far different quarter at once deprived the Hapsburg power of a great province and altered the complexion of the war. Advancing a claim to part of Silesia, which lay contiguous to his Brandenburg possessions, the dilettante king of Prussia threw off the mask which had concealed his true character,

The
Silesian
project
1740

pushed his armies into the rich valleys of the upper Oder; and, by the time the allies had made their way into Bohemia, the Prussians had overrun and held Silesia. Such were the circumstances under which this new, ambitious power now thrust itself into the European polity. Such was the "Silesian Project, which fulfilled all his political views—a means of acquiring reputation, of increasing the power of his state, and terminating the long-litigated question of the Cleves-Jülich succession." Such were the reasons advanced for his entry into the war by the young king himself. Behind them lay the opportunity, the weakness of the Austrian court, its bankruptcy, the inexperience of its princess, threatened on every side, the nearness and desirability of the territory, and Russia's momentary impotence. Not even Louis XIV, at the height of his power, proffered so cynical an excuse for his aggressions, since even the Grand Monarque had conceded his Chambers of Reunion to such public European sentiment on international law and morality as then existed.

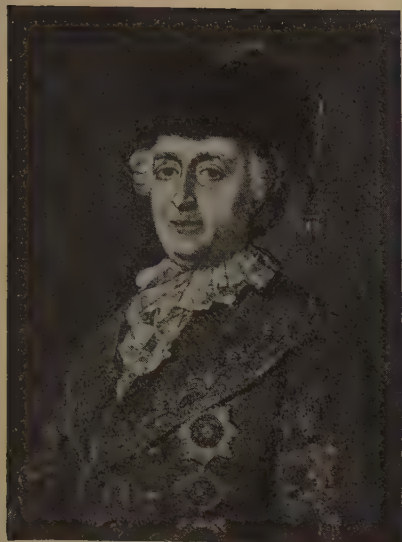
The first
Silesian
War

1741

Yet, daring and unscrupulous as it was, the Prussian king's exploit seemed likely to succeed, and so to justify itself to that school of thought which Frederick had himself attacked in his *Anti-Machiavel*, a school which recognizes no touchstone but material success, and no morality but that of might. The situation of the young archduchess seemed desperate. While the Prussians had gained Silesia at a blow, French and Bavarians invaded Bohemia and pressed forward into Austria itself. The Saxons captured Prague; Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony signed a treaty for the partition of the Hapsburg possessions; and the Elector of Bavaria was not merely proclaimed Archduke of Austria, but, with the aid of his allies, was elected Emperor. Meanwhile, Sweden declared war on Russia and Spanish troops, in pursuance of their ruler's designs on Italy, landed in Tuscany, which was then virtually a part of the Austrian territories. Turn where she would, Maria Theresa found her lands invaded and her allies impotent.

The
revival of
Austria

But if the invasion of Silesia had revealed the true character of the Prussian king, the desperate situation of the



CATHERINE II.

After the portrait
by Shebanoff.



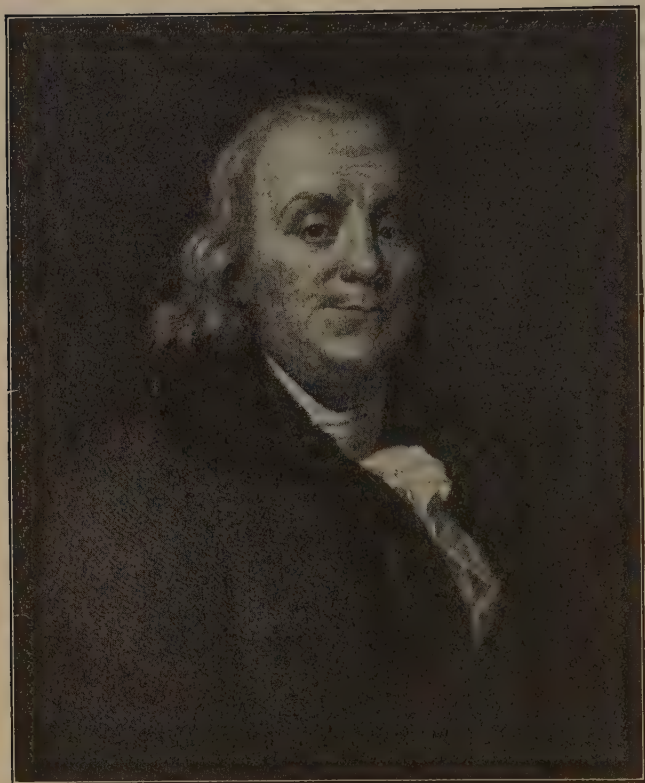
PETER THE GREAT.

From an engrav-
ing by Anderloni.



FREDERICK THE GREAT.

From an engraving by Cunejo, after the
painting by Cunningham.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

From an engraving by J. Thomson, from the original
picture by J. A. Duplessis.

Hapsburg power threw the heroic character of the Austrian archduchess into high relief. While her armies made what headway they could against their numerous enemies, the young princess appealed in person to the Hungarian nobility; and their mythical reply, "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa," became the rallying-cry for the Empire. England listened to her appeal for aid, and an English squadron compelled Spain to forego her dreams of a Spanish kingdom of Lombardy. A palace intrigue in Russia drove the pro-Prussian minister, Münnich, from power; and the ensuing revolution set on the throne the Czarina Elizabeth, opposed at every point to Frederick's ambitious plans. To the standards of the archduchess were summoned not merely the forces of her own domains but those of the German states who still adhered to their allegiance from honor or from fear. And, on the very day that the Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor, the Austrian city of Linz, where he had been proclaimed archduke six months before, was wrested from his grasp. With that the tide began to turn. Within a month the wild Croatian cavalry which formed the Austrian vanguard were in Munich. The Prussians lost Moravia and Olmütz; and though they were victorious at Chotusitz, it was apparent that the limit of their great adventure had been reached. As quickly and as easily as he had made and broken his earlier engagements, Frederick changed sides. By the Peace of Breslau and Berlin he abandoned his allies; Silesia remained in his hands as the price of his withdrawal from the conflict; and the first Silesian War between Prussia and Austria came to an end. Augustus III of Saxony and Poland followed Frederick's example and made peace with Austria, and, within ten days, the king of Sardinia followed suit.

June-Sept.
1741

Dec.

12 Feb.
1742

Feb. 1742

The Peace
of Berlin
1742
June-July

This was, indeed, far from concluding the great European conflict; for, relieved from pressure on the north, Maria Theresa was able to turn her full strength against her other foes. Here she was aided by other forces, as the negotiations of the diplomats brought readjustment of the European powers. Sweden gained peace from Russia at the price of

1742

southern Finland; Sardinia secured from Austria concessions in Italy for her support; while, on Fleury's death, France allied herself with Spain and declared war upon Sardinia.



With this the course of England became clear. She was then carrying on a war with Spain; her king, George II, was Elector of Hanover; and, in the face of the Franco-Spanish alliance, and French advance in Germany, she signed a treaty

with Prussia to defend the electorate, despatched an army to the continent, and granted a subsidy to Austria. Meanwhile, the allies had been driven from Austrian territories. The French were beaten at Dettingen, the last battle at which an English sovereign fought in person. Bavaria was conquered, and its Elector-Emperor found himself a fugitive. Thus, fifteen months after Maria Theresa had been compelled to yield Silesia to Frederick, the Hapsburg power had risen from disaster which threatened to overwhelm it to a position whence it threatened, in turn, to become, in fact and name, mistress of Germany.

It was small wonder that Frederick was alarmed. Fearful of a contingency which threatened not merely his newly won province but his very existence as an independent king, he strained every nerve to avert the impending danger. He tried, without success, to unite the princes of the Empire against the Hapsburg power. But he was able to secure the Union of Frankfort, in which the fugitive Emperor, the Elector Palatine, and Hesse-Cassel joined Prussia to demand that Austria restore Bavaria to Charles, the constitution to the Empire, and peace to Europe. Such a concession the Austrian court naturally refused, and Frederick, anticipating that contingency, turned again to arms, and so entered upon the second Silesian War.

1743
The second
Silesian
War

1744

His desertion of his engagement with Austria and his re-entry into the conflict which had gone on in his absence between Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Hanover-England, brought further readjustment of alliances. Russia and Austria again grew friendly; Prussia and France joined hands against England and Austria; and, after the brief success of Frederick's surprise attack which carried his arms through Saxony and Bohemia, another kaleidoscopic change altered the face of Europe's alliances. The sudden death of the Elector-Emperor, Charles Albert of Bavaria, gave Austria opportunity to withdraw Bavaria from Franco-Prussian influence. The title of the late emperor was recognized, his son restored to his electoral title and domains; while he, in turn, allied himself with Austria, promising his vote to the Grand Duke

The new
alliances

1745

Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, as Emperor, and his assent to the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus France and Prussia with Spain and Hesse-Cassel confronted an alliance of more than half the continent, England and Holland, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Sardinia, with lesser German states.

The war

Yet the contest was not as unequal as it seemed; for the allies developed no such commanders as the French Maréchal de Saxe, the Spaniard Gages, and Frederick himself. The Austro-Saxon treaty to partition Prussia was ineffective ere the ink was dry. In Germany the Prussian king counted three victories against the Austrians in six months; at Fontenoy, de Saxe defeated the English as the first incident of a great campaign. In Italy the Franco-Spanish troops, at the same time, conquered Lombardy; while Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia tried to make terms with France. In this crisis the Austrian court repeated its old tactics; and, by the Treaty of Dresden, confirmed Silesia to Frederick, and was again relieved from his attack. So ended the second Silesian War.

The Treaty
of Dresden
Dec. 25
1745

1745-8

Meanwhile for three years more the conflict went on among Spain, France, Sardinia, and Austria in Italy; France, Austria, England, and Holland in the Netherlands; and France and England in the world outside. Despite the victories of Saxe in the Low Countries the tide turned against the French confronted by such powerful enemies. The Austrians and Sardinians reconquered Lombardy and invaded

1745-6

Provence; the efforts of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, to raise rebellion in England failed; and when the Russians entered the war upon the side of Austria, the French position, save for their conquest of the Austrian

1748

Netherlands, seemed desperate. Negotiations begun at Breda were concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and brought to a close eight years of constant war, with inconclusive peace. The Prusso-Swedish treaty of mutual defense was finally confirmed, with Frederick's possession of Silesia. The Spanish heir received Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla in Italy; Francis was recognized as Emperor; and, for the rest, all conquests were restored.

The Peace
of Aix-la-
Chapelle
1748

Such were the circumstances under which Frederick the Great, as he came to be known, set Prussia among the first-rate European powers; and this, in the last resort, remained the chief result of this long, bloody war. From it Austria emerged far stronger than before; and France weaker. With its conclusion there began a series of administrative reforms in Prussia and especially in the Hapsburg domains. And with it, too, began the great design of Austria's new minister, Kaunitz, looking toward the recovery of Silesia and Frederick's humiliation, which made the years of peace only a truce between two periods of conflict.

Yet there were many other circumstances and results of the entry of Frederick of Prussia into the European polity. Far beyond the boundaries of Europe itself the war had spread to the remotest confines of European influence; and while the continental powers had made the lands between the Vistula and the Rhine a battleground, the farthest bounds of their respective spheres of influence had felt the shock of arms. While Prussia and Austria were at grips only in Germany, English and French had fought across the world; and beside the emergence of the Prussian kingdom into Europe's affairs, may well be set the emergence of the British Empire into world politics. In particular those lands whose fortunes were destined to be so closely intertwined through the ensuing generation, India and North America, challenged the eminence even of Silesia as the center of future importance in Europe's affairs.

The war
beyond
the sea

This was the more true in that the circumstances of the great Indian peninsula at this moment offered a fertile field for the extension of European influence. The effects of the break-up of the Mogul Empire at the death of Aurungzebe a generation earlier had now had time to make themselves fully felt. Its viceroys had not only consolidated their power and established a group of virtually independent Mohammedan states, but about them had sprung up a circle of bitterly hostile Hindu principalities. Of the four great geographical divisions into which India, exclusive of the narrow coast regions and the Himalayas, may be said to fall—

India—the
Mohammedan states

the valley of the Ganges on the northeast, that of the Indus on the northwest, the huge triangular plateau of the Deccan on the south, and the hill districts between—the Mogul Empire had ruled the greater part. Far up the Ganges valley, on its tributary, the Jumna, stood its capital, Delhi. To the east, along the upper Ganges, lay the rich lands of the Nawab of Oudh, below them the fertile fields and the teeming population of the Nawab of Bengal, whose territories enveloped the English post of Calcutta; and far to the south, in the midst of the Deccan, the Nizam of Hyderabad maintained himself.

—the
Hindu
states

Such were the chief Mohammedan powers of the peninsula. But those of the Hindus were no less in number and importance. The lower reaches of the Indus were held by the principality of Scinde, which, from its position as a viceroyalty of the Mogul Empire, had now come to be a tributary of the rising power of the Persian Nadir Shah; while the upper region of the Punjab, or Five Rivers, whose junction formed the Indus, was becoming independent under a religious association, the so-called Sikhs. South of them, between Delhi and Scinde, lay the Rajputs, three strong and warlike tribes; and beyond them still, up and down the central part of northern India, were the Mahrattas owning the so-called Peishwa of Poona as the titular head of their loose federation. Beside their lands and those of Hyderabad, the northern Deccan held the smaller principalities of Orissa and Behar, while the lower third of that district was comprised in the state of Mysore, bounded on the east by the so-called Carnatic, under the Nawab of Arcot, whose lands surrounded the English post of Madras and the French at Pondicherry, and whose allegiance lay to the ruler of Mysore.

It was inevitable that among so many states, most of them but lately emerged from Mogul suzerainty, and ruled by ambitious and unscrupulous military leaders, the contest for supremacy or for extension of frontiers should be continuous and acute. It was no less inevitable that, with the outbreak of the wars of the Austrian Succession in Europe, the energies

of French and English alike should be directed toward the exploitation of such a situation for their own benefit. In this the English, with far more at stake than the French, were slow to enter, content to maintain, as best they might amid the confusion of the peninsula, the territory and the trade which they possessed.

But two circumstances soon made their passive position untenable. The first was the invasion of the Persians under Nadir Shah; which, in the year that England had come to blows with Spain, swept across northern India and sacked Delhi. The second was the appointment of Joseph Dupleix as governor-general in Pondicherry. If the one circumstance clearly revealed the collapse of the Mogul state and heralded the impending conquest of India by another great power, the other revealed the danger that this power might be France. To English eyes the advent of this capable antagonist presaged far more danger than the Persian hosts. Thus far there had been no question of the supremacy of the English company over the French. The one, having weathered the storms of the seventeenth century, had developed greatly in the preceding forty years; it had become, in a small way, a territorial and a military power. It had loaned money to the English government; while its rival, ill-supported and under-capitalized, had barely managed to maintain itself.

Dupleix
1697-1763
1739

But with the advent of a new French minister of finance, and of a governor who, through twenty years of experience in India, as member of the council and superintendent of Chandernagore, was wholly conversant with the affairs of the peninsula, all was changed. When the great European war-cloud burst, Dupleix, foreseeing the inevitable conflict and fired by the opportunity to extend French influence and his own, had hastened to fortify Pondicherry and negotiate with native princes. At the same time, feeling the necessity for forces to support his policy, he revived and extended the old plan of using native troops. An army was raised, drilled, organized, equipped, and officered by Europeans, and stiffened by French contingents, and these Sepoys, as they were

known, thenceforth proved themselves a powerful factor in eastern affairs.

America

1739-44

Nor was the East alone in preparation for the great conflict then about to involve the whole European world. In two other quarters the struggle which centered in Germany had begun before the outbreak of hostilities on the continent, and it was now about to involve still another region in its bloody course. Even before Frederick had fallen on Silesia, England and Portugal had been at war with Spain. While the Prussians had pushed southward along the Oder, while French and Bavarians invaded Bohemia, Brazil and Argentine had contended for Uruguay, and English and Spanish colonists between Georgia and Florida had come to blows. The progress of the first Silesian War had been accompanied by Vernon's attacks on Porto Bello and Cartagena, and Anson's exploits in the Pacific. While Dupleix prepared his stroke against the English in India, Brazil had set the fortress of Rio Grande do Sul against Spanish aggression from the Argentine, and at the St. Lawrence mouth the frowning walls of Louisburg had been strengthened against the day when France and England should strive for mastery of the Atlantic coast. Thus, throughout the world, were laid the foundations for a tremendous conflict. And, as the second Silesian War drew to a close, two events, occurring almost simultaneously on opposite sides of the globe, brought into sharp relief the world-wide character of the Franco-English war, which began in the fourth year of the War of the Austrian Succession.

The war in
India and
America
1741

1745

The first occurred in India. There, while the first phase of the European war was being developed, the designs of the French governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, Labourdonnais, attracted the attention of the English government. An English fleet appeared off the Coromandel coast to destroy the French settlements in India; and only the support of the Carnatic ruler, the Nawab of Arcot, saved Pondicherry and Dupleix's designs from destruction. Four years later the fortress of Louisburg, which, strengthened through the years by French engineering skill and an expense of twenty million francs, threatened English supremacy on the Atlantic

coast, became the object of colonial attack. To its reduction England lent a fleet; the colonies contributed four thousand men; and a vigorous six weeks' siege gave Louisburg into English and colonial hands, in the same summer that Frederick's victories confirmed to him Silesia for the second time.

Such were the opening events of the world-war which paralleled the last three years of the War of the Austrian Succession, and, in a sense, formed part of the European conflict. Encouraged by the fall of Louisburg, the English colonists projected the reduction of all Canada. To counteract English naval supremacy in the East, the capable and ambitious Labourdonnais directed a French squadron to the Coromandel coast; while to avenge the fall of Louisburg, 1746 the French government despatched a fleet under D'Anville. From this last the English colonies were saved by storm and pestilence to which its leader fell victim; but they gave up their design of conquering Canada. Their countrymen in India were not so fortunate. There the Nawab, failing to get from the Madras authorities the presents with which Dupleix had gained his favor, refused the protection he had granted to Pondicherry. Madras fell into French hands. Its English inhabitants, save a few brave spirits who found refuge in Fort St. David, twenty miles away, were taken prisoner, and the single fort which sheltered their more daring companions, remained the sole English post in southern India. Even that foothold was precarious. The French refused to give up Madras to the Nawab, beat off his force, and pushed forward to besiege Fort St. David. There only a quarrel between their leaders, with the arrival of an English fleet and Major Lawrence with four thousand troops, relieved the garrison from the fate of Madras.

To the conflict whose fortunes varied so widely at the extremities of empire, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle gave pause. Madras was exchanged for Louisburg, and the fate of India, as that of Canada, was reserved for the future. Yet despite the inconclusive character of this phase of the war, the lines of later conflict were laid down. In India the English were awakened to the fact that the peninsula was

The Peace
of Aix-la-
Chapelle
1748

ripe for a new conqueror. The French activities had not merely shown the strength of a great European power, backed by a fleet and Sepoy troops, and exercising its diplomacy among native princes; but the necessity of following the same course if English status in the East was to be preserved. And if the landing of an army in India marked an epoch in her eastern affairs, the activity of her colonists in the West portended a new era in world politics. However negligible they appeared to European eyes, such events as the co-operation of colonial and English troops was an affair of no less consequence than the appearance of Russian forces on the Rhine; and the division of spheres of influence in North and South America was an event quite comparable to the concurrent rise of Prussia in the European scale.

The
Diplomatic
Revolution
1748-56

1746

1750

But while events at the extremity of the European world were thus unconsciously re-shaping the destinies of the powers involved, there was preparing in Europe itself a readjustment of alliances which was to revolutionize the political situation of the entire continent. Seldom has the history of international affairs revealed so remarkable a phenomenon as that series of treaties which established two great leagues preparing to plunge the world again into conflict. It had begun simply enough. Before the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maria Theresa concluded a treaty with Russia which brought the forces of Elizabeth into the war. England joined in; and Frederick, in reply, had come to an agreement with Sweden. After the peace this process was continued. The diplomacy of Kaunitz, seconded by the open contempt of Frederick for women in politics, drew the French king's mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, to look with favor upon Austria. With this was perfected a scheme which, to Austrian eyes, promised to heal the long Hapsburg-Bourbon enmity, and enable Austria to avenge herself upon the Prussian king. Nor was this Diplomatic Revolution, as it was called, less remarkable for the circumstance that it was the alliance of three women against a man who despised them all.

The third
Silesian
War

But the fine-wrought schemes of European diplomats were scarcely in train before the action of men far beyond their

ken brought them to naught. The Russian treaty was hardly signed when French and English were at war again in India and contending for supremacy in North America. The logic of facts was irrefutable. Whatever George II's anxiety for his Hanoverian possessions, the fear of England for her position in North America and India was greater still. It was no longer possible, as it had been even a century before, for Europe to ignore colonial rivalries. These had become a part of the European system; and disturbance in the remotest regions now reacted decisively on the center of affairs. George II hastened to conclude a neutral agreement with Prussia; Kaunitz took advantage of the indignation at Versailles to sign a defensive treaty with France; and, in the final resolution of alliances, England and Prussia, with four lesser German powers, stood opposed to Austria, Russia, France, and the remaining states of the Empire. Such were the antagonists in the conflict which was to determine finally the possession of Silesia and the position of Prussia in Europe. 1756

It was, indeed, to determine much more; for it was, in effect, a twofold duel. In Europe it was a struggle between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern to establish not merely the ownership of Silesia but their respective positions in Germany. In India and America the supremacy of France or England was now at stake.

One may not say that "black men fought each other on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America" that Frederick "might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend"; nor yet that England was to try to "conquer America in Germany." Had England and France had no concern with the relations of Prussia and Austria, the Silesian question would none the less have plunged Germany into war. Had Frederick and Maria Theresa remained friends, the French and English in the Carnatic and the Ohio valley would still have drawn their governments into conflict. And it is a striking commentary on the altered importance of colonial affairs that a little-known governor of Pondicherry, Dupleix, an obscure clerk

of the East India Company, Robert Clive, and an unheard-of Virginian, George Washington, should at this juncture have become figures of no less importance in European destinies than the rulers who reckoned themselves the sole arbiters of those fortunes.

England
and France
in India
1748

The events which finally determined the status of England and France in the approaching conflict, almost in spite of themselves, were widely separated in distance and character. First in time, if not in importance, was the situation of affairs in India. There in the year of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the death of the Nizam ul Mulk, Subadhar or viceroy of the Deccan, had precipitated the first of those questions of disputed succession which were to form the entering wedge of European interference in Indian politics. Dupleix was quick to seize the opportunity, the more so in that a similar situation arose at the same moment in the Carnatic. Espousing the cause of the two pretenders, he supplied them with troops and a capable commander; and with this aid the Nawab of the Carnatic was defeated and killed and his capital occupied by his enemies. Despite English support, the rightful heir maintained himself with difficulty in Trichinopoly while the French candidate seized the royal power. In the following year the same policy compassed the death of the viceroy of the Deccan and the elevation of the French candidate to his place. In return Dupleix secured the government of a territory along the Coromandel coast but little smaller than France, the sole right of coinage in the Carnatic, and virtual dictation over the Nizam's policy. At once he directed all his strength against Trichinopoly, whose fall would give into his hands the rightful heir of the Carnatic, and enable him to throw all the power thus gained against the English.

1749

From the apparent destruction which awaited it the Company was preserved by an extraordinary character. In the year that the war between England and France had begun there had arrived in Madras an English boy of nineteen, one Robert Clive, as a clerk or writer. Thence a year later, when the place was taken by the French, he had fled with

Clive
1725-74

his fellows to Fort St. David, where, disgusted with the civil service, he became an ensign of foot, and gained some small distinction. Re-entering the civil department on the conclusion of the peace, he found, on his return from a visit to Bengal, that war had again broken out and that the French were besieging Trichinopoly. Putting himself at the head of five hundred men he threw himself into Arcot, and there held out for fifty days against ten thousand natives and French, until he was relieved by a Mahratta chief, employed to aid the heir to the Carnatic. Pursuing his besiegers, with the aid of Lawrence he relieved Trichinopoly. The French thereupon recognized the English candidate and the English claims in the Carnatic; and Dupleix, defeated in the ambitions which had so nearly given him preponderance in India, returned to France to die in poverty and disgrace. 1751

Such was the first stage in the conflict for Indian supremacy; and had these circumstances alone filled the years of the Diplomatic Revolution, Anglo-French relations, however strained, might not have been broken. But what the Carnatic was to India, the Ohio valley had meanwhile become to America. Though the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored Acadia to France, it had left a heritage of dispute over the boundaries of French and English possessions, which, within five years, brought the colonists again to blows. If the French claimed the Ohio region by virtue of discovery, the English regarded the territory as theirs by virtue of the original grants; and each side prepared for the maintenance of its claims in characteristic fashion. As the conflict in India wore to a close, France despatched a new governor, the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, to Canada, with instructions to secure the communications between the St. Lawrence settlements and those on the lower Mississippi, by way of the Ohio. At the same time the chain of forts up the St. Lawrence from Quebec and Montreal to the Great Lakes was strengthened, and, on Duquesne's arrival, he hastened to anticipate the danger of an English advance by a line of fortified posts from Niagara to the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. 1752

England
and France
in America

On their part the English continued their old policy, in sharp distinction from that of France. Scarcely was the
1749 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle signed and Louisburg returned to France, when there arrived in Nova Scotia more than two thousand emigrants, discharged soldiers and sailors, with workmen and their families to establish a new settlement; and there, at Chebucto, now re-named Halifax, was begun a town and a fortress to challenge the supremacy of Louisburg. At
1750 the same time the Virginia colonists had hastened to organize a corporation to exploit the chief potential source of wealth in the new world, the great forest tracts stretching westward from the Alleghenies. This so-called Ohio Company, whose establishment gave no less offense to the French than the foundation of Georgia had given to the Spaniards a dozen years before, now began to extend its operations into the lands debatable. The conflict arising from the Anglo-French rivalry was not long delayed. The governor of Virginia despatched a young planter who had had experience in the field, George Washington, to protest against the French advance; and, finding his mission unsuccessful, sent him with
1744 two hundred frontiersmen to occupy the French objective, the forks of the Ohio. A sharp clash ensued between the French vanguard and Washington's command. The latter were victorious, but the advance of the main body of the French made their position untenable; and, at the moment that a French emissary landed in Coromandel to complete the negotiations between his government and the English authorities in India, the French secured the coveted strategic point by the construction of Fort Duquesne.

With this obscure skirmish in the wilds of the Ohio, which began the most far-reaching war the world had yet seen, and introduced to European eyes the man who twenty years later was to become a commanding figure in the European world, the English were roused to action. A conference of colonial representatives was held at Albany to confer with the Six Nations, and to concert measures of defense against the French peril. Upon the suggestion of a member from Pennsylvania of much fame thereafter, one Benjamin Frank-

lin, the Albany congress further signalized the occasion by drawing up a tentative, though, as it proved, an abortive plan of union. At the same time the English government despatched General Braddock with two regiments of regulars to Virginia to co-operate with the colonists. France countered this move by sending out a like force under General Dieskau, with the new governor Vaudreuil, and thus equipped, each side began active hostilities. 1754-5

In America the English planned a triple attack. To Braddock was intrusted the reduction of Fort Duquesne; to the Indian commissioner in New York, Johnson, the seizure of Crown Point on Lake Champlain; to the governor of Massachusetts, Shirley, the capture of Fort Niagara; while a combined fleet and land force was to operate against Acadia and Louisburg. But Braddock, unaccustomed to border war, was ambushed, defeated, and killed in his attempt against Duquesne, and his force was preserved from destruction only by the abilities and exertions of Washington and his frontiersmen. On the other hand, Johnson drove back Dieskau, and the English quickly overran Acadia and deported its inhabitants. The new French commander, Montcalm, captured Fort George and Fort Oswego, and parried the English blow, secured his front and saved Niagara and Crown Point for the time being from his enemies. Immediately each side began to fortify. The French strengthened Crown Point and began a new fortress at Ticonderoga on Lake George; while to oppose them, the English built forts William and Henry to protect New England and New York along that important line of communication which had become one of the strategic points of the world. Not content with this, each extended its lines westward, the English in Georgia and Carolina as far as Tennessee, the French as far as Illinois, and the whole eastern portion of North America thus became a field of conflict. 1755-6 —America

In January, 1756, England concluded a treaty of neutrality with Prussia which broke her Russian engagements. In May, France signed with Austria the defensive alliance which grew from this reversal of English policy. In June, The Seven Years' War 1756-63

England and France were at war in Europe; and in August, Frederick, advised of his antagonists' designs, invaded Saxony, took Dresden, and poured his troops across the Bohemian frontier to strike at Austria before the coalitions formed to crush him could unite their forces. In those same months the Earl of Loudon had been despatched to the command of English armies in America; and the Marquis de Montcalm to lead the French in Canada. At the same moment that the Prussian king invaded Saxony, and Montcalm had captured the English fort of Oswego which guarded Lake Ontario, in India, news reached Madras that Suraj ud Dowlah, Nawab of Bengal, had seized Calcutta, crowded a hundred and forty English, whom he found there, into a single dungeon, the Black Hole of Calcutta, whence the next morning scarce twenty emerged alive; garrisoned the city with his troops, and decreed that no Englishman thenceforth should enter his domains. In such wise began the Seven Years' War, greatest and last of the dynastic-colonial conflicts in which Europe was engaged.

1756

—India
1756

Meanwhile, the struggle was extended to the sea and India. The French capture of Minorca was balanced by English success against Dominica. Clive, who had been hurriedly despatched by the English government as lieutenant-colonel, co-operated with Admiral Watson's fleet, engaged in suppressing piracy in the Indian seas, to retake Calcutta. They drove the French from their Bengalese post of Chandernagore; thus securing English power in the Ganges delta.

—Europe

1757

At the same time France, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and the Empire threw themselves on Prussia, England, and their German allies, at first with every prospect of success. The second twelvemonth of the great war increased that confidence. Frederick's invasion of Bohemia, despite initial victory, was turned to a retreat by Austrian advance. On the one side the Russians crushed his army at Gross Jägerndorf; on the other, the French defeated his allies at Hastenbeck; and only his victory over the Imperialists and his repulse of the Austrians held his enemies in check. Abroad, Montcalm took Forts William and Henry and opened the way to

the Hudson; while a French fleet, aided by dissensions between the colonists and their governors, paralyzed Anglo-colonial activities.

Only in India, the English cause, sustained by Clive's —India
genius, maintained itself. There a conspiracy against Suraj
ud Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, led to his betrayal and
defeat in the decisive battle of Plassey. This was followed 1757
by his capture and execution; his place was filled by the
English candidate, Mir Jafir; the Company was granted huge
concessions by the puppet viceroy, including the so-called
zemindar or landlord rights over the rich Ganges delta from
Calcutta to the sea. Clive gained corresponding honors and
rewards; and English dominion in Bengal was finally assured.
Thus, after two years of war, save for Indian success, the
scale still balanced against the Anglo-Prussian alliance.

But at this moment a new force appeared in European Pitt
politics, with the accession of the English secretary of state, 1708-78
William Pitt, to full power in the conduct of the war. Grand-
son of a famous early governor of Madras, educated partly
at Eton and Oxford, partly by travel on the continent,
serving for a time as cornet of horse, he had entered Parli-
ament, married an heiress of the great Whig family of
Greville, and, joining the opponents of Walpole, had come
into office on the fall of that minister. His eloquence, his
courage, his genius for popular appeal, his extraordinary
self-confidence, his ability to conceive wide plans of conquest
and to choose able commanders to form and carry out far-
reaching combinations, were soon evident as determining
factors in the great conflict. "I am convinced," he said,
"that I can save England and that no one else can." "Eng-
land has labored long," wrote Frederick the Great, "but she
has at last brought forth a man."

The Prussian king had reason to rejoice. Scarcely was
Pitt in control when England granted him an annual subsidy
which enabled his country to recruit her far-spent forces;
while he was relieved from the task of defending western
Germany against the French by the formation of an Anglo-
Hanoverian army. At the same time Clive was appointed

The fall
of New
France

1758

governor of Bengal and steps were taken to oppose the French advance in North America. The colonies were called upon for twenty thousand men and were reinforced by twelve thousand troops and a fleet from England. The effect was soon apparent. Though Montcalm was able to repulse the English from Ticonderoga, Fort Frontenac fell into their hands and with it the control of the Lakes. Forbes captured Fort Duquesne, re-named Pittsburg. Finally, after two months of resistance, the great fortress of Louisburg succumbed again to the joint attack of English and colonial forces, and with its fall the control of the Canadian maritime provinces, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island passed into English hands. Meanwhile, upon the continent, defeating the Russians and in turn defeated by the Austrians, the Prussian king maintained himself in Saxony and Silesia.

1759

Such was the first result of the revived Anglo-Prussian activities. More was to come. Following up their success in America, the English captured, almost at the same moment, Fort Niagara, last of the French strongholds on the eastern great lakes, and Ticonderoga, which dominated the road along Lake George and Lake Champlain. French power was now hemmed in its strongholds of Montreal and Quebec. Against the latter, Major General Wolfe directed his attack, and, finding his way by night up the steep cliff on which the city stands, a final engagement on the Plains of Abraham beat down the last resistance of the French. His death at the moment of the victory was more than balanced by the fall of his great antagonist, for with Montcalm's departure French resistance collapsed. Quebec surrendered, and, within a year all Canada, including Montreal, came into English hands. Scarcely had the news from Quebec reached England when Hawke's naval victory of Quiberon Bay rendered France all but helpless on the sea.

1760

English
success
in India

There was one further triumph of the year of victories. With the defeat of the Dutch allies of the French in India, the English turned against their greater antagonist. What Montcalm was to French North America, Lally de Tollendal was to

French India. Despatched to Pondicherry, he had revived the energies of Dupleix's old system, reorganized its troops, and hastened to besiege Trichinopoly. Against him Clive's chief subordinate, Colonel Coote, hastened from Madras, and took Wandewash, which Lally hurried to besiege. There, four months after the fall of Quebec, the English, sallying from the town, drove Lally's army from its intrenchments, and sealed the fate of France in India. The resulting capture of Arcot, and the siege and capture of Pondicherry within a twelvemonth completed their destruction. Thus, at the same moment that Canada passed to British hands, the English became the dominant European power in the Indian peninsula. 1760

Meanwhile, the struggle on the continent had continued with varying fortunes. On the west, at the same moment that the outer lines of French resistance in America were being forced, the Anglo-German army overthrew the French at Minden, while within a fortnight Frederick himself suffered his heaviest reverse at Kunersdorf from Austro-Russian troops. The following year, while England was busy securing her authority in Canada and in India, the victories of Liegnitz and Torgau once more turned the balance in favor of Frederick despite the Russian occupation of his capital. 1759 1760

But at this juncture another change in English politics altered the fortunes of the combatants. At the moment the Russians occupied Berlin, George II died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. With that began a revolution in English affairs. Supporting and supported by the Whigs, George II had favored the Prussian alliance and the war. His son, opposed at nearly every point to his father, had died, and the young prince who now came to the throne, influenced by the family feud, had been brought up under the domination of the rival Tory school. His strong if narrow intelligence, trained in the doctrines of royal supremacy, reinforced by his own skill in politics and the slow-rising antagonism to a war which England, with all her victories, had found a huge burden on her resources, turned naturally to peace. In this he was supported by the more powerful George III 1760-1820

1761

of the Whig nobility who now controlled the cabinet, and Pitt's eloquence and determination beat in vain upon the resolution of the interests determined to conclude the long conflict. The Prussian subsidy was stopped, the war languished, till a twelvemonth saw no more activity than the capture of two fortresses by Frederick's enemies.

The
Treaty of
St. Peters-
burg
1762

The situation of the Prussian king was now all but desperate. His armies were reduced by incessant conflict, the national morale depressed by the loss of the capital, the finances disorganized by failure of the English subsidy; and, deprived of support on nearly every side, Frederick was saved from destruction only by another turn of fortune's wheel. The death of the Czarina Elizabeth, at the beginning of the sixth year of the war, brought to the head of Russian affairs Peter III, an admirer of Frederick. Almost at once, he signed a truce which was transformed into the Treaty of St. Petersburg. Peace with Sweden followed, and, though the deposition of Peter placed Catherine II on the Russian throne, and deprived Prussia of the assistance Peter III had given, Russia virtually retired from the war, and Frederick, thus relieved of pressure from that side, was able again to defeat the Austrians.

The
Peace of
Huberts-
burg and
Paris
1763

1761-2

Meanwhile, England and France had slowly come to terms. Pitt, driven from office by the cabinet's refusal to enter war with Spain, found his policy justified by a secret agreement between the branches of the Bourbon house which now brought Spain into the war. But she entered only into a heritage of disaster. Relieved of French antagonism in the east and west, flushed with her recent victories, and strong in the power and the prestige which success had brought, the onward rush of England's power was not to be denied. The capture of Canada had been followed by the occupation of the French West Indies. Anglo-colonial troops took Martinique, Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the smaller islands. Turning thence against the Spanish power, within six months Havana was in their hands and, on the other side of the world, four months later, Manila was taken by a British fleet. Before the news of that crowning success

reached Europe, the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon between England and France at Fontainebleau; and six months later, the Peace of Paris brought the Anglo-French-Spanish conflict to an end. In the same week the treaties of Hubertsburg closed the long war between the eastern powers, and the European world found itself again at peace.

Seldom has any war produced more far-reaching effect on European affairs. On the continent itself, the territorial changes were not remarkable, if one considers the magnitude of the struggle and the number of interests involved. Minorca was exchanged for Belle Isle, and Silesia remained in Frederick's iron grasp, whence seven years of conflict had been unable to wrest it. But if that conquered province was of no great extent when measured beside the forces involved in its possession, its value to Prussia was not to be estimated in terms of area or population. It did more than add to Frederick's kingdom the upper reaches of the Oder; it became a symbol of Prussia's title to be ranked among the first-rate powers of the continent. The most that the house of Hapsburg could set against its loss was Frederick's vote for the Archduke Joseph for the title of King of Rome, which was the stepping-stone to that of Emperor; and to offset this shadowy honor, Austria was forced to recognize a rival in the leadership of Germany.

Its results
—in
Europe

But the changing ownership of Silesia, even the recognition of Prussia's position in European polity, paled before the changes wrought in colonial affairs by the peace which forms one of the great landmarks in the history of the extra-European world. To the followers of Pitt, indeed, the treaties into which England entered seemed no less humiliating than the Treaty of Utrecht half a century before, whether they considered the conquests she had made, the territory she then held, or her capacity to maintain the position she had won. There was on the face of affairs, indeed, some basis for such a feeling. In return for the cession of Florida, England restored Havana and Manila to Spain; in Africa, for Senegal she gave up Goree to France; in India, she handed

—overseas

back her conquests with virtually no conditions; in the West Indies, which lay at her mercy, she retained only Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada.

The
position of
England

But despite what Pitt and his party regarded as criminal weakness, England secured her two great objects in the war. The first was her supremacy in India, the second was undisputed possession of the eastern part of North America. France regained, indeed, her scattered Indian posts, but it was a barren gift. Shorn at once of their prestige and power, Pondicherry and its dependencies sank to the status of Goa and Diu, and French authority in the peninsula thenceforth rivaled in impotence that of Portugal. Whatever the future of Indian empire, England was prepared to bid for the domination of the peninsula.

Louisiana

Nor was her position in America less firmly established by the peace. To Spain, in recompense for her loss of Florida, France ceded Louisiana—that huge territory which, stretching from New Orleans to the unknown headwaters of the Missouri and its confluent, embraced the greater part of the vast plains between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, an empire a fourth as large as Europe. Joined to her other possessions, Spain thus obtained all but undisputed possession of western North America, from Mexico to the Arctic, from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

But if Spain now held title to two-thirds of the continent, the remaining third which fell into English hands comprised the land then the most valuable in all the world for European settlement. From Key West to Hudson's Bay, England now held the coast line. From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Ohio, and the lands about the Great Lakes, added to the possession of her own colonies, gave her command of all but unlimited areas for colonization. Thence she could draw those products of forests, farms, and fisheries, invaluable to any island nation like that of the English, dependent for its growth on raw products for its expanding manufactures, on food for its people, and on markets for its goods. What was, perhaps, still more important was the triumph of the British West Indian sugar-





planting interest in this great settlement, which was not inaptly called the Sugar Peace. By it their monopoly was virtually secured within the British Empire and their control of the North American market assured. The northern colonists were thus restricted to the British West Indies for sugar, as they were to India for tea, and to England for manufactured articles. The exchange of Canada for Great Britain's conquests in the West Indies had obvious advantages. It eliminated the dangers which had long threatened the northern frontier from French and Indian attack; it opened a vast territory and trade to British enterprise; it deprived the natives of their chief support against English advance to the west. At the same time it confirmed the West Indian planters in their monopoly, which would have been seriously impaired by the introduction of competition from the other islands or the extension of the sugar industry to wider areas. But the limitations thus placed upon the northern colonies planted the seeds of deep and bitter discontent, and it is questionable whether it would not have been wiser for England to keep her West Indian gains and antagonize the planting interest. It is perhaps too much to say that the disturbances which soon broke out in the thirteen original English colonies in North America are directly traceable to the Peace of Paris. Yet it is unquestionably true that the limitations then imposed upon the northern colonists by the selfish policy of the planters helped to fan that discontent with British administration which found more forcible expression in the later trouble over tea. Sugar played but little part in the future discussions, but it deserves its place beside tea in any account of the disagreements which arose out of the great plan of a self-contained and self-supporting empire which now took form in English policy. But with all this, great as were England's concessions, her gains were greater still; and loud were the clamors for continuance of the war. The fullness of conquest, the interruption of trade, and, above all, the huge and growing burden of expense, drowned the clamor. The fall of Pitt, indeed, deprived her of the services of a great minister; but, as events were to prove, his work was

done. For the great problems of readjustment and reorganization his genius was ill-suited; and the hero who had ridden the whirlwind and directed the storm found in his popularity only the means to embarrass a government unable to replace him with a peace minister of equal gifts.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

THE two decades of world war which resulted from the ambitions of Frederick the Great are memorable in history for more than the far-spreading conflict which began with his attack upon the Hapsburg dominions. In the career and character of the Prussian king, as in the activities of Louis XIV, appeared the apotheosis of royal and dynastic interest, which, associating itself with the principle of nationality, had found in that deeper and more enduring force the support necessary to achieve its aims. There was, indeed, as the future was to prove, no necessary connection between these two great elements; nor were the peoples which were thus enlisted in the cause of ruling houses through the appeal to their national aspirations, to remain forever bound to the fortunes of those families which had seized upon the national spirit to achieve their own aggrandizement. Even at the moment that the Prussian king planned and executed his great designs against the peace and the balance of power on the continent, there was prepared in the hands of the so-called philosophers a movement which was destined to be the principal antagonist of the spirit and practices of which Frederick was the greatest exponent. And even while he, his allies, and his enemies fought for the domination of the European world, there was being developed in lands beyond the sea a society which was, within a brief generation, to upset the whole system of political theory and practice so carefully prepared.

Had the peoples of Europe during the Age of Frederick the Great had no other concern than armed conflict, the years which saw Prussia attain the rank of a first-rate power, and

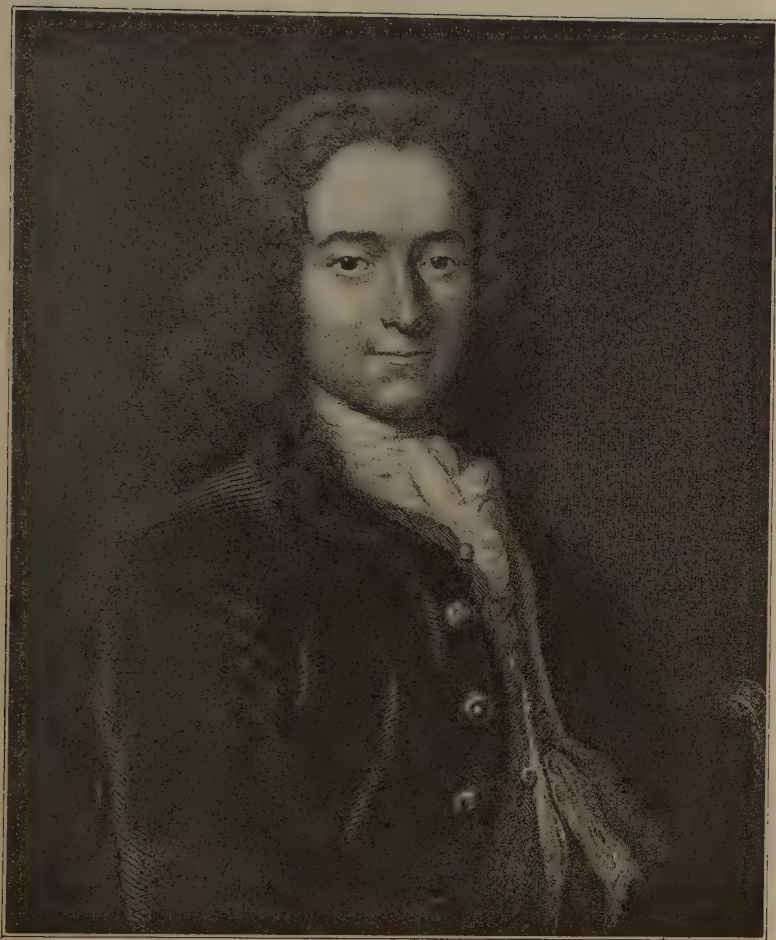
The philosophers

England secure the primacy of the colonial world, would remain one of the great epochs of European history. But this was far from the fact. At the same time that the political balance of the world was thus readjusted, an advance along new lines of thought and practice in nearly every department of human activity proclaimed the middle decades of the eighteenth century the dawn of a new era in human affairs. If empire-builders like Clive and Pitt laid the foundations for world-wide English dominion, if a monarch like Frederick the Great altered the balance of European polity, thinkers and writers like Montesquieu and Rousseau prepared a new basis for men's conceptions of society and government. Diderot and his associates of the *Encyclopédie* established new canons of knowledge and taste. Quesnay and the French Physiocrats introduced a new economy; and a long list of inventors, discoverers, and scientists pushed back the bounds thus far set to man's knowledge. If this was the Age of Frederick the Great, it was no less the Age of Voltaire; and beside the victories of Anglo-Prussian arms may well be set those triumphs of the mind through which even the changes in political boundaries scarcely kept pace with the emancipation of the intellect.

Montes-
quieu
1689-1755

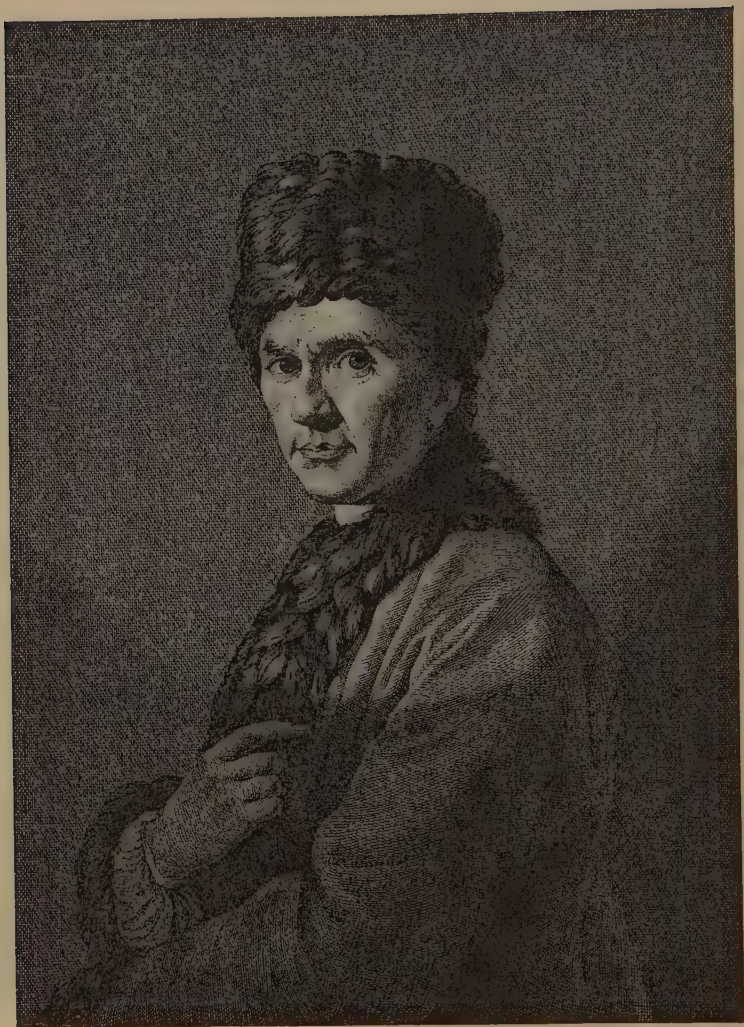
1748

At the moment that Europe signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, two events, destined to be of far greater effect than the treaty which then absorbed the men of politics, took place within the world of letters. The first was the appearance of a work entitled *L'Esprit des Lois*, from the pen of Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et Montesquieu, by which last name he is most generally known. Inspired and informed by long experience and wide reading, its brilliant style gave to this exposition of government and law a wide audience and still wider influence. Basing himself on the doctrine that government and law should accord with the character and circumstances of the people which they rule, he declared that the "conjunction of wills of individuals constitutes a state." However modified and disguised, this new expression of that political philosophy which was a development of Locke's theories, inevitably strengthened doc-



VOLTAIRE.

From a portrait by Largillière.



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

From an engraving by J. E. Nochez, after A. Ramsay.

trines of popular sovereignty against the absolutist school. A rational reformer, moderate even to timidity, his conclusions based on reason and investigation as against authority, Montesquieu became one of the founders of modern political science, and, as it was to prove, despite his own disclaimer, the prophet of a new order.

At the same time the allied field of economic thought felt a fresh impulse. Against the mercantilist school which held that a nation's wealth depended on its store of precious metals and a balance of trade in its favor, the Physiocrats, headed by Cantillon, Quesnay, and Vincent, laid stress on agriculture and the freedom of commerce. "Laissez faire" took its place among the shibboleths of the rising science of political economy, with Quesnay's dictum that every man should be free to cultivate whatever his interest, means, and circumstances made most profitable. Such was the economic protest against authority, reverting, like that of Montesquieu, to the "order of nature" in its attack upon restriction and privilege. With all its fallacies it was a powerful weapon against the restrictive doctrines of mercantilism. For it emphasized the "productive" labors which added to the store of raw materials, and so tended to elevate agriculture; and while it depreciated the "sterile" activities of commerce and manufacturing, it pleaded for that "jus naturæ" which should emancipate industry from the bonds which had so long hampered its progress.

The Physiocrats

What Montesquieu was to law and government, what the Physiocrats were to political economy, the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau were to society. In the decade preceding the Peace of Paris, this strange, wandering genius formulated his philosophy in a series of extraordinary books which ranged from the *Confessions* of his ill-regulated life, through disquisitions on the *Inequality of Men*, and tractates on education, to his crowning work, the *Contrat Social*. Through all his writing ran the strain that was inspiring men in other fields, "return to nature." Man, born free, he saw about him everywhere in chains, to custom, to convention, above all, to government; and he protested against all the artificialities

Rousseau
1712-78

1762

by which men were constrained, in home life as in artistic taste, in education as in government. Seeking the cause of this enslavement to authority, he strove to reconstruct the origins of society and the state with his theory of a primitive social control, "which, hardening with time, had ceased to be a compact among individuals but had become a tyranny which crushed out liberty and equality." Wild, sentimental, and extravagant, his doctrines touched a class but little moved by the more serious philosophies. Influenced by his rhetoric, children were released from the absurd conventions which made them old before their time; court and royalty played at shepherd's life; painters, like gardeners, took nature as their model; and life, like education, felt the quickening impulse of a genius which, ignorant of government and society alike, managed to revolutionize them both.

Diderot
and the
Encyclo-
pedists

1748-72

Such were the three great forces in this period which strove against intrenched formal authority. To them were added two more of no less consequence. At the same time that the new knowledge and spirit discovered fresh fields for exercise of man's intelligence, another influence was busy mapping and organizing the conquest. This was the famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and his associates. Projected in the year which saw the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the appearance of the *Spirit of the Laws*, volume by volume through two decades, this monumental work brought to men's hands the principal results of the intellectual progress of the times. To his assistance Diderot summoned the leaders of French thought, the ablest of her administrators, Turgot, the mathematician, d'Alembert, the physiocrat, Quesnay, and the so-called philosophers, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. His work was opposed by the clergy, especially the Jesuits. It was officially repressed by the authorities, who privately, none the less, protected its promoters and connived at its appearance; and it became, in consequence, the most important publication of its kind in history, no less remarkable in the political than in the literary world. Striving to create and guide opinion as well as to impart knowledge, it based its whole existence on reason and investigation. Its pages echoed

the great conflict of ideas then convulsing the European world; and, translated into nearly every European tongue, it carried everywhere the doctrines of that school whose thought made Paris the intellectual capital of the continent.

Nor was this all of this great renaissance in social and political thought. At the same time that Diderot, with his wide range of learning and his profound interest in the individual man, instructed and illuminated Europe no less by his reflective and critical essays than by the direction of the work of his colleagues on the *Encyclopédie*, the star of Voltaire was rising to the zenith of its ascendancy. For him the tide of fortune had now turned. He was chosen to the French Academy, given a post at court, and summoned to be the guest of Frederick the Great at Berlin. He finally took up his residence in Switzerland and devoted himself wholly to literature. There, on his estate of Ferney, as a citizen of Europe he was visited by half the notables of the continent, seeking advice, inspiration, or the gratification of their curiosity. Remaining a prodigy he became a sage; and grew to a stature which made him "less a man than a movement like the Renaissance or Reformation," as his penetrating satire and his destructive criticism prepared the way for the constructive work of his great contemporaries and successors.

The
triumph of
Voltaire
1748-78

Such were the principal influences which remodeled European thought during the momentous years of continental and colonial wars. Nor were the achievements of French intellect, which rose to eminence as the political power of the state declined, confined to literature and politics. In the same twelvemonth which saw the appearance of the *Spirit of the Laws* and the prospectus of the *Encyclopédie*, was published the first volume of the *Natural History* of George Leclerc, Comte de Buffon. This, completed more than fifty years later, filled the same place in the realm of natural science as Diderot's encyclopedia in the world of letters and affairs. Too vast to be in all parts accurate, hasty in generalization, not seldom ornate to the point of turgidity in style, his work was of profound importance in two ways. It in-

Buffon
1707-88

1749

d'Alembert
1717-83

spired a widespread attention to nature, and it laid down the proper principle of investigation, pointing out that "the condition of the globe is the result of a succession of changes." With this premise he drew attention to "the phenomena by which these changes can be unraveled." In this he not merely laid the foundations for that doctrine of evolution which later generations were to erect into the chief principle of their scientific creed, but began the serious study of geology. Here Buffon was but the most conspicuous of a great school then busied in exploring the secrets of the universe. The mathematical and physical researches of d'Alembert revealed new laws governing solid and liquid bodies, and simplified the solution of dynamic problems by establishing the principle which still perpetuates his name among physicists. His study of the air in motion led to his theory of wind. His solution of the mystery of the precession of the equinoxes and of planetary perturbations, no less than his contributions to the history of science and to its philosophy, spread his fame throughout the continent. And however little his name may be remembered by a generation which owes so much to his talents, it is significant of the interest of his time in such matters that he was invited by Frederick the Great to settle in Berlin, and by Catherine of Russia to become the tutor to her son.

Franklin
1706-90

But if in d'Alembert many divergent streams of European science, politics, and even theology were joined, to these the career of the American Franklin added another element, that of the contribution of the extra-European world to the progress of society and knowledge. With the appearance in the English *Gentleman's Magazine* of the so-called "Philadelphia experiments," by which the identity of lightning and electricity was confirmed, there was brought to European notice not merely a tremendous and far-reaching contribution to its knowledge, but the extraordinary and characteristic figure of the colonial scientist-publicist. In his native land he had already achieved a conspicuous position as printer, postmaster, diplomat, and public benefactor. He was presently to rise to world-wide eminence in fields widely different from

the experiments which first brought him an invitation to the court of France. For his long efforts to unite the English colonies in opposition to the mother country led to political activities which were to bring him again into European view as the greatest of diplomats yet bred outside of Europe.

Beside these more conspicuous figures now taking their place among the leaders of the world of thought, labored a host of other investigators in whose hands the foundations of knowledge, and presently of practice, were wholly revolutionized. Linnæus, with his establishment of systematic botany; Condillac, the founder of the modern school of logic and psychology,—as opposed to the so-called “innate ideas” of Descartes and Spinoza—and a contributor to the young science of economics; Hunter, who from his practice as a surgeon in London set medical education on a new plane; Celsius, Fahrenheit, and Réaumur, who first established “degrees” of heat on the thermometer, were but a few of the names which illuminated the eighteenth century scientific renaissance. Yet a mere catalogue of names and achievements, however long, but feebly represents the progress of Europe in this period. More powerful than any personality were the movements and the institutions to which these men of genius gave rise.

It is impossible to estimate the force of the principles of rationalism vitalized by Voltaire and his followers; the influence of Montesquieu on politics and administration, of Diderot on taste and knowledge, of Rousseau on society, of the Physiocrats on economic thought and practice. It is only possible to say that these revolutionized continental thought and laid the foundations for still more revolutionary practice. But we may trace the tendency of the times concretely in the establishment of institutions. In London the government founded the British Museum on the collections of Sir Hans Sloane; while under the inspiration of Hunter, the London School of Surgery closely followed the beginning of a like school in Paris. In Dresden the splendid picture-gallery of Augustus I was increased and became the basis of an Academy of Arts, which, with the development of

Galleries,
museums,
and
academies

Munich along the same lines, made Saxony and Bavaria the artistic centers of Germany.

1741

These activities were not confined to the west. Under Linnaeus's inspiration the Stockholm Academy came into existence. The Prussian king pensioned d'Alembert and induced a visit of Voltaire to Berlin which begat a quarrel that amused all Europe. Above all, in Russia, the patronage of the Czarina Elizabeth enabled her "minister of literature and the arts" to found the first Russian university at Moscow, and the St. Petersburg Academy of the Fine Arts. At the same time the erection of the Winter Palace, the Russian Versailles, typified the rising power of her empire and its introduction into the European circle of intellectual and artistic as well as political interests. To these were added an invitation to Diderot, who, for a time, adorned the Russian capital with his genius; and the foundation of the picture gallery of the Hermitage, which sheltered some of the greatest triumphs of European painters, and further cemented the connection between the culture of Russia and that of her western neighbors.

1757

Education

In no small degree the development of so many intellectual forces had its effect upon education. That department of human activity had suffered as well as gained from the Renaissance and the Reformation. The former had made a cult of classicism and produced a scholastic humanism. The latter, though it had led to the foundation of many institutions of learning, and, by its reflex action, produced the best schoolmasters in Europe, the Jesuits, had not lessened the tendency to make the school a part of the theological propaganda. It had destroyed many of the older seats of learning, and the wars which accompanied and followed it had aided in the destruction. It was not till toward the close of the seventeenth century that the reviving influence of science began to make head against these many obstacles, the chief of which was neither poverty nor doctrine but the idea that these institutions were cisterns in which learning was stored and whence it could be drawn, not fountains whence new streams of knowledge took their rise. The rise of the acade-

mies testified to the desire for such institutions as would devote their efforts to the increase of human acquirements; but it was not until the work of Newton at Cambridge and the foundation of Halle and Göttingen at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century that this idea began to penetrate the educational world. Moreover, such education as there was had tended to remain an aristocratic monopoly. It had created schools for gentlemen like the German Ritterschule rather than provided educational facilities for the poor. But this now began to change, and though it was another century before popular education in the modern sense began to make headway, though even the French philosophers aimed only at the education of the few, there was already stirring that attention to the common man which considered, among other things, the possibility of his having a mind capable and worthy of cultivation.

Perhaps no single circumstance more fully illustrates this widening interest in the finer aspects of civilization than the advance of that art which stands midway between the artistic and the utilitarian—the manufacture of china. Inspired by the success of the Meissen factory in Saxony in working the newly discovered fields of kaolin, most of the famous potteries of Europe were established during this quarter of a century, under royal patronage or private enterprise. Sèvres and Orleans, Chelsea, Derby, Worcester, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg developed hard porcelain comparable or superior to the product of China and Japan; and thus, in another field, brought Europe abreast of the highest achievements of non-European arts and crafts.

While the development in art, literature, philosophy, and in the borderland between art and utility was so remarkable in this period, the attention to more strictly utilitarian activities had meanwhile given promise of still further service to the world. Lying between the age of hand-labor and the use of steam, this was the era which saw the application of scientific knowledge to the extension of man's mastery over nature and her resources which marked the beginning of that peculiar characteristic of the modern world. Frank-

China

1740-65

Applied
science

lin's lightning-rod offered protection against one of man's most dreaded foes. The extraction of gas from coal, though its wide practical application was long delayed, ushered in a series of discoveries of great future value to theoretical as well as applied science. The application of the principle of Newcomen's steam pumping-engine to the propulsion of vessels, however crude its earliest results, was prophetic of a great future. The invention of plated-ware evidenced another and useful extension of theory into practice; while the improvements in knitting machinery revealed the dawn of a new age of industry. At the same time the problem of transportation was attacked. For the labors of the great English engineer, Brindley, and his patron, the Earl of Bridgewater, in the construction of canals, though they represented no novel principle, gave tremendous impetus to the solution of the most pressing problem of an increasing industry—the question of freer access to markets and to sources of supply. With the extension to other parts of Europe of this mode of conveyance long familiar to Holland and France, another element was added to the widening resources of commerce.

But the talents of European peoples were by no means limited to the development of the newer arts and crafts. While the activities of the scientists and inventors had busied themselves with the application of their lately acquired knowledge to problems of industry, the oldest of civilized activities, the cultivation of the soil and the breeding of domestic animals, had begun to experience the same tendencies toward improvement and innovation as the other forms of social activity exhibited. In France the progress of the doctrines of the Physiocrats turned men's attention more and more to the land as the ultimate source of wealth; and, with the introduction of new principles of political economy, they transferred to that field the spirit of the "return to nature" which had been evident in letters and in art. Such movements always characterize periods of excessive refinement or formalism in any age of the world, as a protest against the complexity and artificiality of a too highly organized or too minutely ordered society.

The influence of the Physiocrats extended far beyond letters and political economy; it had a practical influence on the development of French agriculture. But it was in England that this movement took on its chief characteristics and achieved its greatest success. It was associated at first with the development of root crops and their use as food for cattle and sheep. It was continued with the introduction of a new system of cultivation, the so-called "horse-hoeing husbandry." This is associated with the name of the great agricultural innovator, Jethro Tull, who advocated that method of sowing seed in rows and cultivating by "horse hoes," which has become the established practice of modern farming. With it came attention to the use of fertilizers and the rotation of crops, long recognized but now first studied and improved. To these were added experiments in the breeding and the care of cattle and of sheep, and the development of a crude system of seed selection, to improve the stock.

Beside the movements in the domain of letters and politics, even in those of science and the arts, the progress of this elemental occupation of society lacks much of the attractive qualities which make for general interest. Yet in the last resort it yields nothing to any subject in importance to the race; nor did it prove unattractive to many minds, however slowly it found its way into the most conservative of industries. It soon produced a literature of its own, and the Age of Louis XIV is notable for the first agricultural periodical, as the Age of Frederick the Great is remarkable for this Agricultural Revolution, as it came to be called. It enlisted the interest of the great landlord class, among whom Lord "Turnip" Townshend, as he was nicknamed, was conspicuous. It produced the agricultural societies, which thenceforth played an increasing part in rural life. It led to the foundation of cattle-breeders' associations, of no less importance, and, as a natural result, it enormously increased the production of food. Crops grew in number and variety; the weight of cattle and sheep doubled in a century, and their numbers increased in like proportion. England improved the

condition of her own people and became a great exporting country; France, though in a less degree, followed the same course; and Europe generally began a new age of agricultural prosperity. When, within another generation, the improved farming finally established itself, it led to other and more far-reaching social changes; and, among the ultimate results of the Agricultural Revolution, must be reckoned that process of building up those great estates which were to become a characteristic of modern England.

England
and naval
progress

If England led the way in most of this activity as the leading industrial and agricultural society of Europe, it was not to be supposed that, as the principal carrying and commercial agency of the world, her people should not extend their energy into the field of navigation. Nor was this the case, for her advance upon her "other element" was no less marked by her devotion to the interests of navigation. With the general use of Hadley's quadrant, which replaced all other forms, marine surveying and navigation made a great advance. To this Colson's *New Mariners' Kalendar* and Harrison's chronometers contributed no less; and these three most important contributions to the art of seamanship virtually introduced a new age of maritime achievement. The government stimulated the skill of individuals by its prizes for the chronometer, and the offer of a great reward for the discovery of a northwest passage.

Finally, with the appearance of Maskelyne's *Nautical Almanac*, and the perfection of the ship-chronometer, the whole art of seamanship prepared for further change. For, with the invention of copper sheathing, and the development of processes of distilling water on shipboard, no less than the art of determining distances sailed and calculation of latitude and longitude more accurately, was ushered in another era of navigation. These were reflected in the achievements of the sea-captains; for the voyages of Middleton in the Polar regions, and the great exploit of Anson, in addition to the constantly growing traffic throughout the world, evidenced at once the services of science and the spirit of the new race of seamen.

Vessels, meanwhile, increased in tonnage no less than in

numbers. Ships of two thousand tons were no longer curiosities. Guns increased in size and range in like proportion, and the various classes or "rates" of vessels, headed by the so-called "seventy-four," began to take their place in admiralty calculations.

This was especially important to a nation which controlled the greater part of the commerce to North America and India. From the time when, in the preceding century, the English East India Company had begun to build a new type of ship, the so-called East Indiamen, through the eighteenth century, that vessel had been the model for long-distance commerce. It had replaced the older carrack and galleon, and found no rival for its peculiar purposes till the clipper and the steamships of the nineteenth century.

Yet in wider human interest even these yielded to the achievements of the French during this period. They found their chief expression in the exploits of the sons of the great explorer, la Vérendrye, who, following the route already marked to the upper Missouri in North America, penetrated nearly if not quite to the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. Through them and their successors, Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan were reached, and forts erected to secure that rich fur region for France. To meet this threatened competition the Hudson's Bay Company bestirred itself. From York factory its agent, Hendry, journeyed far to the southwest, exploring that region later known as the Northwest Provinces of Canada, and so made his way to "the land of buffalo." Meanwhile, the Russian explorations, begun by Bering, had brought in their train hunters and trappers who pressed southward from the strait which bears the great explorer's name toward the region which in another generation was to be known from its English discoverer as Vancouver. To meet them in this distant quarter of the world came the Spaniards up the California coast and along those fertile valleys which still echo the names of Spanish saints and still preserve the missionary posts by which the southern power established its faith and civilization among the native tribes. Thus everywhere throughout the world, from the re-

The
explorers
1742-63

mote Andes where French scientists sought to determine the figure of the earth by geodetic observations, and the Jesuits pushed their way along the upper Amazon and Orinoco, to this newest of the battlegrounds of commerce, these mid-decades of the eighteenth century saw science and trade unite with religion and colonization to Europeanize the earth.

Such were the lines of human activity which at once undermined the old order and laid foundations for the new, while the political fortunes of Europe were being altered. It was but natural that these events should chiefly affect the people among whom they took their rise, and that the old world should reap the chief reward of its expanding energies. Yet it was inevitable that the colonies, which had become a part of Europe in political affairs, should be stirred into ever greater activity, as widening ripples from the center of the European system spread to the extremities of the earth. In the far-flung empires of Portugal and Spain, relatively removed from the great currents of eighteenth-century thought by distance and the still more insurmountable barriers of their reactionary home governments and faith, these movements, like that of the Reformation, had found small response. But growing emigration, induced by the religious disturbances of the preceding centuries and by the great religious-colonial wars which had ensued, profoundly affected even these regions and their people by the introduction of new elements into the extra-European world. For they had done much to bring the old and new world in closer touch as European population grew beyond the sea. Now, with the entry of colonial peoples into world war between their various governments, a powerful impulse was given toward closer union with the stream of European progress.

Spain

Upon the remnants of the Portuguese empire that influence was insignificant; but Spain was in a different case. Her colonists had aided in the Anglo-Spanish struggle for Caribbean supremacy. Her government had been recompensed for loss of Florida by Louisiana; and, while she had consolidated her North American empire, she had at last been brought into direction relations with the Anglo-Saxon power.

Along the Mississippi, about Vancouver, and in the lands around the Gulf of Mexico her colonists were now matched with the advancing pioneers of English blood. They treated and traded and inevitably absorbed something of the ideas agitating that society. At the same time closer alliance with French interests brought them in touch with the spirit pervading the new school of thought. A slender, growing stream of youth, sent to Europe to be educated, recruited the increasing class of merchants and professional men, forming seed-plots of liberal thought destined in time to spread new doctrines throughout the Empire.

Meanwhile Spain's empire, after a century or more of an existence divided between internal growth and defending itself against its European enemies, gave signs of change. Nor was this due alone to the wars which transferred Florida 1763 to England and gave Spain what was to prove a transient occupation of Louisiana. More important still was the economic development within. The gradual exhaustion of the richer lodes and surface deposits of precious metals in the mining provinces did more than reduce the income of the government; it turned men's energies into other fields. About the Paraguay and Parana, along the upper reaches of the Orinoco, fresh grazing lands were opened, soon covered with ever-increasing flocks and herds. The long ascendancy of miner and planter was challenged by gaucho and llanero, as the herders were called. Wool, hides, and animal products took their place beside gold and silver, cocoa, sugar, and coffee, as leading exports; and new sources of wealth brought new classes into prominence.

This, joined to the effects of the war, produced another important change in government. With the colonies more exposed to foreign attack, as evidenced by the spoil that Anson took in his Pacific venture, it became apparent that civil governors were no longer adequate, and in New Spain, as in Peru, a long succession of army and navy officers held the viceroyalties. It was no less evident that even the construction of new strongholds, like San Juan de Ulloa, which now 1740 took its place among Spanish-American fortresses, was not

Reorgan-
ization of
Spanish
imperial
policy

1739

sufficient to withstand attack; while the growing wealth and population of the Caribbean and Argentine provinces made it increasingly difficult to govern them from Lima. As a result, a new viceroyalty was erected, which from its capital of Bogotá administered the old presidency of Quito and the captain-generalcy of Venezuela.

This was the first step in the reorganization of the Spanish empire. The second was more important still. Whatever the other results of the war, one was conspicuous; it was the declining authority of the home government. Not merely had Spanish and Portuguese colonists entered a war upon their own account over the Argentine-Brazilian boundary, which was then virtually determined; but, in the demoralization of commerce which the conflict with England had involved, they came more and more to take trade into their own hands. The government was powerless to prevent. The oldest Spanish commercial enterprise, the galleon trade, or convoy fleets, was given up. And, as trade restrictions were relaxed, colonists conspired with smugglers to establish a commerce outside official cognizance, which flourished despite the government's attempt at suppression and its encouragement of regulated companies. Finally, among the many readjustments which flowed from the Anglo-Spanish war, the loss of the Asiento, or right to supply slaves, which had been held by England since the Treaty of Utrecht, was another notable instance of the changes then coming over the colonial world.

The
English
North
American
colonies

Yet, with all the spread of new doctrines into the once impenetrable Spanish preserves and with the beginnings of an untrammelled trade which was to shatter the old order, it was less in South America than in the north that the developments of the mid-eighteenth century were important. The northern continent was not only a principal seat of war and its vast reaches of forest and plain one of the chief prizes of victory. Spanish and Portuguese America witnessed at best only the late and hampered efforts of a feeble society to throw off the shackles of the past. But North America, and in particular the English colonies, revealed a new and vigorous society in the making, absorbed not merely in the conflict

against its French and Spanish neighbors for room to expand, but in laying more solid bases for a real national existence.

While the empires of Spain and Portugal remained largely an aristocracy among servile native or African population; while the French in North America formed scarcely more than a garrison; the English, though partaking of these characteristics in their plantation colonies and pioneer settlements, added to them a much more powerful element. Their population in North America alone had doubled and doubled again since the beginning of the century, and, increased by immigration no less than from its own loins, numbered before the end of the war a million and more of European blood. The largest, most compact, and homogeneous body of Europeans outside of the old world, they surpassed their neighbors to the south no less in numbers than in varied resources, and outnumbered their French antagonists twenty to one. Capable of putting more than twenty thousand men into the field, they had become a determining factor in the war just closed.

Their resources were equal to their numbers. Beside their plantation islands in the West Indies, which rivaled the possessions of the French and far exceeded those of the other powers; beside their rice and tobacco fields on the mainland, their pioneers, traders, and trappers who competed with the French in the interior, and the great farming population which had slowly occupied the land from coast to mountains, they had developed other sources of strength. Already there were signs that industrial life had gone beyond the stage in which each family made what it used, wove cloth for its garments, wrought its own iron and lumber, made its own hats and shoes, and raised its own food. The efforts of Parliament, inspired by English commercial interests, to check wider production, failed to suppress a varied industry. From the smelters of the middle colonies some thousands of tons of iron every year found its way to English manufacturers. From the New England distilleries more than a million gallons of rum annually poured into the channels of commerce. Made from West Indian molasses taken in exchange for lumber, fish, and food, it formed in turn a staple of barter

Their
resources

for slaves in Africa and furs in North America. At the same time colonial fleets brought from the Newfoundland Banks increasing wealth of cod, and their whalers, exhausting the rich field along the coast which laid foundations for their industry, pursued their quarry in remoter seas, whence their cargoes of whalebone and of oil still more enriched New England's commerce.

Their
commerce

To carry on these enterprises the shipbuilders, with unlimited supplies of timber to draw on, flourished as more and larger vessels were required for longer and more profitable voyages. Little by little the merchant owner-employer-capitalist developed as enterprises grew in magnitude. From year to year the circle widened. Vessels for Africa exchanged their northern products for slaves, which in turn, exchanged for molasses and sugar, brought great profits from their long voyages. Others again made way to the West Indies, thence to England, and were sold, cargo and ship alike, or again exchanged tropical products for English goods. Still others plied between the northern and southern ports, or back and forth across the Atlantic, as this widening commerce grew.

Their
population

Beside all this, from the mainland plantations poured an evergrowing stream of rice and tobacco; from the West Indies molasses and sugar; while from the forests everywhere, lumber and pitch and potash swelled the commerce of this trade-empire. At the same time that empire rapidly increased. Seeking refuge from persecution or from poverty, or driven out by politics, a great flood of immigrants poured in. To the English, Germans, and Huguenots was added another group as the disturbances in the British Isles during the eighteenth century drove other elements to seek refuge in the new world. Irish and Scotch and Scotch-Irish scattered through the colonies. Scotch and Scotch-Irish, in particular, found their way to the frontiers from Pennsylvania south, and, reinforcing native pioneers, pushed forward rapidly the widening boundaries of new settlement.

Their
expansion

Under such impetus in the year of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the first English post beyond the mountains, was

founded on the Kanawha River. At the same moment land projectors, following the trail of traders and hunters, set up claims to tracts in the transmontane regions known from their rivers as Kentucky and Tennessee. Within a twelve-month a Virginian group had formed the Ohio Company to exploit these western lands. Such was the flood of English colonists whose oncoming tide the French prepared to stem. But not all their gallantry, nor all their forts, still less their claims which they inscribed on leaden plates and planted here and there to attest their rights of sovereignty, could long avail against this powerful and vigorous society which sought new outlets for its numbers and its energy.

Although it was naturally more concerned with farms and factories, with ships and trading—and now with war for territory—than with the less material side of European progress, it was inevitable that intellectual development, art, literature, science, philosophy, should find some welcome in a society so largely European and so closely bound to the old world by ties of language, politics, and trade. Already America had produced one figure of European eminence, Benjamin Franklin. He was a characteristic product of his generation. In local matters, in general provincial affairs, in his relations with the English government and the French court, no less in his proposals to unite the colonies than in his philosophical experiments in electricity, he represented the highest intellectual achievement of Europe beyond the seas. He was one among many. The years of war saw not merely an increase in colonial wealth and population, but no small gain in the first elements of intellectual advance. To the three educational institutions then existing, Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, the period accompanying the war saw five more added, Princeton, Pennsylvania, King's College, Rhode Island College, and Dartmouth, till every northern colony could boast a college. Under Franklin's inspiration the Philadelphia Academy came into being. In Boston, the British officers introduced Freemasonry among the colonists; in Philadelphia the first colonial hospital was established; in Savannah was founded the first orphan

1748

1749

Their intellectual
and
economic
progress
1742-63

asylum; and from his evangelical labors in the South, the eloquent apostle of the new Methodist sect, Whitefield, carried his message through the colonies and laid foundations for a new communion. Against his emotional appeal, so-called Revivalism, New England produced a champion of that stern, unbending school of Calvinistic thought, Jonathan Edwards, the greatest of American theologians. Deriving his conclusions with unfaltering logic from his premise of the sovereignty of God and man's depravity, he epitomized the grimmest features of a belief already at variance with every impulse of the newer thought, and gave to Presbyterianism that rigidity of intellectual conviction which it was slow to lose. Far different was the influence of Bishop Berkeley, who, for some years, made his home in Rhode Island, and there, as in England, developed that system of metaphysics which, in distinction from the materialism to which Descartes and Locke tended, lifted the problems of philosophy to higher levels and paved the way for men like Hume. He introduced the idea of subjective as opposed to merely objective reality; of causation; of a deep spirituality underlying intellectual processes. And this, taken in connection with his humanity and philanthropic character, made this sojourner in the colonies one of the master-spirits of his time.

Colonial
politics
1739-63

Yet with all their interest in trade, settlement, and war, their very real concern with questions of theology, and their slighter achievements in literature and science, the chief intellectual interest of the American colonists lay in the field of politics. The theories of the origin of government, then making way upon the continent, had a peculiar charm for men who felt themselves, however dimly, the founders of a new nation. The doctrine of natural rights strongly attracted those perpetually at war with the restrictions which the mother country imposed, and with the officials sent to administer her laws. Far more than Locke's metaphysics, which inspired Edwards and Berkeley and colonial theologians generally, the colonists laid stress on that philosopher's treatise on government. Nor was this mere theory

with them; for each event in their expanding history gave opportunity to test these doctrines in their own experience.

The outbreak of hostilities had been accompanied by Franklin's proposal to unite the colonies. The crisis of the war developed quarrels between royal governors and provincial assemblies in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania over the right to tax and to quarter troops; and, as earlier, the efforts to press men for the navy had led to popular risings in Boston. The spirit of controversy was aroused, fed no less by European theory than by colonial practice; and the whole was crowned by the quarrel which the efforts of England to restrict commerce and regulate colonial affairs now brought to a culmination. Following the Molasses Act of the preceding generation, opposition to British colonial policy was increased by the limitations set on manufacturing, especially of hats and ironware, the prosecution of slave trade despite the opposition of Virginia and Carolina, and the issuance of so-called Writs of Assistance to enable customs officers to check the 1761 evasion of customs so generally practised. And, at the moment England triumphed over her continental enemies, her government found itself confronted by colonial resistance to its measures. That resistance, centering in Boston, spread through her American provinces the doctrine of no taxation without representation, couched in the phrases of the most advanced political theorists and supported by a powerful element in colonial affairs.

With this, the circle of these two eventful decades ended as it began, within the colonies. By them and for them in large part, war had been waged. Their economic development had been conditioned by like progress at home. From their frontiers the boundaries of European knowledge and influence had been pushed forward; and now, through them, the newer doctrines of politics were to be tested in practice. Not even the rise of Prussia nor the decline of France upon the continent were of such importance to the next generation as the development of this new society beyond the sea. From a position of outlying frontier provinces, they had won a place in European circles; and, however little recognized by

Europe
and the
colonies

those whose eyes still turned only to Europe, North America was in no long time to take the center of the stage. With its entry into affairs, and the corresponding rise of new political doctrines and industrial conditions, the European world was on the eve of change worthy to rank beside the greatest convulsions of its eventful past.

For, as they had earlier been connected with religion, as they had been later associated with politics, and were at all times bound up with economic development, so now the colonies came into touch with the great intellectual movement of the time, which made for liberty. From their situation no less than from their inclination, this chiefly appealed to them on its political side. It was not long before they endeavored to translate theory into practice; and in that effort, which was ultimately to prove successful throughout the western hemisphere, they were destined to inaugurate a new era of history on both sides of the sea.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE. 1763-1768

WHEN in February, 1763, the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg were signed and the long wars of the Austrian Succession came to an end, it was apparent that Europe had reached another great turning-point in her career. For more than twenty years she had scarcely known peace within her own borders, while the most distant peoples of the earth had been drawn into her quarrels, whose settlement had altered the aspect not of Europe alone but of the world. Nor did the changes end with conclusion of the war. The treaties which brought it to a close were followed by a period of transformation which filled the ensuing decade with movements and events of as far-reaching influence and of even more profound importance than those of the war itself, and due only in part to that conflict. In large measure they arose from causes lying deep in the heart of the times, and were the expression of an inquiring skepticism, which, rejecting mere authority, sought a basis of life and thought through reason and investigation. This force now prepared to carry the scientific method far beyond the regions to which it had originally been confined, and uniting with it the historical spirit and method to inquire into the foundations of authority itself.

The results
of the
Peace of
Paris

“The first step toward philosophy,” wrote Diderot, “is incredulity”; and in almost every field of human thought, in science and invention, in literature and art, in religion and philosophy, in economics, as in politics, administration, and law, the spirit he thus expressed made its way. Relieved from the long burden of the war, men turned with greater eagerness to the new activities opened to intellect. Under Voltaire’s ascendancy skepticism contended for the first time

Liberal
thought

1763

on equal terms with superstition. The *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and his colleagues, then completed, diffused knowledge and ideas of the new crusade wherever it penetrated. Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, which appeared in the year of the peace, attacked the citadel of a society organized on the basis of aristocratic privilege. The foundations of that edifice had long since been undermined by such books as Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, supporting and supported by the earlier arguments and theories of English political philosophers such as Hobbes and Locke. Influenced by these more famous works or by the currents of the time, a crowd of lesser writers brought the new doctrines home to thousands untouched by profounder thinkers. Thus the works of Italian poets and philosophers—Beccaria's study of Crimes and Punishments, the political teachings of Burlamaqui, the dramas of Alfieri—were reinforced by the open defense of democracy from the pens of obscure forerunners of revolution. And these found readers and believers not alone in Europe but throughout her colonies, preparing the way for wide acceptance of the theory of "natural" rights and popular government.

Economic
progress

While the fetters of human thought were being loosed, new ways were being opened for it to tread. In France the Physiocrats pleaded for the emancipation of industry, the freedom and improvement of the land; and liberal administrators like Turgot began to put their principles into practice. In England, Adam Smith was formulating the doctrines of his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Such work was to alter all economic thought, loosen the bonds which hampered commerce, and extend to the province of government the methods and ideas which made possible a further advance in other departments of intellectual activity. There, too, while enlightened individuals were interesting themselves in that scientific study of agriculture and cattle-raising which was to multiply the resources of mankind, inventors, like Arkwright and Hargreaves, with their spinning machinery, and Watt, with his improved steam-engine; Brindley with his canals; the road builders, the potters, the iron-workers; revolutionized the industry and the communications

of the people which was even then beginning to take the lead in the impending material revolution of the world.

Pure science made no less advance, for in those same years Science were laid the foundations of the study of gases, of electricity, and of heat, which gave fresh impulse to the study of physics and of chemistry. Literature reflected the spirit of the times. The revival of criticism, the rise of a natural and a romantic school, opposed to the classic and formal canons of the passing age, were no less symptomatic of the altering tastes and standards of the age than the "return to nature," evidenced simultaneously in fields so widely different as art and political philosophy. "Everything I see," wrote Voltaire in the year following the peace, "is scattering the seeds of a revolution, which will come inevitably. Light has so spread from neighbor to neighbor that on the first occasion it will kindle and burst forth. Happy the young for their eyes shall see it!"

It was but natural that an era of political reorganization should follow the peace. It was no less natural that, in the face of the movement in other fields, this should be affected in greater or less degree by the prevailing spirit of the times. As a result, throughout the continent a new race of rulers arose—the enlightened despots. The enlightened despots These, converted by the current scientific and social ideas to the belief that their power brought with it duties and responsibilities as well as privileges, undertook to repair not only the ravages of war but those long-standing abuses of administration which had weakened the resources of their states. They endeavored no less to improve the material welfare of their subjects, as prudent landlords of vast estates might have cared for their tenants. The great Frederick, turning to the arts of peace, revised the laws, reformed the courts, encouraged immigration and agriculture, with an energy and ability no less considerable than he had shown in war and diplomacy—and with results certainly more beneficial to mankind and at least as valuable to his subjects as his conquests. His old antagonist, Maria Theresa, and still more her son, the future Emperor Joseph II, entered on the field of legal and administrative

reform with no less zeal. And in like kind, if varying degree, the rulers of nearly all the greater autocratic states throughout the continent, followed the lead thus set, as an era of better institutions and more intelligent administration began to dawn.

Catherine
and Russia
1762-96

Its most conspicuous expression was in the east. There Russia, under her great, bad Empress Catherine, revised her laws and reformed her administration after the most approved fashion of enlightened despotism. At her court the liberal notions of western Europe presented a curious contrast to the imperfectly civilized masses of a great part of her possessions. The admirer of Voltaire, the friend of Diderot, Catherine secularized the property of the church while with cynical toleration she allowed the Jesuits to settle at one end of her dominions and the Tartars to build mosques at the other. Science she favored more sincerely, and while the children of Louis XV and Charles III died of smallpox, the Russian empress became the first subject in her empire of the newly discovered treatment by vaccination. Like Frederick the Great, she brought the persecuted of Germany to people her unoccupied lands. The vast steppes of the Volga and the Ukraine, the Cossack hetmanates of Little Russia, the Zaporogian "setcha," were invaded by the settlers from the west; and colonization pushed eastward the limits of actual European settlement till the land was dotted with two hundred new towns which owed their beginnings to her far-sighted policy.

Poland

Yet this peaceful and beneficent progress was eclipsed in the eyes of the world outside by the expansion of her political power with which it was accompanied. In that field, at least, Russia, like Prussia and Austria, showed that the most advanced ideas of the eighteenth century renaissance were quite compatible with the most selfish diplomacy. On her western border lay the ancient kingdom of Poland, anarchic in its constitution, mediæval in its conception of religion and of war. Its monarchy was elective. Political authority, such as there was, rested for the most part in the hands of a proud and intractable nobility controlling a Diet, where by a triumph

of fatuous imbecility, one vote could block all action. The Polish population, divided between lords and serfs, Greek and Roman Catholics, Poles and Lithuanians, lacked the steady influence of a middle class, and offered a fertile field for intestine feud.

Amid such confusion the liberal element strove to alter the constitution, give the king more power, and abolish the *liberum veto* which paralyzed the action of the Diet. Had it succeeded, Poland might still have a part in European councils. But Russia took advantage of the situation thus created to form a party in the state, which, under guise of preserving the old constitution, fomented the quarrel it professed to check. Its candidate, Stanislaus Poniatowski, was elected king. Religious and political discord increased; and, within three years, the Roman Catholics formed the Confederacy of Bar against their fellow-countrymen of the Eastern Church, backed by the Russian power. When the inevitable civil war broke out, Russia, Austria, and Prussia intervened. The French minister, Choiseul, almost alone among European statesmen, strove to save Poland from her fate, and strove in vain. Only the Turks responded to a call for aid, and they soon felt the weight of Russian arms. For five years the unequal conflict went on, but the end was determined from the first. Polish power was overthrown, and ten years after the great peace, the Polish Diet was compelled to accept a treaty which robbed Poland of a great part of her territory and sealed her fate as a nation. Austria took Galicia and the south. Prussia united the Polish lands from which her king took his title to her Brandenburg electorate; and Russia, advancing her borders to the Dwina, absorbed old Lithuania. A year later the war with the Turks came to a triumphant close. The Treaty of Kutschuk Kainardji brought the Tartars of Crimea and Kouban under the Russian rule, which now stretched from the Dnieper on the west to the Caucasus on the south, and embraced the long coveted northern shore of the Black Sea and the navigation of its waters, with the protectorate of the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia.

The first
partition
of Poland

1772-3

1774

Results of
the peace
on the
colonies

Yet, great as were the changes wrought in the boundaries and the administration of Europe during the decade which followed the Peace of Paris, it was but natural that the alterations in those states which held lands beyond the sea, and the effect upon those extra-European lands, should be greater still.

Holland

For to all the colonial powers save one, that period was peculiarly significant. Holland alone, having taken no part in the war, had no voice in the peace. Sunk in commercial lethargy, she remained relatively insensible to the political changes then taking place about her. Neither in her internal nor in her colonial affairs did she alter her course to suit the current of the times; and, though still the refuge of the intellectually and politically oppressed, she shared but little in the movements in those fields which were absorbing the interest of her contemporaries.

Portugal
—Pombal
1750-77

Far different was the case of Portugal. There her greatest minister in modern times, Sebastian de Carvalho, later and better known as Marquis of Pombal, had striven for many years and with no small measure of success to raise the state to something of its former eminence. He had checked the power of the Inquisition and reorganized finance, re-established the navy, and founded a police. Seeking new springs of wealth and enterprise abroad, he set up trading companies to exploit the riches of Brazil, and moved the capital from Bahia to Rio Janeiro. Nor were the indirect results of his activities of less importance than their immediate effect. In pursuance of his projects he freed the slaves in a great part of the colony and negotiated the transfer of the Jesuit "reductions" in Paraguay from Spain to Portugal. This led him into conflict with that powerful society; and to curb its strength, thrown against him and the king, he expelled the Jesuit confessors from the court. A "visitor," appointed by the Pope, checked their activities in trade; and, finally, following an attack upon the king, in which they were suspected of a share, the order was driven from Portugal and her colonies.

Scarcely was the Peace of Paris signed when the attack upon the Jesuits was taken up by France. There Choiseul, laboring to repair the results of his own restless diplomacy and restore his country's lost prestige, was busy reorganizing affairs at home and gathering up the remnants of power abroad. In the face of debts which drove her financiers to desperation, of royal extravagance and official maladministration which sapped the foundations of the state, he still dreamed of future greatness and revenge. His emissaries strove, and not without success, to maintain the ascendancy of French diplomacy in European courts. Punitive expeditions against the pirates of Tunis and Biserta, the strengthening of French influence in Egypt and the Levant, the renewal of friendly relations with the Turks, revived the dreams of a French Mediterranean; and these were magnified by the purchase of Corsica, which was in revolt against her suzerain, 1768 Genoa. Meanwhile, he planned commercial conquest in the west. The Family Compact which gave to France trading concessions in the Spanish colonies, the islands which remained, and a new settlement of Kouron in French Guiana—now re-named Equinoctial France—on which he spent thousands of lives and millions of francs, were made the basis for a project of a new colonial empire to replace the one just lost.

The fall
of the
Jesuits
—Choiseul
1758-70

Here, like Pombal, he trenched upon the Jesuits. The failure of their factor in Martinique, and the repudiation of his debts by the society, with the consequent losses to merchants in the south of France, led to an attack which drove the society from French soil. The other Bourbon powers followed the lead thus given, and Spain, Naples, and Parma, in turn, expelled it from their borders. For a time the Papacy held firm, but when it gave way the order which would not bend was broken. To the appeals for reform, the haughty answer of its general, "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint," "Let them be as they are or cease to be," became a classic of conservatism. The retort was swift and decisive. Ten years after the peace, Clement XIV in a famous bull, 1773 *Dominus ac Redemptor*, decreed the dissolution of the great

organization, which, though it was to continue in different hands and under various names, thenceforth no longer filled the place in the world's affairs which it had occupied for two eventful centuries.

Character
of the
Jesuits

Nothing was more symbolic of the period upon which Europe was entering than the suppression of the Jesuits. For two hundred years they had been a power throughout the European world. A bulwark against the Protestant Revolt, their schools had covered the continent. The pioneers of the faith, their missions had reached the farthest corners of the earth. In face of fearful persecution and tremendous obstacles their undaunted agents had preached the doctrines of the church through crowded centers of the East, as through the trackless plains and forests of the West, with equal devotion and success. Their schoolmasters and missionaries were alike the admiration and despair of their rivals; and, had the order been content with spiritual triumphs, it might well have kept its place.

The causes
of their
dissolution

But the Jesuits had developed a system of casuistry reckoned dangerous to society, no less inside the church than out. They had entered politics. Their confessors had gained the ear of kings. Their emissaries had embarked in temporal affairs, entered trade, founded a state; and had become so all-pervasive and so powerful that the most Catholic of governments, even the church itself, came to regard them as a menace. It was the irony of changing circumstance that the order should receive its first reverse at the hand of that power under whose auspices its first missionary had sailed upon his first crusade. It was even more significant that its downfall came through its commercial enterprise. The charges of asceticism, obscurantism, formalism, absolutism, leveled against it by the newer schools of thought, had proved as impotent as in Pascal's time to break its power. These the Jesuits had endured with equanimity for two centuries; their competition in trade ruined them in a generation.

Spain—
d'Aranda
1766-73

Upon no state did the combined effect of war and the expulsion of the Jesuits fall with greater force than on Spain, and it was fortunate for her at this crucial time that

she had an enlightened king and a great minister. Charles III had long since embarked on a liberal career; but his path had been beset with difficulties of no ordinary sort, for he had been hampered by the past and by the church. Yet even in his backward land the influence of each was weakening. When he called the Count d'Aranda to the ministry to check disturbances following the war, he found in him an able and adroit lieutenant at whose hands the whole Spanish world was inspired with unusual activity. At first, indeed, the situation seemed precarious. By the acquisition of Louisiana, which she had received in compensation for her loss of Florida, Spain had apparently been strengthened in territory, wealth, and imperial possibilities. But her new French subjects were far from being reconciled to this change of masters, while the severity of their first governor so antagonized them that within five years they had rebelled and set up a republic of their own, from which they were only recovered by stress of force. 1769

Bad as this was, the commercial situation created or aggravated by the war was still more serious. While the English had held Havana, its harbor had been crowded with their ships. The peace which legalized their cutting of mahogany in Honduras, kept open by that concession the door for smuggling into Mexico, which had long been used by them. There, as elsewhere, the slight trade which Spain had hitherto maintained with difficulty in competition with foreign contraband seemed now about to disappear. The king, who had already tried to lift those outworn restrictions so long and zealously enforced by his people, so long and so successfully evaded by their enemies, had been defeated in his plans by the threatened bankruptcy of Cadiz, which still enjoyed her old monopoly. But this new crisis left no choice, and his wise policy was now revived. Reorganization of her colonial system

Beginning with the least valued districts like Cuba, restrictions were slowly and grudgingly removed. New ports in Spain were opened to colonial trade; and, starting with New Orleans, commercial privileges were gradually extended to the other ports in the New World. The ban on intercolonial

traffic was removed, until within ten years Spain's trade with her colonies, despite the failure of the companies formed to handle it, began to rival that in smuggled merchandise for the first time in at least two hundred years. The great revival did not end with this. New methods for extracting precious metals, and new mines increased the wealth derived from that source. New territories were occupied, as at either extremity of empire, Texas and Patagonia, settlements were begun; and, still beyond, steps were taken to occupy the Falkland Islands. No less were measures put into effect to spread Spain's civilization with her power. Orders were issued to enforce her language throughout New Spain, to unify its divergent elements and link them more closely to each other and to the government. Amid such varied activities a more liberal régime began for Portugal and Spain in the New World as in the old; and, had it not been for circumstances outside the sphere of their own influence, these measures might have not merely revived but perpetuated their authority indefinitely.

Such were the dominant forces at work accomplishing the revolution in affairs which accompanied and followed the Peace of Paris. At the moment, indeed, the dramatic circumstances of war and diplomacy, the removal of French power from India and America, the fall of the Jesuits, and the partition of Poland, filled the public mind to the exclusion of less spectacular developments. Yet beneath the shadow of these great catastrophes lay still more pregnant forces, as science, invention, and philosophy combined to shift the weight of industry and thought to an unstable equilibrium, where a touch would be sufficient to overthrow the old establishment which seemed so secure. No order arose to take the place of the proscribed society, no new state sprang from the ruins of Poland. But as the new thought made its way into the minds of men, as the vigorous despotism of imperial Russia replaced Polish anarchy and Turkish autoocracy, and European boundaries of intellect and politics broadened, it was apparent that forces were at work more formidable by far than the systems they replaced. Men still spoke, indeed,

the language of the old régime, but they were preparing to translate it into the doctrines and the actions of a rapidly altering society. And among the infinite, scarcely perceptible signs of coming change, none was more evident, to all but those most interested, than the situation in that power, which, for the moment, seemed most prosperous and secure,—the British Empire.

If the great peace, amid its losses and its gains, brought grave problems to almost every continental state, its heaviest burdens fell upon the nation which reaped its greatest benefits; and its affairs became, in consequence, of paramount importance in world politics. From the war England emerged the dominant colonial power of the world. Not in extent, perhaps, nor in mere numbers, was she pre-eminent, for the huge Spanish domain, stretching along the Pacific from the Antarctic to the Arctic zone and half across two continents, rivaled her in both area and population and exceeded her possessions in immediate wealth. But in the deeper sources of imperial strength; the mastery of the sea, the widest lands available for European settlement, the richest trade, the largest group of European colonists, and possibilities of development, she stood almost alone. In India the French regained their factories; but power and prestige remained in England's hands, and she became the heir-presumptive to that huge peninsula. In Africa she gave up Goree for Senegal; in Europe, Belle Isle for Minorca, strengthening her position in each case. Even in the West Indies, where she had made extraordinary, and as it seemed to many, unnecessary concessions for the sake of peace, she remained only second in importance to Spain. In North America, despite Spanish territorial preponderance, the vast areas east of the Mississippi and north of the Great Lakes offered sufficient field for even English ambitions. When, three years before, Pitt, to whom her victories were so largely due, brought to the young Prince George the news of his accession to the throne, he might well have echoed Cortez' proud boast that he gave the new sovereign more kingdoms than his father left him provinces. But that moment had marked the height

The
British
Empire

Its extent
in 1763

of England's power; though the peace had registered, it had not increased her gains, and almost before it was ratified her position had begun to change.

England's
political
character
and
situation

That it altered so suddenly was due to her domestic politics. Differing in so many ways from her European neighbors, England's variation from the continental type was never more pronounced than at this time. Many of the movements which slowly revolutionized their thought through the first half of the eighteenth century had met small response from her. Nor was this remarkable. The doctrines of Voltaire and of Rousseau found the less welcome at her hands since the conditions they attacked played such small part in her affairs. However defective her political system appears to modern eyes, accustomed to broader and more uniform rights, England had gone so far along the path of personal liberty and representative government that preachers of change abroad found texts for their homilies in her institutions. No small number of the ideas then afloat in liberal circles on the continent owed their origin to English thought. No small number of the reforms demanded by them had long been the commonplaces of English practice. England had, indeed, a king, but arbitrary power had long since fallen from his hands. She had an aristocracy, but no well-nigh insuperable barriers, as abroad, divided it from the lower orders of society. Its ranks were open to talent, its younger sons were reckoned commoners, and it lacked at once the personal privilege and the feudal rights still recognized on the continent. English political power was vested in a Parliament whose lower and elective House controlled the purse, with all that such control implied. Though by this arrangement the nation lost in efficiency something of what it gained in liberty, the gain was reckoned greater than the loss; and when, as during the late war, the parts of its system worked in harmony or were dominated by a master spirit, its weakness nowhere appeared.

Yet, with all this, England was almost as far from democracy as from tyranny. Her system and ideals were those of an aristocracy. Her close and illogical borough representation, which controlled the lower House, rigid, unequal, and

corrupt, reflected the spirit and practice of an earlier age. Land still remained the touchstone of social and political privilege, and the wealth of trade found its admission into society and politics only through the narrow gate of a connection with the ruling influences. The artisan and farm laborer, sailor and shopkeeper, the great majority of Englishmen in fact, found small part or none in public life, for political power was still monopolized by the upper classes none the less because it was clothed in popular forms.

One feature above all others marked a further difference between England and her more arbitrary contemporaries. Her government, like her success in war, was largely dependent on a favoring balance of forces and the coincidence or their strength, no less in her imperial than in her domestic concerns. At no time was this more evident than now, for her political organization, as well as her far-reaching conquests, made the problem which confronted her not merely greater than that of her rivals, but infinitely more complex. Different as Mexico, the West Indies, and the Philippines were from each other, the issues and methods of their government were not unlike. But England ruled a trading company's territories in East India, the newly won and disaffected French of Canada, West Indian planters, widely scattered fortresses and posts throughout the world, huge savage areas, above all a group of self-governing colonies of European blood—a vast inheritance of divergent interests, for which, unlike the continental states, she had no centralized administrative machinery. To a colonial council as to unlimited royal power she was as much a stranger as to great standing armies and religious persecution. In India a decadent company, and in the rest an authority divided between crown, ministers, Parliament, and a somnolent Board of Trade and Plantations, alternately aided and embarrassed by active and jealous provincial assemblies in many of her American colonies, made up an administrative complex unparalleled in history.

In some degree this lack of centralized control had long been partially supplied, partly concealed, by the supremacy

Government of the colonies

The Whigs
1688-1760

of a political association within the state. Seventy years earlier the Whigs had driven James II from the throne, and since that time the chief thread of continuity in English politics had been the Whig ascendancy. Supported by the Hanoverian house which they had called to the throne, their power rested on a Parliament which they had made supreme, even over the crown itself; since the practice of choosing ministers from the party holding a majority in the lower House, and the withdrawal of the sovereign from the ministerial council or cabinet, made it the real executive. Their practices no less than their policy gave them control of this majority. Their widespread, ably administered political organization, headed by a close-knit oligarchy of high nobility, was constantly recruited by popular leaders chosen for political ability from the ambitious talent of the nation, which saw in Whig favor the only open way to high preferment. Below these stood a great array of placemen and pensioners, officers and officials, which royal aid and parliamentary control enabled them to nominate. The narrow, unequal, often corrupt electoral system which they maintained in all its outworn form with great tenacity, offered a fertile field for the political manipulation which contributed to their hold on Parliament.

Whig
policy

For popular support, beyond these elements, they relied chiefly on the commercial, Nonconformist interest, attracted by their principles and their policy. Their principles were, indeed, their chief claim to greatness. Devotion to a parliamentary and a Protestant supremacy, freedom from royal and military dominance, virtual religious tolerance, and those private rights expressed in jury trial and free speech, *habeas corpus*, and an independent judiciary, made them the most enlightened party of their time. Their narrow and selfish economic policy differed from that of the continent chiefly in its superior measure of success, due to England's naval supremacy. Restricting British sea-borne trade to British ships, and manufacturing to British soil, confining colonial production to raw materials or those ill-suited to the British climate, it partook of that most stringent form of high pro-

tection known as the mercantile system. On the political side, Whig imperial policy was far more liberal. Subject to supervision of the home government and to the law-making power of Parliament, it allowed the English colonists the right to legislate upon their own affairs, and freed them from imperial taxation, save for customs on certain articles—imposed for the purpose of regulating trade, and not for revenue—in return for supplementing English power with money and troops required in time of colonial wars.

By such means the Whigs strove to make England not merely the legislator and defender of the Empire, but its factory, its market-place, its nursery for seamen, and, above all, perhaps, its treasury—a reservoir of wealth and power, easily accessible to taxation, which would have been difficult and might have been impossible to impose directly on distant colonies and dependencies. To this imperial policy their diplomacy contributed its share. Under their rule no war was fought, no peace was signed, without some gain to British trade, if not to territory. With the triumphs of the Seven Years' War this party, whose parallel Europe had scarcely seen, save for the Venetian Council of Ten, to which they were sometimes compared, reached the grand climacteric of its long career.

It is small wonder that when, three years before the peace, the young king, George III, came to the throne, Whig domination seemed to him the chief problem of politics. He had been estranged from his grandfather, the Whig George II; and the doctrines of Bolingbroke's Patriot King, the lectures of the great jurist, Blackstone, combined with the teachings of his mother and those around him to instil his mind with Tory principles. In the spirit of enlightened despotism as applied to English conditions, he conceived a king ruling through Parliament, forming a party there to support ministers chosen by the crown, and governing by the same means which had kept the Whig oligarchy in power. Well educated, with strong if narrow intelligence, an unusual aptitude for politics, conscientious, industrious, virtuous, with the stub-

George III
1760-1820

born courage of his house, he set himself to replace Whig supremacy with that of the crown.

George III
and the
Whigs
1760-3

In the situation of affairs the struggle between the king and the oligarchy became an event of more than English, more even than European significance. It was not merely a conflict between two parties and two theories of government. Events were soon to prove that it involved the destinies of the whole European world. To its conduct the king brought certain advantages. Unlike his predecessors he was English born. He adopted Whig policies. Save for the question of the position of the crown, he was aided at once by the considerable element in the nation opposed to Whig domination, and by the factions which too long continuance in power had bred in the ranks of the ruling party itself. He chose his position, moreover, with skill, and, avoiding the issue of principle, attacked the oligarchy on its weakest side, its practices. As the European war dragged to a close, the English monarch resumed the royal patronage, replaced Whig placemen with his own followers, built up a party in Parliament, disputed control of the electorate, and fomented dissension among the Whigs. Pitt was driven from office by the "silken barons" of the oligarchy, with whom he had long been at feud. The king forced their leader, the Duke of Newcastle, to resign by depriving him of his political patronage; and called his own tutor and favorite, the Tory Bute, to take his place. This done, he enlisted the chief Whig manipulator, Fox, and combined his forces with such effect that the Commons, which had followed Pitt to war, now, in the face of his fiery eloquence, voted five to one to bring the conflict to an end. Such was the first European result of the struggle between the English crown and the Whig Party.

The fall of
the Whig
Party
1760-

This was not the only effect of the first years of George III's activity. Under the pressure of the crown and the disintegrating forces in its own ranks came the disruption of that great political connection which had so long directed the destinies of England. Party gave way to groups. Pitt, Grenville, Bedford, Rockingham, Grafton, led followings, hating each other no less than the common enemy; while,

1770

with a composite following from the rival camps, the king was enabled to divide and rule by the same means the oligarchs had employed. Bute was driven from place by his unpopularity. The Whig George Grenville became prime minister; and his administration, following the peace, began a new era of English politics. It was far more than a change of ministry. Upon this state where power still hung undetermined in an unstable equilibrium of shifting groups there fell the burden of remodeling an empire, already stirring in a vague unrest.

Between Grenville's uninspiring talent for finance and Pitt's more dazzling gifts there lay a gulf which typified the altered situation of world politics, as armed conflict gave way to payment of the debts it had incurred and organization of the territories which had changed hands. The situation of the new minister was difficult in the extreme. Without Aranda's or Pombal's authority; without the genius of the highest statesmanship or an inspiring eloquence; hampered by the exigencies of domestic politics,—where a mishandled controversy with the adventurer Wilkes grew to a quarrel over popular liberties,—in full accord neither with his own party nor the king, this first of English imperial financiers addressed his thankless task. His earliest duty was to the newly conquered lands, and even before the peace was signed a royal proclamation organized the new territories in America; where four governments, Quebec, East and West Florida, Grenville
1763-5
and Grenada, were set up with royal officials. To Nova Scotia were annexed the adjacent islands and mainland; to Grenada the unorganized islands of the West Indian archipelago. The Georgia line was carried south to Florida; and, in apparent contradiction of the older colonies' chartered rights, the lands west of the Alleghanies were erected into an Indian reservation, and white settlement forbidden there for the time being. New officials were named for colonial offices, and England embarked upon a policy which looked toward greater imperial unity.

Scarcely was it in train when at both extremities of the empire the eternal question of defense was raised in its acutest

The
problem of
imperial
defense
1763

form. In North America an Algonquin chief, Pontiac, inspired by the hope of aiding his old friends the French, and checking the English occupation of the west, formed a confederacy of the western tribes, seized the outlying posts, raided the border, and laid siege to Detroit. At the same moment war broke out in India. There Mir Cossim, the Nawab of Bengal, failing to meet the demands of the Company, to which he owed his throne, rebelled against its authority. For months both situations remained dangerous. In North America troops hurried to the front. The influence of the great Indian agent, Sir William Johnson, held the Six Nations to their allegiance. The posts were retaken. Detroit, after the longest siege in border history, was relieved. Pontiac was compelled to take refuge with tribes farther west; and the frontier resumed uneasy peace. At the same time in India, Mir Cossim was deposed, defeated by the forces of the Company, and deprived of all his fortresses save Patna. Putting to death his English prisoners there, he fled to Oudh, whose nawab, Sujah Dowlah, had already joined forces with the Mogul Emperor, Shah Alam II. The three rulers, marching against the English, were overwhelmingly defeated at Baxar, the Emperor sought protection in the English camp, and Oudh was overrun by the Company's troops. Thus, at the very moment of her triumph over France, the problem of guarding her far-flung frontier was thrust violently on England's attention.

1764

Imperial
finance

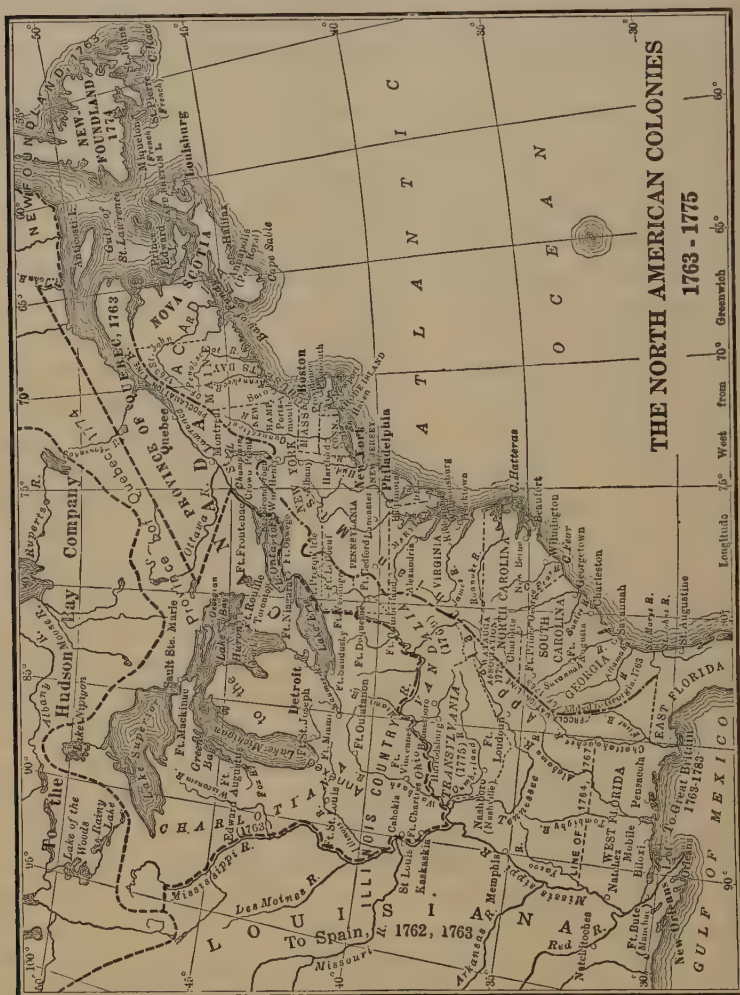
With it were bound up other interests, growing largely out of that conflict. Pitt had made war regardless of expense, with such effect that England's national debt had doubled in five years, its interest charges alone equaling the whole cost of government not many years before. Despite her territorial expansion, the increase of her potential strength, and her immediate commercial prosperity, England's available resources had not multiplied proportionately to the new demands; and her eight million people who endured this fresh burden were weary of its weight. That feeling had contributed no small part to the majority against continuance of the glorious but extravagant war which pro-

duced it. In relation to their numbers it was as heavy as that of France, now staggering on to national bankruptcy. It was not lightened by the new problems of administration and defense; and beside these two perplexing questions, it forced on the embarrassed ministry a third, and even more pressing exigency, that of taxation.

It is small wonder that in this crisis their eyes turned to the American colonies. There the triple problem of empire was revealed in its most concrete form. There lay a population of a million and a half, with half a million slaves, possessed of vast natural resources, enjoying most of the benefits of the imperial bond, with few or none of its burdens or responsibilities, its taxes scarce a fiftieth of those levied on Englishmen at home. Colonial frontiers and commerce were guarded by British arms. Imperial markets were open to their goods; and their sole contribution to the support of the imperial establishment lay in paying their own judges and governors, in the indirect profits of their trade, and in the money and men which their own interest no less than that of the mother country impelled them to lend to colonial wars. They were singularly privileged to conduct their own political affairs, with a minimum of interference from the sovereign power, as compared with other European dependencies. At the same time no small part of their wealth, especially that of the New England provinces, was derived from almost open violation of the laws which professed to regulate imperial commerce; and, economically, no less than politically, they were the freest of European colonies.

Such was the situation as it appeared to English eyes. Was it too much to ask, in this emergency, that the colonists, like Englishmen, should contribute to imperial defense within their borders, and obey their country's laws? To the ministers, and to most Englishmen beside, the question seemed one of administration and finance, of mutual obligations and responsibilities, of laws and charters, to be arranged, as such matters had always been, by Parliament. Only here and there an unregarded prophet foresaw that this apparently simple question touched the very heart of things, and brought

to an issue of legislation what might better have been allowed to rest undetermined. The attempt to define what was in



the nature of things undefinable, was but too apt to rouse the long-repressed rivalry of two great societies. And, viewed in another light, this extension of administrative reorganization

to America, however consonant it was to the spirit of enlightened despotism then making way upon the continent, seemed to American minds to savor rather more of despotism than of enlightenment.

For the American colonies were no longer what they had been even two generations earlier, and what most Englishmen doubtless still conceived them to be. Strengthened in numbers by immigration and the naturally rapid increase of a pioneer society; favored by nature and the salutary neglect of successive ministries, which had left them free to exercise their abilities in nearly every direction, the feeble frontier settlements had developed into a powerful community, well on its way to nationality. They still lacked, indeed, many characteristics of the European world; its greater social and industrial complexity; its powerful aristocratic and financial interests; but even here they had made beginnings. Still more they lacked the old world's literature and art, its music and drama, its educational facilities, its science and invention, though these, too, were not wholly wanting. The pioneer still held large place in their affairs; the soil was still their principal source of wealth. Greater equality of opportunity with greater freedom in society, the simpler means and manners of a new community in a state of rapid development, made them like and yet different from the society whence they sprung. Though far removed from the conditions of the tropical dependencies of the European powers, and with their various elements and possibilities not yet welded into a homogeneous whole, they were a people but not yet a nation, much less a state.

Strength
and
character
of the
English
colonies

Yet many of the differences between the old-world order and the new were already fast disappearing in the longer settled colonies. There, on every hand, was rising an aristocracy of wealth from land and trade, not unlike that which had established itself in England. Statelier houses, finer furnishings and clothes, books, pictures, evidences of taste, among the northern merchants and southern planters, revealed growing resemblances to the older society and increasing inequalities in the new. These were but reflections of

progress in the economic field. Shipyards and little factories; mines and metal works; with handicrafts of many sorts, proclaimed an emergence from the pioneer and agricultural to the industrial stage. Newspapers and lawyers' offices, schools and colleges, in increasing numbers sprang up to meet the demands of altering circumstances in a community continually recruited by a steady stream of immigrants, reinforcing at once its numbers and variety, and strengthening its resources with the chief necessity of a new land—stout hearts and willing hands.

Already it was rising rapidly to a consciousness of its strength. The war which freed it from fear of the French and relieved it from the consequent close dependence on English rule, had contributed much both to its growth and its self-confidence. Its commerce flourished as it never had before. Its troops fought side by side with English regulars on not unequal terms. Their officers gained distinction and experience; and the colonists rightly regarded Havana and Louisburg as their triumphs no less than England's. Most of all, American spirit lost something of its provincialism in the struggle. Almost for the first time the men of different colonies were brought together in a common cause, and an impulse was given to new ambitions of more than provincial scope. Broader fields than their local assemblies afforded had not been altogether wanting hitherto. Some colonists had sat on governors' councils; some had held crown offices; a few were even now rising to governorships; even more had found employment abroad. Many had known the hard schooling of popular politics, where leaders fought their way to place and power by means still rare in England and unknown on the continent. To all, the war had opened wider vistas in the prospect of intercolonial activities, which not all the efforts of statesmen hitherto had been able to effect. Finally the association of the colonists against the common enemy, through actual co-operation and the personal contact of men from different colonies, became a powerful force in the ensuing development, at the same time that the failure and incapacity of expeditions like that of Braddock

diminished the respect of the colonials for British military efficiency.

The situation held another element. Despite what seemed to European eyes the simple and more equal conditions of a "natural" society, equality was more apparent than real in most of the colonies; for there was no open way for the talents in American politics. No insurmountable barriers, indeed, divided class from class, no pocket-borough system, no vested interest of crown or aristocracy prevailed, save in the appointment of royal officials. Yet the colonies were, none the less, far from pure democracy, and distinctions based on religion or on property were the rule rather than the exception in their electorates. Beside the oligarchy centering about the governor in nearly every colony, and the popular party which found its opportunity in the assemblies, each province held an unenfranchised class. Popular leaders, ambitious to control the whole machinery of government, came into conflict with the entrenched authority of those who held office from the crown. And it was no long step to oppose the authority which made their rivals' position invulnerable, and enlist in their cause the unprivileged classes by invoking the vague and powerful watchword of liberty, which then, as at all times, meant all things to all men. Every colony held a discontented element, social, political, economic; and it needed only a common cause to unite them against vested authority in whatever form.

Such was the condition of the community whose resources the English ministry sought to enlist, and over which it planned to strengthen its hold. The policy was not new, and the results of a century of experiment should have warned the English of its danger. But prudence was not Grenville's chief characteristic. Before the peace was signed, steps had been taken to tighten the reins. To check smuggling the revenue forces had been strengthened and the navy enlisted in their aid. The duties on molasses and sugar, which, as the raw materials for the New England rum distilleries, were the chief source of contention, were lowered so as to increase revenue and make illicit trade unprofitable. To make royal

Aristocracy and democracy in the colonies

Reorganization of the English colonial system 1760-3

officials independent of assembly grants, a permanent civil list had been proposed; to guard the frontiers a standing army was planned. Finally, to defray the cost of this establishment, a stamp tax on legal documents and newspapers was suggested for America.

Colonial
opposition
1760-3

Already colonial protests against England's policy had been heard. In Boston, James Otis had vainly attacked the validity of the writs of assistance which enabled the civil authorities to call for naval and military aid in searching for smuggled goods. In Virginia, another lawyer, Patrick Henry, maintained the popular cause against the clergy who attempted to enforce their legal salary rights. When, following the peace, smuggling felt the pressure of the new measures, and quartering acts were passed to secure provision for the troops, not even the trade concessions which accompanied them, nor memory of recent appeals for help against Pontiac, softened colonial resentment. Though colonial agents, after a year's deliberation, offered no alternative save voluntary grants from the assemblies, which had already proved unsatisfactory; though the ill-fated measure was passed with "no more interest than a turnpike bill"; though opposition leaders like Pitt and Burke voiced no protest and few men thought it inexpedient or unjust; the dullest of politicians was soon undeceived. For the Stamp Act supplied what the dissatisfied elements in America had lacked, a common ground of opposition to the home government and a tangible instance of "tyranny."

The Stamp
Act
1765

From the first New York and Boston had led in protest against the new policy; and scarcely had the Stamp Act become a law when the assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia passed vigorous resolutions against it. The vocal elements of society—the lawyers and the press, on whom the new tax fell—were roused to fury. The interests attacked by the customs regulation joined in; clergy and debtors lent their voices with those of more unselfish patriots in opposition. In vain the ministers pointed out that the new revenue was to be spent within and for the colonies, adduced the powers of Parliament, the law and custom of colonial rule, the press-

Colonial
opposition

ing exigency of imperial finance. Against them the American party of protest appealed to the law of nature and of God, to statute and common law, to charters and the inherent right of Englishmen not to be taxed without their own consent, hinting not indirectly at home rule. More ominous still, they began to organize. Almost alone among the opposition orators, Colonel Barré had protested in debate upon the act; hailing the colonists as Sons of Liberty. The phrase crossed the Atlantic and spread like wildfire through the colonies. Under that name the radical clubs and "caucuses" began to coalesce into a national society, reinforced by Masonic lodges, fire-companies, groups not hitherto formally organized, even by congregations here and there. At once committees were appointed to correspond with one another, concert joint action, and, in brief, to mold resistance. As they organized effective protest they became a power in general politics, provided popular leaders a wider field of influence, drew to themselves the discontented in every colony, and proceeded to the control of local, then of provincial government, thus forming the nucleus of a revolutionary force.

Under such circumstances and in such hands words passed to deeds. The stamp distributors were driven to resign. Stamps were destroyed or kept from circulation. Riots broke out and property was destroyed; while town after town saw a new emblem rise on its central green, the liberty tree or pole, where radical eloquence coined a new language of resistance to tyranny in speeches against English oppression. Measures were taken to check the use of English goods; and, more important still, before the year was out, a congress of representatives, for the most part Sons of Liberty, met in New York to devise fresh means of opposition to the act. In the face of this storm the government seemed powerless; the act became inoperative; outrages went unchecked; and for the time English authority was at a stand.

This impotence was not wholly due to the American radicals. Coincident with the Stamp Act disturbances the ministry faced a series of difficulties at home and abroad, of which the chief was the situation in India demanding imme-

The Stamp
Act Riots
1765

India
1760-70

ciate attention, and thus preserving the radicals in part from the more serious consequences of their acts. The recent gains had brought to the East India Company neither wisdom nor power competent to cope with the problems raised by the results of the war. Corruption and maladministration were the first fruits of victory; discord and jealousies weakened its counsels. The divided power of the three Indian presidencies aggravated by quarrels of Directors and Proprietors at home; the extortion of its agents in India joined to the increase of its dividends in the face of a declining revenue, had thrown its affairs into politics and finally brought them into Parliament for regulation. This was the more imperative in that the native princes were meanwhile roused to fresh activities. Sujah Dowlah gathered fresh forces. The rulers of Berar and Poona widened their boundaries and their pretensions; and though Mahratta and Rohilla raids were checked, these abetted by the ablest of Indian adventurers, Hyder Ali of Mysore, threatened the English supremacy on every side.

Clive
1765-67

Even so the Directors were with difficulty compelled to consent to the despatch of Clive as governor of Bengal to save the empire he had won. His brief administration coincided with the Stamp Act disturbances and was scarcely less important in imperial affairs. The mere terror of his name brought the Nawab to terms and the emperor to seek his protection. As a result, Oudh was secured to Sujah Dowlah on payment of indemnity, and to the Emperor, Shah Alam, in return for a concession of authority, was confirmed a pension and a principality; while the possession of his person, still sacred to millions, strengthened the Company's prestige. Meanwhile, the disaffected officers were overawed, the civil and military establishments reformed, salaries raised, presents and private trade prohibited. Most important of all, the Company secured the dewanee or financial rights in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, and jurisdiction in the north Circars under imperial suzerainty; and thus, permitting the native rulers to retain their empty titles and dignities, the English laid the foundations of their actual sovereignty in the right

to tax. With the adoption of this policy, in the days when America seemed slipping from English grasp, was India preserved by its old conqueror.

It had been well for England if American affairs, or even domestic politics, could have enlisted such talents as those of Clive. But he returned to find a state from which strength seemed to have departed. Amid the struggle for supremacy between the crown and Whigs, the nation lacked at once a leader, a party, and a policy able to save the situation. All eyes turned naturally to Pitt, whom the king urged to form a ministry. But the great days of the great commoner were past. Hampered by circumstances alien to his genius, the coil of personal politics, and the defects of his own character, his efforts and his plans were vain. Still a popular idol, he had become an impracticable public man. His pride and self-sufficiency declined before disease into intolerable egotism. His occasional utterances, though they breathed a lofty spirit of imperial destinies, did little to solve imperial problems, less to heal domestic differences, least of all to conciliate the colonies. The eloquence which painted a glittering bow of promise across the stormy sky did as little to dispel its clouds as the projects of the financiers had done to find the pot of gold at the political rainbow's end. With no responsibilities he harassed those who would have carried out the policies he had himself earlier approved, drew difficult distinctions between the right to legislate and the right to tax, between external and internal revenue, and in every way encouraged the colonists to resist. Thus, within five years after the signature of a peace which made her the dominant power of the colonial world, England found herself confronted by a combination of political impotence at home and resistance abroad, which threatened at once the efficiency of her administration and the integrity of her Empire.

Pitt
1761-66

CHAPTER XXXV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1783

THE focus of the great revolutionary movement which was sweeping through every department of European life in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century was the British Empire. There, for the moment, was every element of the forces then altering the world to be found in its most significant form. There the Industrial Revolution had begun; and the Agricultural Revolution been largely accomplished. There the rationalists had established themselves, and the new reformation among the Protestant sects found full expression. There Adam Smith had commenced those labors which were to alter the whole progress of economic thought in a nation already set far on the way toward popular government by the upheavals of the seventeenth century and the writings of the school of Locke. There, above all, the old school of absolutism, in new guise, stood face to face with the advancing power of the people, who, beyond the sea, had set up self-governing communities. And there, as a result of the activities of George III, the antagonism between the old and new had now become acute.

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act

With the collapse of the attempt to impose a stamp tax on America, and the disorganization of the Whigs under the attack of the crown, there had come a moment of political anarchy. Ministry dissolved into ministry, like the swift changes of a kaleidoscope. Grenville, tormenting his sovereign by his well-deserved but unpalatable homilies, antagonizing the nation by unpopular taxes and his pursuit of Wilkes, gave way to Rockingham. The Stamp Act was repealed; and jubilant America ignored the accompanying Declaratory Act, which reaffirmed the right to tax the colonies, and celebrated its victory over the mother country.

1765-6

When Grafton followed Rockingham, with Pitt as the chief figure in the ministry, the American agitation gradually died out, and it seemed that all might yet be well. The radicals were correspondingly depressed, the ministry encouraged. But Pitt became a peer; his eloquence fell on dull ears among the Lords. His health grew worse. First virtually, then actually, he withdrew from politics; and the old practices revived. The fatal eloquence of an inexperienced Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, moved the Commons to lay duties on wines and paper, painters' colors, glass, and tea, a pitiful sum at best, to meet the charges of colonial establishment. Writs of assistance were revived; revenue cases transferred from provincial courts, where conviction was all but impossible, to admiralty jurisdiction; and customs' commissioners appointed for America. "A policy," said Napoleon, "may lead to a catastrophe without any real crime being committed"; and this was the case of America.

Changes
in the
ministry
1767

The
Townshend
Act
1767

With the Townshend Acts the hopes of colonial opposition revived. New York, under radical influence, refused provision for troops quartered there; Massachusetts petitioned against the Townshend measures and sent an appeal to the other colonies for aid. And even men like Washington, who had deprecated the Stamp Act disturbances, now declared that no man should hesitate to "maintain liberty with arms." So far had colonial opinion moved. Assemblies were suspended or dissolved in vain; while non-importation agreements were renewed in stronger terms, and enforced by the radical organization more rigorously than before. In turn the English government resorted to more extreme measures to compel obedience and suppress disturbances. Parliament passed resolutions looking toward the transfer of treason trials from colonial to English courts. The Boston revenue officers seized the sloop *Liberty*, owned by John Hancock, a rich merchant, friend and follower of the chief radical agitator, Samuel Adams, and long identified with illicit trade. Riots ensued, the officers were defied, and when troops were finally despatched from Halifax to enforce order, the town denied them quarters. The assembly, refusing to meet under

Colonial
resistance
1768-70

threat of force, moved to Cambridge, and the crisis became acute.

The Grafton ministry at the same moment found itself equally unable to advance or retreat. The London mob had taken up Wilkes' cause, and was held down only by force. That ambitious Indian adventurer, Hyder Ali, threatened Madras and Bombay, reducing the Company's revenue and power in England and India. The inextricable quarrels in domestic politics made the situation impossible; and Grafton, in despair, resigned. Chatham endeavored vainly to form a ministry; and, as a last resort, the king summoned his friend and follower, Frederick, Lord North, to take the difficult and thankless post of prime minister.

Lord
North
1770-82

Seldom has any man been brought to power less willingly or under less favorable auspices. Royal assumption of political leadership, the perennial Wilkes imbroglio, America and India, all presented difficulties of the first magnitude. The parliamentary situation was precarious; the popular discontent was great; financial questions pressed for solution; even the foreign horizon was far from clear. To deal with these the minister's following in the House was a heterogeneous company. Tories, king's friends, placemen, and pensioners, the Bedford Whigs, the old Newcastle following, and, presently, on George Grenville's death, his adherents, made up a restless and ill-assorted majority. Save for North himself, his ministry contained scarcely a man who had not once been a Whig,—and even North had served in a Whig government. This was not the least significant feature of the times. From his long struggle with the oligarchs the king had now emerged not merely victorious. The Whig organization no longer existed. Only a handful of Chathamites and Rockinghams opposed Lord North's ascendancy. The rest, in large measure, were absorbed in the new Tory Party which the king had created, and to which he had ensured a lease of power as long as that which the old Whigs had enjoyed.

Among his motley ministry the new leader stood almost alone in his disinterested honesty and ability, perhaps wholly

alone in the personal attachment to his sovereign which impelled him to accept and remain in office, and which was at once his weakness and his strength. Ablest of living English financiers, skilled in debate and parliamentary management, sensible, sympathetic, humorous, he was both efficient and beloved by the majority of Englishmen, of whose interests and opinions for the time he was perhaps the best representative. Like them he was committed to the colonial policy of the government which he had helped to frame, the regulation of imperial affairs, enforcement of the laws at home and abroad, defense of the frontiers, the reformation of colonial civil service and the East India Company, and the supremacy of Parliament and the crown.

It was peculiarly unfortunate for any man holding these doctrines that he should come to power at the moment that the Americans discovered a formidable element opposed at almost every point to such a program, and encouraged by their previous success, prepared as never before to make their opposition effective. In the preceding decade this element had made scarcely less headway than the home government in formulating its first vague principles into a settled program; and in evolving organization and leadership it had accomplished much more. While English administration had been disorganized by political dissensions, the colonial "Whigs" or "patriots," as they called themselves, increased in numbers, unity, and influence, till, though probably at all times a minority, their energy and determination made them the dominating factor in American politics. Having gained the upper hand in nearly every provincial assembly, they had made their partisans colonial agents, and compelled governors and judges to recognize their power. In every district their agents and correspondents, spokesmen and newspapers enlisted support or silenced opposition by argument or force. From legal and constitutional precedent they appealed to a higher law, the origin and basis of society itself, and in particular, of their own society. Abandoning their earlier battle-cry, "no taxation without representation," they repudiated plans for admitting colonial delegates to Parliament,

The
colonial
radicals
1760-70

and claimed for their assemblies equal rights with it under the crown. Thus they advanced from the older doctrine of parliamentary supremacy across a theory of personal union, like that which Scotland enjoyed during the seventeenth century, toward independence of all effective control.

English
opinion

On their side were the doctrines of the rights of man, the power of the appeal to liberty, the spirit of the age, constitutional arguments, the instincts of a new society, the circumstances of the time. Of these last none was more important than the character of English politics and the men who had directed them in the preceding decade, and were now in control. Of all the disadvantages under which England labored at the moment, the greatest was the lack of men of high statesmanship. It may be doubted whether in the state of the colonial mind at the accession of Lord North, any concession short of virtual independence would have satisfied the great majority of the radicals, as it is tolerably certain that anything that the mother country did would have been used as capital by the most advanced of their leaders at almost any time previous. But there were not many men in England, and no man in power there, who would have ventured to propose the abandonment of authority in America. The opinion of the Parliament, which, whatever else it did, and however it was composed, represented the English people's opinions in the great controversy, testified to England's determination to retain her authority over the colonies. Chatham and Burke thundered in vain, Fox blunted the keen edge of his eloquence on an unyielding majority; the opposition could muster more votes on almost any other question in politics than on America. Wilkes regained his seat in the House against the opposition of the court. In the face of its reactionary policy, reforms were instituted in many directions; but so long as there was any hope at all, England maintained what any nation so situated would have demanded—predominance over its possessions.

Colonial
doctrines

Meanwhile, from the pages of Locke and of his follower, Dr. Price, the Boston agitator, Adams, drew the inspiration of his utterances. The great pamphleteer of the middle colo-

nies, Dickinson, attacked the "innovations" of the ministries in terms that echoed the Puritan protest against the rule of the early Stuart kings. And, in Virginia, Henry invoked Cromwell, and Jefferson searched Puritan revolutionary records for language and precedent to embody the new revolutionary spirit. Nor was it only from England's armory that weapons were drawn against her. Montesquieu, Beccaria, Burlamaqui, and lesser continental prophets, lent their aid to Rousseau in the conflict of argument. The natural sentiments of a new, self-made, and largely pioneer community scarcely needed this stimulant to its own interests and ambitions. "An innate spirit of freedom," wrote Washington, "first told me that the measures are repugnant to every principle of natural justice."

But it could hardly be supposed that any nation would acquiesce in the destruction of long unquestioned legal rights of sovereignty by vague appeals to natural law and liberty, or would submit peacefully to the overthrow of its supremacy in its most valued possessions. Almost the first act of the new ministry had been to assert the English claim to the remote and useless Falkland Islands, seized for Spain by a too zealous governor of Buenos Ayres; and the national approbation of that act revealed an honest if jealous pride of sovereignty which was not likely to brook a challenge from its own dependencies. Scarcely was North in power when one of several such unlucky incidents revealed the elements with which he had to deal. A Boston mob, threatening an English guard, was fired upon and three men killed. Though the authorities disavowed the act and gave up the officer in command to trial; though he was defended by local lawyers and set free by local courts; the Boston Massacre, as it was promptly christened, embittered relations already too strained. Trumpeted through the colonies by the radicals, made the subject of a provocative print by one of their number, it did much to neutralize the repeal of the Townshend Acts, save for the tea duty, by which the ministry signalized its entry into power as an earnest of its conciliatory attitude toward the colonies. For it was evident that there was now

The Boston
Massacre

1770

an element in America advancing from a demand for "liberty" to that of independence, real or virtual; and whose demands were absolutely inadmissible to the majority of the English people. Thenceforth any spark was almost certain to produce an explosion.

The tea
duty and
India

In the excitement fomented by the radicals, concession was ignored and the impost on tea was emphasized, and this became the next, and, as it was to prove, the deciding issue between the mother country and the colonies. To the English mind that tax was wholly defensible. It was retained first as an expression of Parliamentary supremacy. But it was more than that, for it was bound up with the ever-present problem of the East India Company, which had suddenly become again a leading issue of English and imperial politics. In the half dozen years since his return Clive's settlement had already broken down. The Company had increased its dividends while it defaulted its obligations to the government; and, with declining powers and revenues, it faced administrative and financial bankruptcy. The ablest of Indian administrators, Warren Hastings, was therefore hurried out as governor of Bengal, and with him began a new era of English authority in India. Reforming the civil service, he removed the Company's treasury to Calcutta, where he built the strongest of European fortresses in Asia, Fort William, to secure English authority. To the Nawab of Oudh he lent troops to help collect tribute from the Rohillas, in return for territory and a sum sufficient it was hoped to save the Company's credit.

Hastings
1774-85

1773

Meanwhile the question came to Parliament, which, under North, had embarked on a career of constructive legislation to which that body had long been a stranger. It had already passed the Grenville Act, correcting the worst evils of election disputes. It was preparing to settle the government of Canada; and it now determined the question of the East India Company by the Regulating Act. Replacing the divided authority of the three presidencies by the appointment of the governor of Bengal as governor-general of India, and the establishment of a supreme court, it checked the reckless

dividend policy of the Company, remitted its debt to the government, and tided over its embarrassment with a short term loan. Finally, to relieve its immediate necessities, a drawback of three-fifths of the duty on tea destined for America was allowed, in the belief that, by disposing of its huge surplus its burdens would be lightened, and that the smuggling trade, by which the Dutch supplied the colonists, would be made unprofitable and so checked, since the Americans would get cheaper tea. Thus were the two great currents of imperial policy—the commercial and the political—joined, as it was hoped for mutual benefit; and thus they came into touch with the movement of European thought as expressed in the transatlantic colonies.

Never was a political device which seemed so beneficial and so reasonable destined to worse fate. A series of irritating circumstances combined, or devised, to check accommodation, was crowned meanwhile by the destruction of the revenue boat *Gaspee* by some of the inhabitants of the great smuggling center, Providence, whom royal officials attempted in vain to convict of the deed. Though moderate men desired compromise, the drawback on tea was hailed by the radicals as an insidious attempt to secure by bribery the recognition of the right to tax. The tea was sent, but Philadelphia and New York refused their cargoes. Charleston stored the chests in cellars, where the contents spoiled; and at Boston a group of radical members of a Masonic lodge boarded the tea ships and threw their cargoes into the sea. This act of defiance was accompanied by an attack on Governor Hutchinson. His removal was demanded by the assembly; his letters to the ministry were stolen. And, coming into the hands of Franklin, the agent for Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, they were published in America to fan the flame of discontent, since they counseled the strengthening of English authority, and described unflatteringly the Boston radical leaders as they appeared to their most eminent fellow-townsmen.

The ministry and the English people generally were naturally roused to action by these events, and bills were hurried

The tea
duty and
America
1772

1773

The Boston
Port Bill
1774

through Parliament, closing the port of Boston, annulling the Massachusetts charter, and enabling the government to try those accused of capital crimes outside of the colony where the deeds were committed. General Gage was despatched from Halifax to succeed Hutchinson, and Boston was put under martial law. The government of Canada was settled by the Quebec Act, establishing a governor and council there and confirming the Catholic establishment; the able and popular Carleton was appointed governor, and the French colonists conciliated. These measures, with the limitation on western expansion, the act requiring the colonists to furnish the troops with quarters and certain provisions, and the denial of the right to issue paper money, combined to unite powerful elements against the government.

The organization of colonial resistance

In their turn the American radicals roused to fresh activity. Their local organizations took on the form of committees of public safety, whose committees of correspondence revived their chain of communications with new vigor. The same principle was extended to the provincial assemblies now largely controlled by the same element. Through such influences the Bostonians who had done so much to keep this spirit and organization alive, sought and found support. Salem opened its warehouses to the Boston merchants; resolutions of sympathy and promises of support came in from every side, and every Massachusetts county held a convention of protest. That of Suffolk County, in which Boston was situated, voiced the opinion of Adams that no obedience was due the measures framed to enslave America, and called for a congress of the colonies. The whole radical organization echoed the demand, and in September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia.

The First Continental Congress 1774

With it the development of opposition to the English policy reached its last pacific stage. From scattered local opposition to vested authority, through the consolidation effected by the Stamp Act to concerted control of provincial politics, came delegates from the committees of safety of the Sons of Liberty to form, in effect, a continental executive committee of safety, a central assembly of the radical party. Formulating the doctrines and policy which had evolved

through a decade of controversy into a program, their declarations and resolves denounced England's attempt to raise revenue in America, to establish an independent civil service, to take colonists abroad for trial, or to dissolve provincial assemblies. They asserted their rights as Englishmen to legislate for themselves since adequate representation in Parliament was impossible, to assemble and petition, to be free from standing armies in time of peace, from royal councils at all times, and, above all, from taxes laid by Parliament. They declared the revenue acts, the coercive measures, even the Quebec Act, since it legalized Catholicism, to be unconstitutional and unjust. They prepared addresses to the crown and the English people, to Florida, to Georgia, which had sent no delegates, to the West Indian colonies, even to the Canadians, whose religion they had just denounced, asking for support. Finally, to give their principles force, they founded an association to sever commercial relations with Great Britain until their grievances were redressed. Under its authority the committees of public safety were directed to observe the conduct of all persons toward the association, inspect entries, and enforce the embargo by all means within their power.

The revolutionary organization was now complete. It had set up a central authority, supported by a widespread and powerful system of local committees. It had passed a legislative act which was a declaration of economic war in defiance of English constituted authority. It had called on its members to execute its orders; and it had, within the imperial boundaries, attempted a kind of diplomatic negotiation with the other colonies, inciting them to similar resistance. Almost immediately to these activities was added another of even more significance. The Massachusetts assembly, dissolved by Gage as a seditious body, met as a provincial congress, and took steps to resist his authority. Acting under the same influences which inspired it and the Continental Congress, a similar spirit became manifest in the other colonies; and before the end of the year it was evident that, unless some unforeseen circumstance intervened,

The appeal
to arms

the preparations then under way must lead to an appeal to arms.

It was in vain that efforts were made to stem or avert the tide of the oncoming war; all attempts to localize or evade the issue failed. The colonists did not, indeed, lack allies in the mother country. The Irish, looking forward to home rule, favored their cause; merchants fearful for their trade favored anything which would secure its continuance; Chat-ham, Burke, and Fox led a forlorn hope of anti-Imperialists in Parliament. But the bitterness of the attack upon the government was only equaled by its futility. Though Wilkes succeeded in having the resolution against him expunged from the Commons' records; though crown influence was openly and successfully attacked; though two general elections offered an opportunity to overthrow the ministry; the English people, if united on nothing else, followed the king and minister to the bitter end on this issue. Such widely different spirits as Edward Gibbon, John Wesley, and Samuel Johnson, with scarcely any other common ground, found themselves in accord with each other and their countrymen in this. "We are," said North, "no longer to dispute between legislation and taxation but to consider only whether or not we have any authority in the colonies." And to this there could scarcely be but one reply.

The battle
of Lexing-
ton and
Concord
1775

While, then, the ministry made some effort to conciliate, it none the less prepared for war. Such colonies as agreed to contribute to their own defense and government were promised exemption from duty or tax save those that regulated trade. More troops were hurried to Boston. The town was fortified; and a bill restraining New England's commerce was passed by large majorities. As the war spirit spread through America, the prohibition was extended to the other colonies. Promise and threat alike were vain. In April, 1775, troops sent by Gage to seize provincial military stores were met by local levies called to arms by Boston revolutionary leaders, and armed conflict began in earnest.

The fight at Lexington and Concord Bridge was no mere clash of British regulars with an enraged countryside, as it

appeared to unobservant eyes. Behind the "embattled farmers" stood an organization and a policy less complete, indeed, than that of England, yet far from despicable either in numbers, discipline, or armament. For it had not rested with the establishment of civil authority and the declaration of economic and legislative independence; as the controversy deepened it had prepared a military force. Existing colonial militia had been recruited and drilled; arms and ammunition had been bought abroad and smuggled in, despite the English efforts to prevent, by vessels long accustomed to that trade, or through Canada and Florida. Months before the first engagement, forts guarding harbors like Portsmouth had been seized and their armament and stores secured.

So smoothly and rapidly did the plans of rebellion work that three weeks after the fight at Lexington, the fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga were in revolutionary hands, a rapidly increasing army was encamped near Boston, and a second Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Two months after the first shot was fired, the Americans seized and fortified Bunker Hill commanding Boston, and with the attack and capture of that strategic point by the British the war began in form. And it was not the least significant feature of that hard-fought engagement that the drums which had beat at Louisburg now led the colonists at Bunker Hill, while the great captain who now assumed the leadership of the revolutionary army had commanded the party which, twenty-three years before, fired the first shot of the Seven Years' War in the remote wilderness about the frontier post then known as Fort Duquesne.

Bunker
Hill

The conflict then begun was not, as we see now, the desperate, unanimous rising of an oppressed continent driven to rebellion by unbridled and unbearable tyranny, as patriotic historians, following the lead of revolutionary orators, long pictured it. Still less, perhaps, was it the first step in the conscious, deliberate attempt of a despotic king bent on the destruction of English liberties, and beginning his maleficent design with the subjugation of America, as the Whigs declared. The liberties of England, which had survived the

Character
of the war

Stuart rule, were no such weakly growths as that view implies; the American grievances were far from the insupportable miseries which have driven other peoples to like courses. The Revolution was the translation into arms of thoughts and interests long tending consciously and unconsciously to rupture, the culmination of antagonisms, old and new, perhaps inevitable, between two powerful forces of society, and two conflicting doctrines of government. Though no one was then conscious of the fact, it was but the first blow in a world-wide struggle against existing order, social no less than political. For nearly sixty years this was to convulse three continents in almost constant war, involving the whole European world, and finally altering not merely the political destinies of both hemispheres, but the whole fabric of European society. It was no mere conflict between a mother country and her colonies; behind their rivalry lay the antagonism of great classes and interests in every state, which soon or late were to contend for power.

Resources
of the com-
batants

Nothing could have been more typical of this than the conduct of the ensuing war. Neither England nor the colonies were well prepared, much less desirous for a long conflict; neither anticipated such a contingency. The one counted on the speedy suppression of ill-organized resistance; the other on the recognition of its claims before the threat of arms. Both were destined to disappointment. Under the most favorable auspices the complete subjection of a united America would have been as hopeless as the attainment of complete independence without some outside aid by a community so divided as America. Though the contest seemed unequal, its inequality was not as great as it appeared. Of all the great European powers England was the least prepared for war. If the preceding decade of her politics had checked constructive legislation, it had well-nigh paralyzed her fighting arm. Lack of continuity in policy, wasteful retrenchment, corruption, and sheer neglect, were emphasized by the baneful intrusion of social rank and political partisanship into every department of public service. These were crowned by the antagonism of many of her officers

to the government which they served and to the policies they were set to carry out.

England was incapable of supplying troops enough for the American enterprise by enlistment or from her own establishment without greatly weakening her garrisons throughout the world. She therefore resorted to her usual practice and engaged from petty German states the necessary complements, known generically as Hessians. These, with the irregular levies furnished by her Indian allies, provided the revolutionaries fresh ground of grievance; and in that they helped to make the quarrel irreconcilable, they weakened England's moral position more than they aided her military power. Nor was she more fortunate in her commanders. Able administrators were scarcely to be expected under existing conditions in the world of politics. Her navy revealed a wealth of mediocrity, and worse; while the bitter epigram attributed to Walpole, and not unnaturally reattributed to North, measured the zeal and capacity of her chief army officers. "I do not know," he said, "whether my generals will frighten the Americans, but they certainly frighten me."

English
weakness

1775

Under such circumstances the successful conduct of any war would have been difficult. In the present instance it was all but impossible, for such a war as this the world had never seen. Separated by three thousand miles of sea from its theater, operating through a thousand miles of wilderness or sparsely settled land, almost devoid of roads, against men accustomed to arms and the guerilla tactics of the woods, experienced officers from the first regarded the whole adventure as an "ugly business." In no long time it developed into "the grave of reputations." Had English strategy been based, like Pitt's campaigns, upon the sea, as able men advised; had ports been blocked, the more violent districts occupied, and the crisis allowed to work itself out, the result might well have been different. But invasion, and especially the later policy of plundering expeditions, served only to rouse successive neighborhoods to resist the foreign enemy, and gradually to unite opinion and arms against the mother country, depriving her of the support of thousands who were

Difficulties
and mis-
takes of
English
strategy

anxious to befriend her cause. Many more who were indifferent to whatever constitutional question was involved, took arms to drive out the troops which threatened their own homes. The unorganized loyalists, or "Tories," were either compelled to join the invaders, suppress their own opinions, or suffer the bitterest of persecutions, that of their own neighbors. Thousands were driven to emigration. Their property confiscated and their homes destroyed, they settled for the most part in lands provided for them in Canada. Thousands more entered the British ranks. But neither their presence there nor in the neighboring colony compensated the mother country for the destruction of a great part of the best element in the revolting colonies, while the economic and social loss to the community from which they were driven was incalculable. That loss was not without its compensation on the political side. It seems hardly probable that, had the loyalists remained, America could have developed quickly or easily a real democracy—at least such a democracy as she has created. And, if that be reckoned as a gain, it must go far toward justifying the expulsion of the loyalists.

Measured by later standards, the military operations of the ensuing war are not imposing. The issues at stake, the circumstance that small forces at the extremity of empire produce results out of proportion to their size, above all, the later development of the United States, make the American Revolution bulk large in the eyes of later generations. Nor was its ultimate success due in any considerable degree to those agitators who roused the opposition to the English rule. Without them it would, perhaps, never have occurred, but had it depended on their efforts alone it would have ended as it began, in words. To the more dangerous, enduring temper of the fighting men, to their valor and skill, the cause owed what strength it possessed. In particular to the commander, without whom its ultimate success would have been inconceivable, and to the allies whose hatred of England enlisted them on the side of America, was due the strength of the colonial cause.

Among the many events reckoned the turning-points of the struggle, one stands pre-eminent. Two days before the battle of Bunker Hill, George Washington of Virginia was commissioned commander-in-chief of the army, and three weeks later he took up his duties. Of planter ancestry, trained in the hard school of frontier war, the wealthiest and most distinguished figure in America, brave, patient, resolute in a desperate cause, great as were his abilities, his character was greater still. The typical product of his time and circumstance, he was superior to both. The highest representative of a new form of European stock since known as "colonial," he was not merely the greatest figure which the war produced, he was the greatest European yet born outside of Europe.

Washington
1775

The cause for which he fought had need of him. Whatever the capacity of popular leaders to bring on the war, they all but exhausted their mandate with that achievement. The Congress, which now became their chief authority, found its strength taxed to maintain its own existence. It had not merely to provide for defense, it had to erect a government, create and enforce its authority at home and gain recognition abroad, while its very life depended on circumstances over which it had small control or none. It lacked experience in great affairs, as well as in the conduct of regular administration. It had to deal with state governments which had risen on the ruins of provincial establishments and were little disposed to subordinate local to general interest. Without foreign support or credit, without money or power to tax, its chief concern was diplomacy, finance, and war, and only in the first did it achieve any considerable success. It could summon forces for such exploits as the siege of Boston, since threatened states or neighborhoods would rally to resist invasion; but the troops, ill armed, worse disciplined, needed nearly all the qualities which distinguish an army from a mob. To organize, equip, and maintain a permanent force, establish discipline, hold it together, in the face of defeat, privation, and discouragement, and make it fight, was beyond Congress' power. This was the task of Washington.

Congress

The war
1776

Amid difficulties of every sort, he and his officers, during the nine months' siege of Boston which followed the battle of Bunker Hill, strove to mold an army from the material at their command, while Congress found means to carry on the war. Before the outgeneraled British troops were finally forced to evacuate the town and sail for Halifax, both were in some degree achieved. The expeditions of the colonists against Canada failed to capture its strongholds or seduce the French Canadians from their new allegiance. Meanwhile, too, England had made her preparations, and when the Howes appeared with thirty thousand men and a convoying fleet off Long Island, swept Washington's inferior force aside, and occupied New York, it seemed that the power which had but lately humbled France would crush colonial resistance with even greater ease.

The Declaration
of Independence
1776

Yet in the face of the threatened collapse of its fortunes by the destruction of the army on which its life depended, Congress took the final step. It projected a constitution, as a result of a vote to suppress royal authority in the various provinces, and of resolutions looking toward absolving themselves from allegiance to the crown. And on July 4, 1776, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia read and Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence.

It was a momentous document. Conceived in the spirit of Rousseau, whose doctrine of natural rights infused its preamble; formed on the model of the Grand Remonstrance which a hundred years before had voiced England's grievances against Charles I; this able and adroit pronunciamiento, at once a statement of principles and the subtlest of appeals to American sentiment and prejudice, was much the most important state paper which the colonial world had yet produced. It was couched in language which breathed the loftiest sentiments of humanity, and appealed to every emotion of justice and liberty against despotic tyranny. It arraigned the English king for all the crimes committed by Parliament in stifling colonial development and endeavoring to destroy its inalienable rights. It summoned all those touched in their principles or interests to resist, and the

sonorous splendor of its phraseology, no less than its immortal sentiments, shedding their magic over perverted history and partisan statement of the existing situation till they were transformed into rhetorical fact, make it a model of all such appeals. Not England itself had ever given birth to such a powerful instrument of rebellion. However vague its political philosophy, however weak its historical basis, however distorted its charges of fact, it became the inspiration of the conflict which produced it and remains a far-sounding trumpet-blast of liberty.

Yet, had the English commander been capable and determined, its summons would have been vain, for its defiance was accompanied by disaster to the arms of the cause it so ably voiced. Deprived of their control of Lake Champlain, driven from their position on the Hudson, the main revolutionary army under Washington was compelled to retire southward before Howe's superior forces, and only a daring surprise of the enemy's winter quarters encouraged the colonists to go on. Had Howe persisted in his pursuit, had he not held his hand when the Americans were within his grasp, the single barrier which stood between the revolutionary cause and destruction would have been forced. But the English commander delayed, procrastinated, wasted time and opportunity, till both were gone beyond recall. While he tarried, what the English Parliament or even the revolutionary agitators could not do, had been accomplished by wanton and fruitless invasion, as district after district was roused by the appearance of a hostile force.

Howe's
incapacity

1776-7

Meanwhile, congressional agents had been busy abroad. There was one power from which help might reasonably have been expected, and to that power application was early made. France, humiliated, bankrupt in credit and colonies, her prestige impaired, her pride touched, could not, indeed, hope to regain the territory which she had lost a dozen years before. But her statesmen, especially the able and adroit Choiseul, had kept in sight the prospect of revenge. His plans had been continued under Vergennes, and France was hopeful of the present crisis. Yet the prospect so long fore-

French aid

1774-6

seen was still so dubious and uncertain that when it came her ministers at first hesitated to embark upon so unpromising an enterprise. What they had not ventured openly they did not scruple to do by stealth. Under the transparent guise of a private company the French politician-dramatist, Beaumarchais, and the Connecticut promoter-diplomat, Deane, professing to deal with Bermuda, shipped small arms, cannon, and supplies, despite the protests of the English, and so kept the colonial resistance alive.

European
volunteers
1777

To this traffic events soon gave a more serious and important turn. The most astute of all Americans, Franklin, won the sympathy of the French public; the young Marquis de Lafayette, with other noblemen, selected from a host of volunteers, embarked for America at their own expense. Experienced soldiers were enlisted—the French Baron de Kalb, the Pole Pulaski, the German Steuben—to organize, drill, and marshal the American levies into a force able to contend with British regulars on equal terms, and the New Model of the colonists, under such auspices, gradually took on more dangerous form.

Howe
and Wash-
ington
1777

Finally, the events in America brought these activities to the test. Howe, having failed to crush or capture Washington, a campaign was planned to hold New York and Philadelphia, and at the same time cut off New England from the other colonies by an expedition from Montreal, which, making its way along the Richelieu, Lakes Champlain and George, should join hands with like expeditions from New York and from the west along the Mohawk. The first part of the program offered few obstacles. Washington's weak forces were still no match for Howe, and, easily defeated, they were forced to abandon Philadelphia. They lost the forts commanding the Delaware, failed to surprise the British again, and, as Howe took up his winter quarters in the American capital, whence Congress had fled, Washington led his dispirited and suffering troops to the hardships of a winter in the huts of Valley Forge.

The
Burgoyne
expedition
1777

Never had the American cause appeared more hopeless, yet the tide had already turned. While Burgoyne's army of British and Hessians made its triumphant way past the forts

guarding the route to the Hudson, which surrendered or were abandoned at his approach, and St. Leger with his motley Indian and English force advanced from the west, the Americans had retired on Saratoga. But no aid came from the British commander in New York. A raid on Bennington to recruit his failing supplies roused the Vermonters to inflict defeat and loss upon the Hessians. The Indian allies began to withdraw, while from every side reinforcements flocked to join the colonial army under Schuyler and Gates. In such circumstances Burgoyne, abandoned by those on whom he had relied, was forced to fight under adverse conditions of every sort, and twice defeated, was finally compelled to surrender his entire force. Oct. 17

It was a fatal blow. Scarcely had the news of this reverse to English arms reached France when Vergennes hurried forward the treaties which brought French power to aid the Americans. Spain held back for a time, but presently entered the conflict; and when Washington's army emerged from the sufferings of Valley Forge, it found the whole status of the cause for which it fought had altered. Already conciliatory proposals had been introduced in Parliament by North. Commissioners had been despatched to offer the Americans the repeal of the coercive acts, a general amnesty, and every right short of entire independence. But conciliation and commissioners alike came too late. Neither received a hearing, and England, failing in her tardy attempt to divide her enemies and preserve her colonies at the expense of her sovereignty, made ready with a heavy heart to face again a world of enemies. Though refusing to ally herself with the United States, Spain presently declared war in concert with France. Holland, which had aided the Americans from the first by throwing open her West Indian ports to the exchange of tobacco and other colonial products for munitions of war, followed suit; and, to crown England's misfortunes, the states of northern Europe took advantage of her embarrassment to injure her by forming a league of Armed Neutrality against her pretensions on the sea. The French treaty 1778

Spain and
Holland
1779-80

These circumstances, with the decline of her credit in the

face of new demands on her resources, put her on the defensive. None the less, from necessity as from choice, she pursued the war. A new commander, Rodney, was appointed to command the fleet; Clinton replaced Howe at the head of the army; and the old plan of seizing the French West Indies was revived with a new plan of land campaign. Philadelphia, the Capua of the Revolution, was abandoned; and Washington's attack on the retiring English troops was the last engagement fought in the north. Thereafter, three other circumstances combined to change the character of the war. The first was the despatch of a French force under Count Rochambeau. Its arrival at Newport, with the operations of d'Estaing's fleet, which returned from its conquests in the West Indies, cleared New England of English troops, at the same time that Philadelphia was lost to them. The second was the concurrent loss of the western posts, save Detroit, to the Americans under George Rogers Clark. The third was the progress of the adoption of those Articles of Confederation, which Congress had drawn up immediately following the Declaration of Independence, as the basis of union and constitutional government.

The Articles of
Confederation
1776-80

Loose as was the bond, feeble as were the powers of the proposed central authority, the particularist spirit of the old colonial divisions was so strong that not even the pressure of the war had greatly prevailed on the separatists in the various states to consent to any curtailment of local powers. Thus the necessary ratification by the separate states had dragged its slow way with small success and little interest. Now, however, the recognition of independence by foreign powers and the prospect of their aid gave impetus to union. And, though this was long delayed by provincial jealousies over conflicting claims to western lands, the closing years of the war saw the ratification of the Articles and the consequent establishment of a central government.

The last
phase—the
surrender
of Corn-
wallis
1780-1

Meanwhile, the conflict proceeded to its final phase. The English hold on New England and the middle colonies had now been broken, the Hudson lost, and Georgia overrun by the Americans. Their plundering expeditions from New York

accomplished little but the destruction of property and the exasperation of the colonists; their own coasts were terrified by the exploits of the American naval commander, Paul Jones; and at the solicitation of the southern loyalists, the British turned to that quarter of the continent. Charleston was occupied, and from there Cornwallis, with his lieutenant, Tarleton, despite occasional reverses, drove the Americans before them. Marching north from the Carolinas to join hands with the other British forces in Virginia, the brilliant campaign was brought to a sudden and untimely end. The French fleet outmanœuvered the British admiral and forestalled the arrival of Clinton's too long delayed reinforcements from New York, on whose assistance Cornwallis had relied. The Chesapeake was blockaded. Washington and Lafayette, eluding Clinton's relaxed vigilance, hurried their forces to co-operate with the French fleet. Cornwallis found himself abandoned and entrapped; and, after attempting in vain to defend himself on the peninsula of Yorktown, was compelled to surrender his army to the allies.

Oct. 19
1781

It was the crowning blow. The drum-major who ordered his men to play a popular air, "The World turned upside down," as the British defiled from their entrenchments, was a true prophet of the great event. Though two years were still to intervene before the treaties were signed which recognized the independent existence of the United States of America, now added to the nations of the earth, Cornwallis' surrender determined the result. And not that alone: North's ministry, long tottering to its fall, was overthrown; 1782 and the confusion of the successive coalition governments paralyzed the state until the accession of the younger Pitt 1784 brought order out of chaos with the rise of the new Tory Party to a long lease of power. Before that was achieved, Ireland had taken advantage of English embarrassments to 1782 organize a force of volunteers, nominally to protect herself against threatened invasion. With that force she was able to extort recognition of parliamentary independence from the English government, and a species of home rule which endured two decades.

India
1782

1780-3

1782

The
Peace of
Paris and
Versailles
1783

At the same time, England had lost most of her gains in the West Indies to the French. In India, Hyder Ali, who had already occupied the Carnatic, was reinforced by Suffren in command of a French squadron. And though Gibraltar, which had long been besieged by Spain, was relieved by Rodney's victory over the Spanish fleet and saved by Elliot's splendid defense; though England regained command of the Channel, which had meanwhile almost slipped from her grasp; almost simultaneously she lost Minorca on the one side of the Atlantic and Florida and the Bahamas on the other. With this, however, the tide turned, and as she was relieved from the pressure of the American war, and thus enabled to throw her strength against her European enemies, she regained something of her old position and power. The defeat of de Grasse's fleet by Rodney preserved her greater West Indian possessions from capture. The death of Hyder Ali removed her most dangerous enemy in India; and when the Peace of Paris and Versailles was signed she lost, indeed, her American colonies, but she was able to retain more of her old possessions than two years before would have seemed possible.

With it came new alignment of frontiers. Spain kept Florida and Minorca; France recovered her East Indian posts, with St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, Senegal and Goree in Africa; and the United States secured the rights of fishery, and the western lands as far as the Mississippi and Florida, with privilege of navigation to the Gulf. For the rest, the British Empire remained as before; and, however fallen in territory, credit, and prestige from the proud state which twenty years before emerged triumphant from the Seven Years' War, England was still the leading colonial power of the world, and, in the interval of peace, she turned to adjust domestic and imperial concerns in which the crisis of recent events had shown the fundamental necessity of reform. In such fashion was concluded the war of the American Revolution, which, as Frederick the Great declared, was the most important European event of its time!





CHAPTER XXXVI

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1789

THE period of a little more than twenty years which elapsed between the passage of the ill-fated Townshend Acts by the English Parliament and the final steps in the organization of the American colonies into an independent state, marks the last great turning-point in the long road from mediæval to modern forms of thought and action in the world's affairs. Its most dramatic circumstance was, of course, the conflict between England and her colonies. But the American Revolution was by no means the only event of importance in those momentous years, nor the independence of the United States of America the only great result of the period. Seldom within so brief a time has Europe had the foundations of her beliefs and traditions so profoundly altered, or the long-standing practices of her every-day life so rudely disturbed. Had there been no revolt of the colonies this would still have been an era of eminent significance in European history.

The
European
revolution

On the continent itself the year in which the Americans finally appealed to arms was characterized by a series of events which determined for the moment many activities whose origin had long preceded the American revolt, and pointed to the future. That twelvemonth saw the final blow struck against the Jesuits, and the occupation of Ottoman territories by Russia and Austria which indicated the beginning of Turkish decline. It saw the accession of Louis XVI and his Austrian wife to the French throne and the inheritance of misfortune which it entailed. At the same time the enactment of the India Bill and the appointment of Warren Hastings as the first governor-general of India marked the initial step in the reorganization, and, as it proved, the extension of English power in the East. Mean-

European
affairs
1774

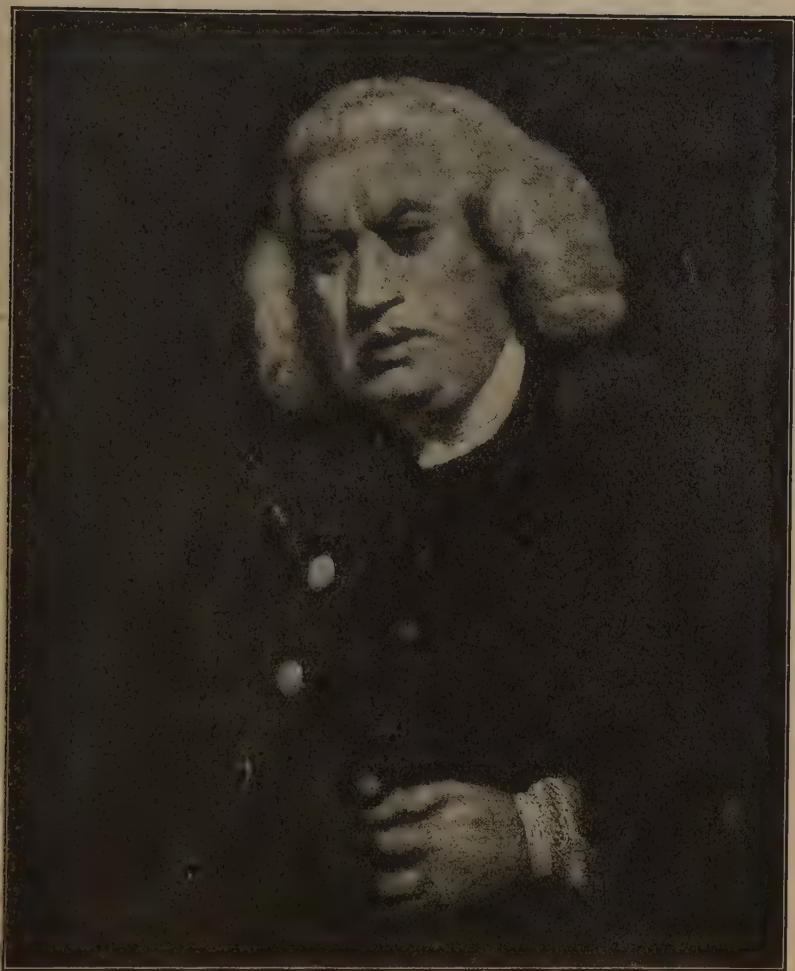
while, James Cook returned from the second of those voyages which not only directed English attention to the Pacific and resulted in the settlement of Australia, but, by his discovery that scurvy, the curse of seamen before his time, could be prevented by means of simple changes in diet, added, as it were, a new realm to human activity. Finally, the passage of the Quebec Act began the modern history of Canada.

Painting
1760-89

Still more than these activities in politics, the concurrent developments in the fields of art and intellect exemplified and contributed to the transition now taking place in the European world. In England, a great school of portrait painters, headed by Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough, achieved new triumphs in a remarkable combination of modest and graceful naturalness. Meanwhile, Greuze and Boucher and Fragonard continued the more sophisticated naturalism of Watteau in France, where the luxury and licentiousness of the court vitiated morals and taste alike. Continued by Reynolds' followers, Raeburn, Lawrence, and the American Copley, the English "natural" school was reinforced by a group of landscape painters who furthered the reaction against artificiality, and contributed to the "return to nature" fresh sources of strength. And there is perhaps no better evidence of the feeling that man was now at last prepared to meet nature on at least equal terms than the increasing tendency of art and literature to depict her fiercer moods. It was sure confirmation of the fact that man was no longer afraid of his ancient antagonist.

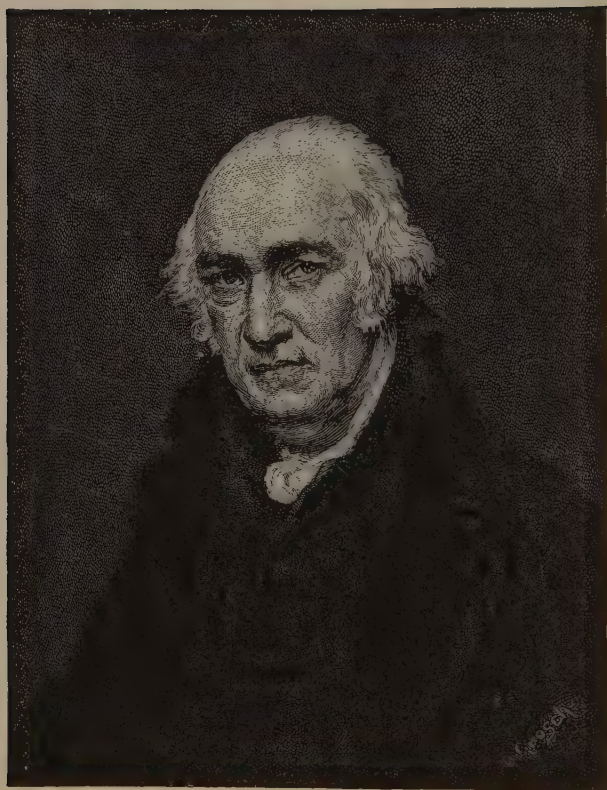
—pastel
and water-
color

The artistic revival was further strengthened by new mediums of expression. From the preceding centuries had come an art not unrelated to crayon drawing, that of painting in "pastel," or dry color. It rose to eminence in the eighteenth century. Nearly every artist of note, from Watteau to the greatest of the pastelists, Liotard, tried his hand at it, and so established it firmly in the taste and technique of the continent. Allied to pastel was painting in water-color, which owes its origin to this period. This art developed from the old practice of washing in pen-drawings. By substituting paper for canvas, and achieving a variety of effects impossible



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

After the painting by Joshua Reynolds. A good example of 18th century costume and portraiture. Compare with Luther and Calvin, vol. I, p. 183, the Colignis, vol. I, p. 298, and with Frans van der Borch, vol. I, p. 299.



JAMES WATT.

to oils, it extended the field of pictorial representation in another and, as it was to prove, a peculiarly popular direction. For the moment it lent itself particularly to the genius of those last exponents of the expiring rococo style, "the painters of frivolity," who, like Fragonard, devoted their talents to the delineation of beaux and belles, and amatory situations of the high society which for the moment led continental art in its train.

Neither graphic nor plastic art kept pace with the progress of painting, despite the encouragement of royal and noble patronage, the establishment of great galleries, new educational facilities, and the revival of classical models which had followed on the achievements of the archæologists. The genius of David, "the regenerator of French painting," was, indeed, profoundly affected by this last influence; while that of Canova, "third greatest of Italian sculptors," owed much of its inspiration to the same source. With the entry of such men into the field, the vogue of that school which catered to the patronage of the French court and was represented in the beautiful if decadent productions of Fragonard, began to decline. But with the death of Hogarth the talents of his successors were unequal to maintaining line-drawing at the level which he had reached; and though engraving increased in quantity, it was at the expense of its quality.

1764

In another direction, however, not unrelated to general artistic progress, this was a notable period. Classical models in architecture, as in other fields, were still prominent, though a century of development had greatly modified their earlier and more uncompromising outlines. The eighteenth century had seen them adapted with much success to domestic building; and their influence had been especially marked in decoration, both interior and exterior. No small part of the principles known among Anglo-Saxon peoples as Georgian or colonial owe their origin to the last half of this eighteenth-century classical adaptation. In particular, the work of the English architect, Adam, typifies the movement of the time; not merely on account of the buildings which he designed, but because it was connected in his hands with another art

Furniture

1728-92

whose development makes this period memorable. For, not content with building, he devoted his talents to furnishing, and so put himself in touch with the making of furniture, which reached its golden age in the era of the American Revolution.

This art or craft was influenced not a little by the passion for eastern, in particular Chinese, products, which characterized the taste of the mid-eighteenth century. As architecture was reinforced by the use of stucco, so furniture-making was aided by the introduction and improvement in finishing materials, derived largely from tropical gums whose names, varnish and lacquer, betray their eastern origin. The brilliant if unsubstantial grace of the styles developed in France under Louis Quinze and Louis Seize, and known by their names, owed much of their charm to the marvelous lacquer invented and used by the family of furniture-makers, from whom it derived its name, Vernis Martin. In England, meanwhile, the successive labors of the Chippendales, Sheraton, and the Adams brought the art of furniture-making to the greatest heights it had yet attained. In the work of such men was found a mingling of many styles and many influences, classic, Gothic, oriental, rococo, to produce masterpieces which have stood the test of the changing tastes of more than a century, and remain the models of elegance and sound construction. In such hands formalism was at once relieved and refined, and pronounced advance was made in a not unimportant and certainly an interesting and useful art.

Music

In some measure and on a greater scale the same was true of another phase of human activity, that of music, which now entered on one of the greatest periods of its history. Though Handel had passed away, the oratorio continued its development, in England especially; while its democratic influence was now promoted in a different quarter and by different means. The work of the Italian Goldoni at once elevated light opera to the level of a high art and made it a factor in modern life. It did more. Drawing its motives and characters from the same elements which Molière had earlier exploited in the drama, it put the operatic stage in

1707-93

touch with every-day life, and strengthened the connection of music with the popular movement which was then influencing almost every department of human existence.

But it was neither in English nor Italian hands that there came the most remarkable triumphs of music in these years. For a century Germany had held high place in that field; and now Haydn, and still more Mozart, following in the footsteps of Bach, and in turn followed by their still greater pupil, Beethoven, pushed past all bounds hitherto set in musical composition. In their hands the opera attained new greatness; and with the elaboration of new forms of expression, the symphony and sonata, music was raised to heights of achievement and capabilities scarcely suspected before. Beyond even the triumphs of Gluck, who had done so much to bring German music into touch with the progress of opera, rose the glory of Mozart. His *Idomeneo* reached the highest level yet attained in that field; and when to these were added *Don Giovanni*, the *Zauberflöte*, and the uncompleted *Requiem*, and, from Beethoven's hand in later years, the *Choral Symphony*, the world entered upon the greatest era of its musical history.

1750-89

1756-91

Besides her triumphs in harmony, Germany astonished the world in two other lines of human achievement. The one was literature. At this juncture, inspired in part at least by the translation of Shakespeare and the example of Percy and his colleagues in the revival of the older and more "natural" forms of literature, an amazing burst of genius suddenly set her among the principal intellectual nations of Europe. There the poet-philosopher, Lessing, who, with Diderot, had done most to foster a critical spirit in European art and letters, had been joined by such men as Wieland and Klopstock to protest against the classical decadence which had overtaken German letters. This "Sturm und Drang" movement, as it came to be known, bent all its genius to the destruction of conventionality, the tyranny of old forms and superstitions, and to encouraging the tendency toward the freedom of "natural" genius.

German literature

1729-81

From that beginning came a new German renaissance.

Schiller
1759-1805

Herder, with his folk-songs, emulated the triumphs of the English school; and, following him, came the twin stars of Germany's literary constellation, Schiller and Goethe. What Petrarch and Dante had been to Italy in successive centuries, what Shakespeare and Milton had been more recently to England, these two became almost simultaneously to the German people. Schiller, beginning with his romantic drama of the *Robbers*, proceeded through the medium of historical plays, *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, *The Maid of Orleans*, to his final and perhaps his greatest work, *Wilhelm Tell*. At the same time he contributed a history of the Thirty Years' War to that form of literature; wrote philosophical dissertations, enunciating his creed compounded of mysticism and deism; and produced a body of poetry which has made him one of the most read and best loved of German poets.

Goethe
1749-1832

Beside Schiller towered the genius of his friend, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, the vast range and content of whose mind, no less than his literary powers, made his work not merely the culmination of German literary expression, but gave it a place in world literature. Few departments of intellectual effort were alien to his genius. Like Schiller, he began with romantic drama, in *Goetz von Berlichingen*. Like him, he drew material from history for his dramas, as *Egmont*, *Tasso*, *Mahomet*, and lesser plays fell from his pen. To these Goethe added two other forms; one was the drama drawn from classical sources, like *Iphigenia auf Tauris*; the other was that strain of sentimental romance which found voice in the *Sorrows of Werther*, and imitators through the whole German-speaking world. He had, moreover, a lyric gift unequalled in his native tongue, a breadth of mind and human sympathy which, joined to no inconsiderable scientific acquirements, made him the wonder of the European world of intellect. He was at once the representative and the highest type of his literary age. His translation of Gray's *Elegy*, his admiration of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, of Ossian, of Shakespeare above all, testify to the close connection of the forces remaking European life and thought. Moreover, Goethe contributed not only the most considerable

impetus to the Sturm und Drang movement, but, in his *Herrmann und Dorothea*, and in his ultimate masterpiece, *Faust*, which only a later generation was to see completed, he gave that impulse to nature and humanity which his novel of *Wilhelm Meister* foreshadowed, and of which his whole life and work was an example.

If it were not enough to have produced Goethe and Schiller, Beethoven and Mozart in one generation, Germany now crowned the long development of philosophy since Descartes with the genius of Immanuel Kant. In him there culminated, and in a sense closed, the era of critical philosophy. It is not easy to put in simple language the principles which have shaped the thought of all of us, though we may never have even heard of Kant. But it may be said that his *Critique of Pure Reason* rejected at once the loose emotionalism of current German thought and Hume's principles based wholly on experience and observation. Kant identified God with the law of ethical necessity, and placed the responsibility for man's conduct on his reason rather than on his emotions. He opposed the contention of "rationalists," who relied on pure reason, that there was any such thing as absolute truth; and he denied the existence of phenomena without relation to the mind that perceived them. He substituted "practical reason" for the abstract conceptions of his predecessors, and the "supreme cause" of things was to him rather a moral than a material or "sensual" force. Though he had no intention of "humiliating reason," he gave it a secondary place among human faculties. To him the basic quality of man was *will*; and his principles were opposed alike to materialism and to spiritual dogmatism.

Kant
1724-1804

In such fashion was joined the conflict between what are called "realists" and "idealists," with which every intellectual force of that period was concerned, and which from that day to our own has divided the intellectual and the artistic world into warring camps. Thus, too, were provided intellectual foundations and formulæ for the new concepts then beginning to revolutionize man's thoughts and actions, and so lead to a new era of his development.

These great figures of Germany's golden age personified the highest intellectual achievements of their race; but theirs was not the Germany of Frederick the Great. The mild and peaceful culture of the courts in whose atmosphere their genius flourished, that older and truer Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, bore little relation to the proud, warlike, unintellectual militarism of the Germanized Slavic lands of Prussia. Weimar, the "German Athens," and not Berlin was the intellectual capital of the German people. Prussia, neither then nor later, produced from her own loins a literature or a culture comparable to that of these small but truly enlightened states. Like Catherine of Russia, Frederick the Great took France for his intellectual guide rather than the genius of his own land. Though these liberal powers were to be overwhelmed and discredited by Prussian might in future years, this overthrow of a German Athens by a Prussian Sparta was to prove more of a loss to the world, and to the German people themselves, than could be atoned for by any aggrandizement of the Hohenzollern dynasty. For with the triumph of absolutism over enlightenment, German literature, philosophy, and culture suffered in proportion as German material prosperity increased.

Into those higher realms of thought, whatever their great importance to the human race, most men have neither cared nor been able to penetrate. But to another series of phenomena which distinguished this period above all others in history they were not so indifferent. While the outlying regions of thought and action, like the remoter confines of European possessions, were thus stirred by new forces, at the very heart of every-day existence there were being wrought changes of no less significance and of far more immediate interest and importance to the masses of mankind.

Their first and most obvious expression was in literature. The Age of Voltaire and the philosophers had merged insensibly into the Age of the American Revolution which transmuted into action the doctrines which had long been at work remolding European thought. The great skeptic had lived to hear of the surrender of Burgoyne; and at the very moment

that he made his final and triumphal visit to Paris there was signed the treaty between France and the colonies which recognized the independence of the United States of America. That circumstance gave a tremendous impetus to the principles of liberty for which he, with his fellow-philosophers, had long contended. There was no hand in France, nor in Europe, both able and willing to take up the pen which fell from his hands. For Goethe, with all his genius, had but a languid interest in politics or the controversy which delighted the soul of the great Frenchman, and Kant's philosophy, even had it taken the form of liberalism, was as yet too remote from popular thought to affect its course. 1778

But if French letters felt the loss of its leader, its spirit remained that of the philosophers; and a host of lesser hands continued the work of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. The *salons* of the free-thinkers flourished. The cult of the common man, of liberalism in religion and politics, was more and more sedulously cultivated; and a thousand circumstances pointed to an approaching revolution. Despite the labors of men like Prévost and St. Pierre, the prevailing tone of French letters was didactic and political. The latter author, indeed, opened a new vein of fiction with his *Paul and Virginia*, in which the extreme sentimentality of his time was blended with an extra-European setting to produce a new genre of idyllic literature not without its influence on later times. But it had neither philosophical nor political importance save in so far as it reflected the general tendency toward spontaneity and simplicity. 1789

It was not without significance that this apostle of sentiment had begun life as an officer in Mauritius and became the superintendent of the Jardin des Plantes; thus typifying that connection between the various streams of activity which dominated the imagination of his time. Even more typical of that spirit was the Abbé Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes*. This curious compilation, to which many of the group of so-called philosophers contributed, lacked real historical spirit. It was as full of errors as it was of declamation 1770

French
Liberalism

about liberty, the rights of man, and the current shibboleths of the school to which the author belonged. Yet it enjoyed a peculiar popularity, partly as the first effort to relate the history of Europe beyond the sea, and more largely as the expression in history of the principles of liberalism then being practically exemplified in America and becoming so fashionable in France.

English
literature
—the
historians

Hume
1711-76

But French literature, especially in history, yielded, like all European efforts in that field, to the labors of the English in this remarkable period. At this moment the British Isles boasted the three greatest living historians, one of whom still challenges comparison with any historical writer before or since. The first was the Scotch philosopher, David Hume, whose death in the year of the American Declaration of Independence removed one of the most distinguished figures of that circle which made Edinburgh at this time a principal intellectual center of Europe. He belonged to the rationalistic school; and his *Natural History of Religion* was one of the earliest efforts of that group to carry the conflict between science or philosophy and theology into the field of dogmatism and revelation. His contributions to psychology, ethics, and economics ranked him among the leading intellects of his time. His *History of England*, chiefly by virtue of its style,—for he was no historian in the modern sense,—had become and long remained the classic account of England's development; nor with all of its bias and its inaccuracy was it without its merits for the days in which it was written.

Robertson
1721-93

Not inferior in style and infinitely superior in method to Hume was his countryman Robertson, who, in addition to his labors on the history of Scotland, devoted his talents to the same subject which had attracted the Frenchman, Raynal, and had produced the earliest of German colonial historians,—the doings of Europeans beyond the sea. It was the symbol of a changing age when British, French, and German writers took up the task of explaining to their countrymen the story of those regions then for the first time breaking away from European leading-strings. And it was emphasized by the

appearance of another historical production from the pen of one, who, by his position on the English Board of Trade and in the House of Commons, had done something to precipitate that catastrophe.

In the year of the Declaration of American Independence there was published the first volume of Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Inspired and informed by the labors of scholarship, antiquarianism, and archæology which distinguished the eighteenth century, Gibbon's work was peculiarly characteristic of the intellectual movement of its time and by far its greatest historical product. It raised English and indeed European historical writing to a plane scarcely reached since the days of Thucydides. For to a great gift of style it added scientific method, great learning, and a sweep of imagination which made it a literary portent of the time, comparable in value with the labors of the scientists and philosophers, and in popularity with that of the novelists.

Gibbon
1737-94

With Gibbon's work modern historical writing may be said to begin. It partook of another quality which gave it sensational importance and produced a whole library of controversy. Like his contemporaries, Gibbon was profoundly influenced by rationalistic thought, and at least two of his chapters,—those which ventured to enumerate the non-spiritual causes for the spread of primitive Christianity,—became the object of the bitterest attacks of the orthodox, and the prophecy of a new era of historical approach.

It might well be argued that the year 1776 is the most important date in history since the discovery of America or the fall of Constantinople, as the one from which the final stage of European revolution took its rise. For it marks not only the formal separation of the new world from the old and the entry of an astonishing number of new ideas into European thought, but it was the climax of a period which revolutionized European thought and practice in nearly every field of human activity. This is especially true of the literature concerning itself with public affairs and those concerns which we commonly think of in terms of statesmanship. In that

Political
economy

Adam
Smith
1723-90

field the simultaneous publication of two volumes in a sense marked the final break with the theories of the past and laid the foundations of a new era of thought, and presently of practice, in economics and government. The first was the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, by the Scotch political philosopher-economist, Adam Smith. It is scarcely too much to say that his work is not unworthy to set beside even Jefferson's immortal document as a landmark in the history of liberty. Whether its author be regarded as the founder of that school of economic thought which has governed men from his time almost to our own and still exercises a powerful influence on affairs, or whether he be looked on as merely the greatest exponent of the tendencies of his own time, it is true that,—completing the work begun by the Physiocrats,—he sounded the death-knell of mercantilism.

His work was infused with that historical spirit which had been so lacking in most earlier economic writing but was so characteristic of his day, and had proved one of the most powerful antagonists of authority. It emphasized the principle enunciated by the Physiocrats known as *laissez-faire*—the spirit of individual initiative as against that of the paternal authority of the state, of competition against monopoly, of the operation of "natural" laws in politics and economics against the artificiality which had long prevailed there. And however that spirit tended to ignore the problem of welfare in its emphasis upon wealth, however it found itself in need of correction as the era of unrestricted competition and industrialism—"the age of tooth and claw"—came on, it was not only in full accord with the instinct of a generation bent on breaking the long domination of authority, privilege, and aristocratic supremacy, but it played a great part in that emancipation. His book was not merely a classic of economic literature; it had profound and far-reaching effect on practical affairs. The praise which has been accorded its influence has found expression in the assertion that had it appeared a generation earlier there would have been no American Revolution; and its influence may be measured by

the complete reversal of English policy which it and its successors effected within the ensuing half-century.

Were these not enough to mark 1776 as an *annus mirabilis*, there appeared at the same moment another book, briefer, less easily comprehensible, and far less popular than that of Smith, but scarcely less influential on political thought and ultimately on political practice. This *Fragment on Government* brought into European view the doctrines of Jeremy Bentham, in whose hands the principles sketched by Hobbes in the seventeenth century and elaborated by lesser men in the eighteenth were formulated into the school of thought known as utilitarian. To these men the chief object to be sought by organized society was, in their famous phrase, "the greatest good of the greatest number"; the chief test of government, utility; the chief motive of human action, self-interest. In this doctrine they aligned themselves, consciously or unconsciously, on the side of democracy. Utilitarianism reckoned pleasure and pain the chief motives in life, and ignored many higher and deeper springs of action. It followed eighteenth-century fashion in lowering the plane of thought and action in the interest of practicality. None the less it exercised a profound and not unsalutary effect on future thought and still more on legislation. When supplemented by Bentham's work on the *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, which coincided with the formation of the American constitution, it gave his doctrines a position, particularly in the field of legislative reform, comparable to those of the Scotch economist in political economy. If the one revolutionized the theories which underlay the vast complex of politics, manufacturing, and commerce, the other influenced no less that other related complex of politics, morals, and society. To these again may be added the work of two great lawyers, the Englishman Blackstone, whose *Commentaries* provided a manual of theory and practice for generations, and the Frenchman Pothier, whose labors laid the foundation for the French Civil Code.

Bentham
1748-1832

In itself this literary and philosophic production was remarkable. It was still more remarkable when taken in

The Agri-
cultural
Revolution
1760-89

connection with the development in another line which had unquestionably done much to turn men's thoughts to such matters and with which it was to have such tremendous interaction. Among the claims of the eighteenth century to a high place in history is the fact that it was the period in which the modern world of agriculture and industry took its rise. In England, particularly, the so-called Agricultural Revolution was reaching its zenith during the years of the American revolt. During the preceding half-century almost every phase of production from the soil and the breeding of cattle had been improved beyond the imagination of preceding generations. It is perhaps unworthy the dignity of the chroniclers of kings and ministers to record the fact that in this period crop returns were doubled by more scientific cultivation, and that the weight of cattle and sheep was increased by half through careful selection in breeding and the spread of root crops for feeding. But it may be within even their province to note that by the time of George III and Louis XVI farming had become not only profitable but fashionable; or that, as a sign of the more practical side of the eighteenth century's return to nature, George Washington was not only the savior of the American cause but one of the foremost agriculturists of his time; while George III's favorite title was that of "a gentleman of Berkshire."

These are trifles significant of a rapidly altering society, and a no less rapidly changing attitude toward affairs. It was reflected and reinforced by another phenomenon of importance to many classes of society. The increased rewards derived from land made land more valuable; and in England especially it led to a revolution not only in cultivation but in distribution. The immemorial common field system was destroyed. The common lands were inclosed; and small farms were consolidated into large holdings more easily and more profitably worked by those possessed of capital. The effect was twofold. On the one hand, production was increased; on the other, the destruction of the small landholder, or yeoman class, long since begun, was virtually completed. The generation which experienced the troubles in America

effected the greater part of the first stages of this change largely through the action of a landlord Parliament which secured its monopoly by enclosure acts. This tendency was less observable on the continent, where the land-holding classes had no such legislative powers. And while in the hands of men fitted by knowledge, skill, and capital this common or waste land developed into greater productivity, and so increased the wealth of the nation, though in some districts population increased with greater productivity of the land, the number of independent landholders declined as they sank to the status of farm laborers.

The situation of these lower classes in what was at this time the leading agricultural, industrial, and commercial nation in Europe, was thus depressed, not less by their own dispossession than by the relative improvement of their superiors, as they descended into mere laborers. It is, indeed, difficult to determine what would have been their fate had it not been for another phenomenon which at this precise moment tended for the time to provide their surplus numbers with a market for their only commodity, their labor. This was the so-called Industrial Revolution, whose results are not to be reckoned inferior to the revolt of the colonies, nor, indeed, to any event since the discovery of America.

The
Industrial
Revolution
1760-89

Like its agricultural forerunner, its earliest seat was the British Isles. There the development of manufacturing had proceeded on different lines and on a larger scale than in any other European country, and there it was but natural to expect the most marked improvements in mechanism.

Provided with markets not only on the adjacent continent but in far-flung colonies and dependencies bound to her by the closest of commercial restrictions, and controlling virtually the sea-going commerce of the world, England, unlike France, had found her chief profits during the eighteenth century in staple and quantity, rather than in articles of quality and fashion. Her manufactures, like her commerce, had doubled, even trebled, in fifty years, till, especially in the two great fields of iron and weaving, she now led the world. That progress had been accompanied and in large measure caused by two circumstances. The first was her

colonial policy, which at once provided her with enormous supplies of raw material and made her the manufacturing, commercial, and financial center of her empire. The second was the improvement in her methods of production and distribution.

The development of coal and iron mines in which the continent was as yet relatively deficient, the supplies drawn from across the sea, coupled with the industry and skill of her artisans and her unsurpassed merchant marine, no less than the resources and ability of her financiers, were aided by still another and perhaps the most important of her advantages,—the ingenuity of her inventors. Until well into the eighteenth century England, like the rest of the continent, depended almost wholly upon the so-called cottage system of manufacturing, and very largely on hand labor. Throughout Europe the horse-driven treadmill was used to some extent. The windmill, which adorned the Dutch landscape and provided power for Dutch mills, found little or no place elsewhere; and water provided the chief means of propulsion for such machinery as was not driven by the human hand or foot. The fuel for smelting operations had long been provided by the forests; and it was not until the period of the wars of the Austrian Succession that pit-coal began to replace wood and charcoal. Only in coal-mining was steam power used, and that in the form of the relatively crude Newcomen pumping-engine, used to clear the mines of water. Other attempts to apply this principle to the driving of stationary engines, or to means of communication by land or water had not as yet been a practical success.

1742-63

Spinning
and
weaving
1730-60

In some measure industrial development had been stimulated by improvements in spinning and weaving which characterized the second quarter of the century. The foot-driven spinning-wheel was still in use, with some modifications from its original form, and the efforts to substitute some mechanical means, like rollers, to draw out and twist the threads, were as yet commercially unsuccessful. Weaving was more fortunate. The flying-shuttle of Kay, and his later invention of shuttle-boxes, greatly increased the capacity and ease of



THE INDUSTRIOUS AND THE LAZY APPRENTICE.

One of the series "Industry and Idleness," by Hogarth, 1747. It should be compared with the drawings by Jost Amman to see how little the craft of weaving had changed since the 16th century. (Vol. I, p. 41.)



COTTON FACTORIES IN MANCHESTER.

From Baines' *History of Cotton Manufacture*. Note the type of building now introduced; the canal; and the background of chimneys and smoke, as symbols of the changes being made at the end of the 18th century.

manipulation of the loom. Finally its adaptation to figured work, begun by the Frenchmen Falcon and Bouchon, in the same period, extended its capabilities and formed probably the greatest advance in weaving since the invention of the loom itself.

With these improvements the weavers for the moment passed beyond the capacity of the spinners to produce thread sufficient for their purposes; and the inventors at once began to endeavor to remedy that serious deficiency. The years of the American Revolution saw the difficulty removed. James Hargreaves, an English blacksmith, devised what was known as a spinning-jenny, which realized the dream of producing threads by machinery. But the Hargreaves machine, though it spun twenty or thirty threads at a time, could not make them strong enough for warp. Almost at once, however, Richard Arkwright contrived an improved jenny which was capable of producing as many threads as Hargreaves' device, and of any required fineness and strength. Ten years later, at the crisis of the American troubles, Samuel Crompton corrected the defects of the spinning-jenny by the invention of the "mule," which could twist threads suitable for the weaving of muslin, and so came to be known as the muslin-wheel. With these inventions the spinners caught up with the weavers, and the industry was revolutionized. Within a decade the manufacture of textiles was transferred from the handworkers, who had carried it on since the dawn of history. For the first time it became possible not only to take raw wool, cotton, flax, or silk and weave fabrics virtually without the use of the hands, save to direct the machines; but, what was more important, to produce from the same amount of labor an enormously increased output of goods.

There remained the problem of power to drive these machines. Arkwright had first used horses, then the water-wheel, with moderate success. But even while he was casting about for other and better methods of operation, a Scotch instrument-maker, one James Watt, engaged in repairing a model of the Newcomen engine, was inspired to correct its defects. The original steam-engine had been merely the

Hargreaves
1764

Arkwright
1769

Crompton
1779

Watt
1736-1819

The steam-
engine

application to a pump of steam which, reversing the pumping principle, drove the piston forward and so worked the handle. It had many flaws, the chief of which was the enormous waste of power. This Watt endeavored to correct, chiefly by various devices to conserve the steam. These included the condenser; the use of oil to lubricate the piston which would thus work more easily and hold in the steam more effectively; a covering to the upper end of the cylinder and its inclosure in an outer shell of non-conducting material; and a device to keep the piston-rod, as well as the piston, in a steam-tight compartment. By such means he preserved a great part of the heat which had been largely wasted in the Newcomen-Savery engine, and so increased its power enormously. To this he added other devices to regulate its action—the throttle-valve, the governor to control the speed of rotation, and the indicator to record steam pressure. He found means to convert the back and forth motion of the piston to the rotary motion necessary to drive the wheels of a machine, as well as to keep the piston to a straight line and enable it to pull as well as push, and a process of so-called “expansive working,” by which the steam drove the piston forward by its expansion after entering the cylinder. With these devices the steam-engine took on much the form which, save for the use of superheated steam, it has since maintained; and the new source of power, thus effectively harnessed, became the motive principle of another era of human development.

It is scarcely too much to say that Watt began a new age of the world. The improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel which had preceded his invention were now enormously stimulated by the power he put in men's hands to handle metal in quantities and sizes hitherto impossible. The necessity for more and better material for the production of machinery in turn brought with it an advance in the processes of mining and smelting. The application of steam power first to cotton mills, then to blast furnaces, increased both their capacity and adaptability to conditions of production. Coal took the place of water as the chief source of power; and wherever it was available there sprang up

the first products of the Industrial Revolution, the factories. Hand labor, indeed, continued long, but with decreasing ability to meet the competition of man's new servant in quantity production. Thus at the same moment that the political revolution in Europe came to its fruition, the mechanical revolution began to transform the industrial and social conditions of the world.

For the effects of English inventive genius were by no means confined to the mere field of industry. As production was thus infinitely multiplied it brought in its wake an infinity of unsuspected forces and results. To the centers of the new manufacturing activity, the factory towns, were drawn increasing thousands of workers. This not merely shifted population from one district to another, but made the long-neglected regions which produced the coal necessary for the new source of power, the scenes of unexampled energy and wealth. They brought with them great problems of society. Wealth and its unequal distribution grew in equal pace. Beside the landlord, the factory owner took his stand, in the revised arrangement of society. Beside, or in the place of agricultural tenant or laborer, appeared the factory hand; and every social class and force was compelled to readjust itself to the situation thus produced. This was no mere question of wealth and labor; it was a problem of life,—for human society no less than industry was revolutionized.

Results
of the
Industrial
Revolution

Not merely was the productive capacity of the world multiplied, strangely enough demand increased proportionately with supply—or better, perhaps, supply proved for the first time equal to demand. And, as always happens in such cases, men found their desires, even their necessities, increased by the very wealth of new material placed at their disposal. The world became capable of supporting more human beings, with more wants; and instead of relieving the pressure for production, that pressure actually increased.

The result was an unprecedented stimulus to every phase of human activity. New conditions of existence, new problems of wealth and welfare, new organisms within the body politic, a whole new world of men and conditions, arose

with startling rapidity from the situation thus produced. So strange was it to human experience that nothing short of the marvelous tale of Aladdin's genius of the lamp, or the fantastic tale of Frankenstein, sufficed to provide a parallel. Nor is that parallel complete, since the industrial genius and the social Frankenstein, so far from being bottled or destroyed by those who summoned them into existence, have come to be the dominant powers of modern society. The stimulus of the demand for labor was soon felt in an increase of population; and among the manifold and unexpected results of the industrial revolution not the least important was the enormous increase of European peoples, with its complex and far-reaching consequences.

Science
and
invention

These great changes, whose principal results belong to later generations, were accompanied by two other phenomena, not unrelated to the movement typified by Watt and his fellow-inventors. The latter represented that spirit of empirical or even accidental talent which, unrelated to scientific advance, produces inventions, so to speak, from its inner consciousness. Watt, on the other hand, achieved his success not only by this process but by his study of the properties of the material on which his fame was based, steam. Something of that spirit was evident in the other scientific achievements of his time, whose history is the record of great names. Herschel's improvement of the telescope now enlarged man's knowledge of the planetary system with the discovery of Uranus. The *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace, whose mathematical solution of the mechanics of the universe formed the greatest of astronomical contributions since Newton's *Principia*, joined to the work of Lagrange and Euler and their contemporaries, was to round out the eighteenth century's task of deducing and generalizing the achievements of astronomy. Those labors were yet under way; and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that they were completed and accepted. But by the time which we have now reached, a great part of the work upon which they were based had been accomplished; and it was the province of Laplace to combine the series of eighteenth-century tri-

Astronomy
1750-1800

umphs in astronomy into a systematic whole, no less than to infuse that body of knowledge with his own genius.

Coincident, and in a sense corollary to these astronomical achievements, were the concurrent investigations of the earth. In these years Werner established the principles of geological formation; while Häney and Dolomieu laid the foundations of mineralogy. Buffon published his *Epoques de la Nature*, the first attempt to deal chronologically with the history of the earth. Finally Hutton and his disciple Playfair inaugurated that classification of geological strata, which, expanded presently by the work of Lamarek and Cuvier on fossils, began modern geology. Meanwhile, the explorers were not idle; and to the achievements of Cook were added those of Mackenzie, who first reached the river which bears his name and followed it to the Arctic. The polar regions and central Africa felt the presence of adventurous travelers. And, apart from his labors in delineating the world as it was revealed by these new additions to knowledge, the French cartographer, d'Anville, rendered such service to the cause of ancient and even mediæval historical geography as to make him the virtual founder of that branch of human learning. It is not surprising that, with these advances in knowledge, philosophers and theologians alike were compelled to revise their beliefs, and among the circumstances which typified the times, not the least significant is the fact that Kant lectured on physics and physical geography.

Geology
and
geography

1779

1789

1697-1782

No less remarkable were the advances in physics and chemistry. For in those years, among a multitude of scarcely less important discoveries, the experiments of Volta and Galvani produced the electric pile and the battery generating a continuous current, upon which the future of electricity so largely depended. The chemists were no less active. The labors of Priestley and Lavoisier dealt a final blow to the phlogiston theory which had long hampered advance, and with the resolution and re-creation of water from its elements pointed out new lines of investigation. Scheele and Priestley finally isolated oxygen. Cavendish and Berthollet laid the foundations of pneumatics; Scheele continued to provide the

Physics
and
chemistry
1768-89

world with new materials for its use, among which chlorine and glycerine were the most conspicuous. And these, with an increasing company of investigators besides, added from year to year, almost from month to month, to man's knowledge of nature and her laws; and increased his capacity to adapt them to his own purposes.

Biology

The biologists, meanwhile, contributed to the same end, as the contemporaries and successors of Linnæus and Buffon continued and completed their work. The classification and systematization of plants and animals, which had marked the century, led inevitably to consideration of the reasons why so many varieties of animal life occurred. With this came the beginning of that theory of species which was to lead to the modern doctrine of evolution. Among its pioneers the name of Lamareck was conspicuous; while Spallanzani's work on the problems of generation introduced another element of the highest importance to the study of life and its mysteries. Still more practical were the investigations of the blood, which in the hands of Jenner were to lead to the vaccination treatment and the consequent betterment of human health.

1775-96

Influence
upon
thought
and belief

It is apparent from the most cursory review of the more conspicuous contributions to human knowledge and capacity in this noteworthy period that Europeans had come to another turning-point not only in their affairs but in their thought. What the rationalists had hardly been able to accomplish in their attacks upon the theologians, the scientists now began to achieve. Before the discoveries of the geologists and astronomers the Mosaic doctrines of the origin and age of the earth began to crumble; and with them went much beside. The change affected much more than foundations of belief. The eighteenth century was at once skeptical and sentimental, highly theoretical yet severely practical, intellectual but curiously humanitarian. And, as a result of these strangely assorted qualities, it developed, among its other manifestations, a remarkable tendency toward the alleviation of human ignorance and suffering, inspired and directed by its passion for organization.

It was, above all, infused with the spirit which had already produced one revolution and was preparing another,—the attention to the common man. This rose to eminence at the very moment that aristocratic dominance seemed at its height. And if the development of political and economic philosophy paralleled the progress of science and invention to increase the wealth of nations, the development of that movement to which we give the name of humanitarian was a still more remarkable evidence of the changing standards of society. “Man’s inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,” wrote Burns. And it was in the effort to correct somewhat the suffering and injustice which men endure at the hands of their fellows that the later eighteenth century, from the so-called enlightened despots of the continent to the democratic English reformers, began a new age of social regeneration.

It was, perhaps, natural that, as the French political theorists had led the way in the reaction against the apotheosis of royal authority exemplified in Louis XIV, the English reformers led the way in the reaction against the evils originating in the peculiar development of their own society. In the nation which, after the Portuguese, had most profited from the slave-trade, there was begun a movement destined to put an end to that wretched traffic. Lord Mansfield, among the great series of decisions which contributed to his fame as the founder of the English commercial law, and the political activities which caused him to be called “the founder of modern Toryism,” gave utterance to a famous judgment which made a freeman of any man who set foot on English soil, whatever his previous status. He himself was far from a propagandist; but there sprang up in the years of the American Revolution a school of devoted anti-slavery advocates, Ramsay, Sharp, Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. Their efforts within one generation were to abolish the slave-trade, and in another to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire.

Rise of
humani-
tarianism
—the slave
trade

1772

At the same time, owing in part perhaps to the so-called “evangelical movement” growing out of the religious revival

Sunday
schools and
prison
reform
1780

1773

Abolition
of torture
1763-89

of the century, other forces rallied to the protection of society. Robert Raikes founded the "Sunday School," which thenceforth, especially in the hands of the Nonconformists, played a great part in church affairs. The activities of the prison reformer, John Howard, who was the greatest figure of an increasing group, began the practical betterment of the fearful prison conditions which had long disgraced Europe. This was furthered by the talents of men like Bentham who founded a new school of theory and practice in the treatment of criminals, and not merely revolutionized penology but opened new avenues of social thought and service.

Such activities were emphasized by a change in judicial procedure which came to affect the whole European world. From very early times the use of torture in extracting evidence from unwilling witnesses had been common to most European countries, and recognized as a part of the criminal code in virtually every nation save England. Even there the royal houses of Tudor and Stuart had used it as an engine of state though not of law. Following the work of reformers—English penologists like Bentham, the Swiss legist Burlamaqui, the Italian jurist-criminologist Beccaria, among others—there came a rapid change in men's attitude toward this practice. It is a notable feature of the general movement toward the alleviation of manners as well as morals that the Age of the American Revolution saw its virtual abolition in nearly every European country save perhaps some of the German states where it had always found its principal foothold and its chief defenders. Nor is it without significance that the last *auto-da-fé* was held at the same time that torture disappeared from European practice. Thus the institutions which in an age of faith had claimed as victims such different individuals as Machiavelli, Bruno, and Villon, Savonarola, Servetus, and Campanella, by the irony of circumstance disappeared in the age of skepticism.

This circumstance is not merely notable as an evidence of the changing attitude of Europeans toward matters of belief, and as a prophecy of greater tolerance, of gentler manners, and more rational action. It revealed a wider sympathy and

a deeper recognition of the varied aspects of humanity. Still more, the humanitarian movement began to develop protective agencies for a society experiencing new disabilities, new problems, and new evils arising from its own success in material fields. In the efforts to adjust the diverging interests of the wealthy few with the welfare of the many; in the endeavor to ameliorate the suffering and injustice increasingly evident in human relationships; no less than in the attempt to relate social with material and intellectual progress, the eighteenth century revealed one of the principal concerns of the modern world. This was not wholly the product of skepticism. But, whatever the cause, modern ideals proved superior to those of the ancients, and modern Christianity, reinforced by rationalism, superior to ancient paganism, or mediæval superstition in this respect at least.

The spirit of liberty thus making itself felt so powerfully in practice was no less evident in the literature of the period. While France followed the footsteps of the philosophers, the British Isles, concrete as always in their expression of emotion, had entered on another phase of their literary progress closely connected not only with the return to nature and the cause of political emancipation but with the rising cult of common humanity. English literature had begun to outlive the Age of Pope and to substitute imagination and sympathy for correctness and criticism. It had experienced Fielding and Richardson, Smollett and Sterne; and it was now at a point which produced forms of expression which, like the outlines of politics and thought, seem more familiar to modern eyes. From the French had been borrowed the genre of the epistle, and the aristocratic authors, Lord Chesterfield, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, had worked that vein almost to exhaustion. From the antiquarians had been secured that impulse to revive the past, which was evident in the forgeries of the unfortunate Chatterton and in the scarcely more genuine productions of Ossian, as well as the labors of Bishop Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*. 1765 From the general tendency toward systematization which characterized the age had come the Dictionary of Dr. John-

The
"natural
school"

1770

son, and the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, whose appearance coincided with the first year of Lord North's administration.

English literary activity was not dependent on borrowing. Diderot's great *Encyclopédie* had begun, in fact, as the translation of an English production of like nature. And, in another direction, the British Isles contributed an element of profound importance to literary evolution.

The
"search
for happiness"

The curious phenomenon which the eighteenth century exhibited in its search for happiness, was evident here no less than on the continent. Voltaire had undertaken the search in his *Candide*; the lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, added his contribution in *Rasselas*; the American Declaration of Independence echoed it; and Gibbon did not think his history complete without attributing that golden age to the Antonine era of Roman history. But it remained to the most graceful of poet-essayists, Oliver Goldsmith, to offer a solution for the mystery which was typical of the altering standards of life and letters. He discovered its seat, not in the distant palaces of the East nor in the remote ages of the past, but in the eighteenth-century cottage and the simple life of the *Vicar of Wakefield*. That motive he emphasized in the greatest poem since Pope, *The Traveller*, who, reviewing his journeys, concludes, with Milton, that happiness depends not on political conditions, or any artificial state, but that the human heart can "in itself make hell of heaven and heaven of hell."

Goldsmith
1728-74

The
"common
man"

Goldsmith, who died the year before the battle of Lexington, was, with all his personal peculiarities, the true prophet of the oncoming generation. Like Rousseau, he lacked the qualities which made for worldly eminence. Like him he was neither deeply learned nor of good judgment; but like the great Frenchman and far more appealingly and clearly, he voiced the sentiment of his time and the profoundest truths of society. He had many echoes. It was in the household tasks that Cowper found his inspiration; in a country churchyard that Gray penned his immortal *Elegy*. And in the lines of men like these there echoed not merely the return

to the simple and natural, the spirit of liberty and equality, but that sentiment of sympathy and universal humanity which is the greatest product of the later eighteenth-century mind. When that movement was crowned with the work of the Scottish plowman, Burns, who challenged the old régime with his lines, "The rank is but the guinea's stamp, A man's a man for a' that," it was already apparent that the world was set on a new course. For these were more than pleasing literary productions, they were the heralds of a new order of society.

With these movements, intellectual, industrial, political, and sentimental, was bound up another issue, which, in a sense, was not unrelated to them all. It was the opening of new lands and new opportunities beyond the sea. When, hard-pressed by her old rivals, the exigencies of her domestic affairs, and the successes of her rebellious colonies in America, England had been compelled to recognize the independence of her greatest oversea possession, concede home rule to Ireland, and surrender some of her earlier conquests, it was evident that a great change impended in world politics. But it was not apparent what that change implied. To many it appeared that English dominance was on the wane. They thought her empire had felt a mortal blow; that the downfall of her colonial supremacy had come; that the England of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, and of Pitt was at an end; and that her possessions oversea, like her French conquests after Henry V, would presently revert to other hands. Few or none foresaw that her power was destined to a new lease of life, surpassing even that which went before. Not even the most sanguine of prophets anticipated that the conflict just closed was but the beginning of an age of revolution which would raise a family of free states in the new world; and in the old would bring new classes to the conduct of affairs. None could conceive that the inchoate state now cast adrift from the old European system would become, within a century, not only the most advanced society yet founded outside the one from whence it sprung, but comparable in power, wealth, and size to even the greater states of Europe itself.

Explora-
tion and
coloniza-
tion



Map of the voyages and discoveries of Captain James Cook, 1768-80, of which the outlines in the large colored Map of the European World 1783 are only an approximation. It will be seen by comparison, especially with the 1587 map (p. 332), what advance was made in Australasian cartography by the voyages of Tasman and Cook.

Least of all did any prophesy that there should rise in the antipodes still other states, based on not unlike principles, to carry on in those unknown regions the principles and practices of European life.

Yet even before the peace was signed, something of all of these great changes was under way. The first result was in those distant lands which Cook's voyages had brought to European and especially to English eyes, in the preceding twenty years. This land, once called New Holland, and rechristened by him Australia, the English administration, moved by the necessity of reorganizing its system of transporting convicts, which had been checked by the American Revolution, began to consider as a solution of the problem of its criminals. America was no longer available. France and Spain were ready and able to oppose fresh aggression, even were that considered; and the expedient first adopted, of sending the unfortunates to Guinea, was so deadly that the awakening conscience of the government revolted against the condemnation to slow and horrible death which it involved. Though the new regions which Cook's discoveries had laid open to European knowledge and occupation were distant, they were not inhospitable; and there, whatever her neighbor's jealousies, they were little inclined and less able to oppose an English occupation. Five years, therefore, after the peace was signed, England despatched a convict ship thither. At a spot pointed out by Cook as fit for settlement and christened Botany Bay was set up the first of those penal settlements, which, for a generation, were recruited by two thousand convicts a year. Under such unpromising auspices, surrounded by every adverse circumstance, began a new extension of European power and occupation, destined in the ensuing century to conquer its earlier disadvantages and distress, and, under vastly altered conditions, form a powerful European state in the South Pacific.

It would have been surprising if amid such revelations of energy in so many fields the politics of Europe had felt none of the general impulse to progress. Nor was this the case.

Australia

1787-8

Adminis-
trative
reform

The earlier years of the century, indeed, had been little disturbed by creative legislation; and reform, like law, had been silent amid the conflict of arms and diplomacy. But what those years had lacked was fully atoned for in the last quarter of the century. Following the constructive work begun by Lord North's administration and the reforms forced on the government by the increasing opposition strength bent on reduction of the royal power, the administration of the younger Pitt, which succeeded an interregnum of coalition ministries, committed the new Tory Party to a program of reorganization.

—the
younger
Pitt
1784-1801

The en-
lightened
despots

Widely as continental monarchies varied from that of England, different as were the means they used, their efforts had been directed to not dissimilar ends. Even while Catherine intrigued with Frederick for the partition of Poland and warred with Sweden for the Baltic provinces, she, like her great Prussian contemporary, labored to give her people a sound administration. Greater than either in the effort to reform the old abuses and bring government abreast of progress in other fields was the Emperor Joseph II, who meanwhile became the ruler of all the Hapsburg territories. While he was the author of the one considerable conflict which disturbed Europe in the decade which followed the Peace of Versailles, the Austro-Turkish war, he strove with single aim to consolidate his heterogeneous dominions. His failure might well have daunted a less zealous character. In his endeavors to secure religious toleration, he antagonized the church which claimed the allegiance of half his subjects. His efforts to equalize taxes irritated the higher classes; while that to unify his people by imposing the German language on them all alienated every non-German subject from Belgium to Hungary. Only his early death and the accession of his brother Leopold, who, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, had played the part of benevolent despot with sound judgment and success, preserved the Empire from the spread of insurrection which broke out in the Austrian Netherlands as a retort to the tactless and ill-timed zeal of the most eminent reformer of his time.

1765-90

1790-92

But even the beginnings of colonization in the Pacific, and the first steps in the establishment of sound administration along modern lines in European states, yielded in importance to the developments in America during the six years which followed the Peace of Paris. Those developments, indeed, attracted but little attention in Europe. Beside the labors of Pitt and Catherine, of Joseph II and the enlightened despots in whose activities there seemed the fairest promise of progress in the important science and art of government, the doings of the American colonists appeared of little significance.

This is not to be wondered at. Scarcely a nation, much less a well-organized state, the thirteen colonies which emerged into independence bound together by the loosest of ties, lacked nearly every element of strength when measured by old world standards. Their territory, indeed, surpassed that of any European power save one. But, hemmed in by the provinces which England still retained and by the Spanish territories, the claim to much of the land nominally theirs was still disputed by fierce and powerful Indian tribes, while English troops still occupied the western posts to insure performance of treaty obligations. Theirs was of all lands then inhabited by Europeans outside the old world probably best fitted for white settlement. For, unlike South America, no tremendous natural obstacles divided one region from another, and no extremes of heat or cold, arid or torrential areas made the land unlivable; while within its far-reaching boundaries the products of every clime from Egypt to Scandinavia could be grown, and it contained incalculable if scarcely suspected mineral wealth. Moreover, its rivers and ports and inland seas increased its unsurpassed natural opportunities; and it suffered only the immediate disadvantages incident to any such new society.

Its economy was still simple. Still essentially an agricultural community, relieved by trapping, trading, fishing, and a slender commerce, now cut off from British markets, it was a race of countrymen. A few ports claimed the rank of cities; the temporary capital, Philadelphia, with most

The
United
States of
America
1783-9

American
advantages

reason, though it numbered scarcely thirty thousand souls. The average of material prosperity was consequently high, but wealth was evenly distributed; and the prevailing homespun typified the society which it clothed. England had already entered the factory stage of industry. But the use of steam was as yet all but unknown in America, as elsewhere; and in so far she was ill-equipped to solve the problem of her inheritance. In most fields, intellectual activity, like customs, manners, laws, and language, was a reflex of England. Only in three particulars did the Americans excel. The first was the insatiable curiosity and inventiveness of the New Englander; the second was a certain political capacity, born of colonial self-government and nourished by the Revolution; the third was the self-confident courage of the pioneer spirit which enabled the new society to face the future as it faced the wilderness, ignorant but unawed.

American
limitations

Its chief disadvantages were largely the product of its environment and the effect of the recent conflict. Its self-contained and largely self-supporting communities had hitherto been bound together as little by tradition of common interests and activities as by economic interdependence or by geographical or political exigence. In means of communication as in sympathies they were only less distant from Europe than from each other; for there was little community among merchant and farmer and fisherman of the north, the southern planter, and the western pioneer. Between the states and within them existed the perpetual antagonism of conflicting interests, which even the crisis of the war had not repressed. The replacing of wealthy, cultured, and conservative loyalists by a more radical element had done much for democracy but little for unity; since the new leaders, now chosen to state offices, jealous of popular rights and local privilege, confirmed in separatist principles, were as ready to oppose the Congress they had created as the Parliament whose authority they had destroyed. They had, as one of their ablest countrymen observed, "talked liberty so long they had forgotten the necessity of government."

Of the three problems which faced this new society, social improvement, expansion, and unity, the last was most pressing. The organization of provinces into states had been completed; and long before the peace was signed most commonwealths were conducting their own affairs. But national administration existed in scarcely more than name; and in consequence the people endured the worst form of decentralized control. State legislated against state, refused or neglected to pay its quota of tax, which Congress had neither force nor authority to collect. Credit, national, then local, disappeared. The debt increased. The interest in a bankrupt and impotent central government declined, till Congress often had no quorum for months. The state authorities, evading the only real remedies, firm administration and sound finance, embraced the wild expedients of paper money, land banks, commercial and sumptuary legislation, with such results that Rhode Island soon faced business anarchy, and Massachusetts armed rebellion. Within four years after the peace it seemed that those who had won their independence might fall a prey to anarchy or foreign intervention through the weak folly of those very men who had been most active in the agitation for freedom.

In this crisis the higher intelligence of the community united with its larger interests to provide a remedy; and, as earlier, the elements which rallied to save the nation were those whose leadership had brought success to its arms. In this they were aided by various circumstances. The separation from European influence had strengthened the sense of unity. The consciousness of their vast inheritance beyond the Alleghenies which had fallen into the hands of the central government as the price of the acceptance of the Articles, and the desire to exploit its wealth which led to a great movement toward the west, combined with the distress produced by the financial situation. From a conference, with Washington at its head, to consider the improvement of communication, the pressure to amend the Articles received new strength; and, as a result, seconded by business interests everywhere, Congress authorized the summoning of a constitu-

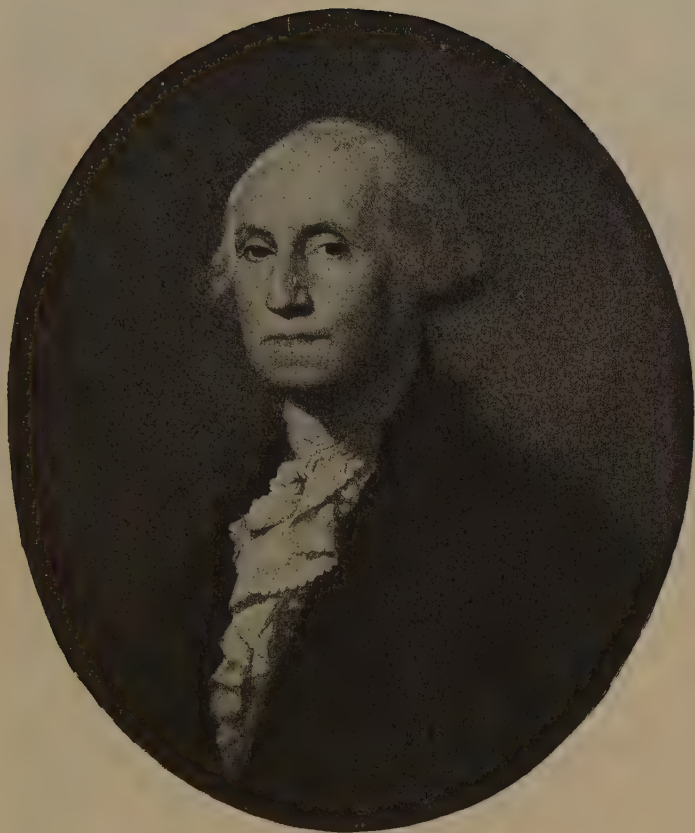
American
problems
1783-7

Steps to-
ward a new
constitu-
tion
1787-8

uent assembly. This meeting at Philadelphia in May, 1787, under the presidency of Washington, wrestled in secret for four months with the great problem of a new organization.

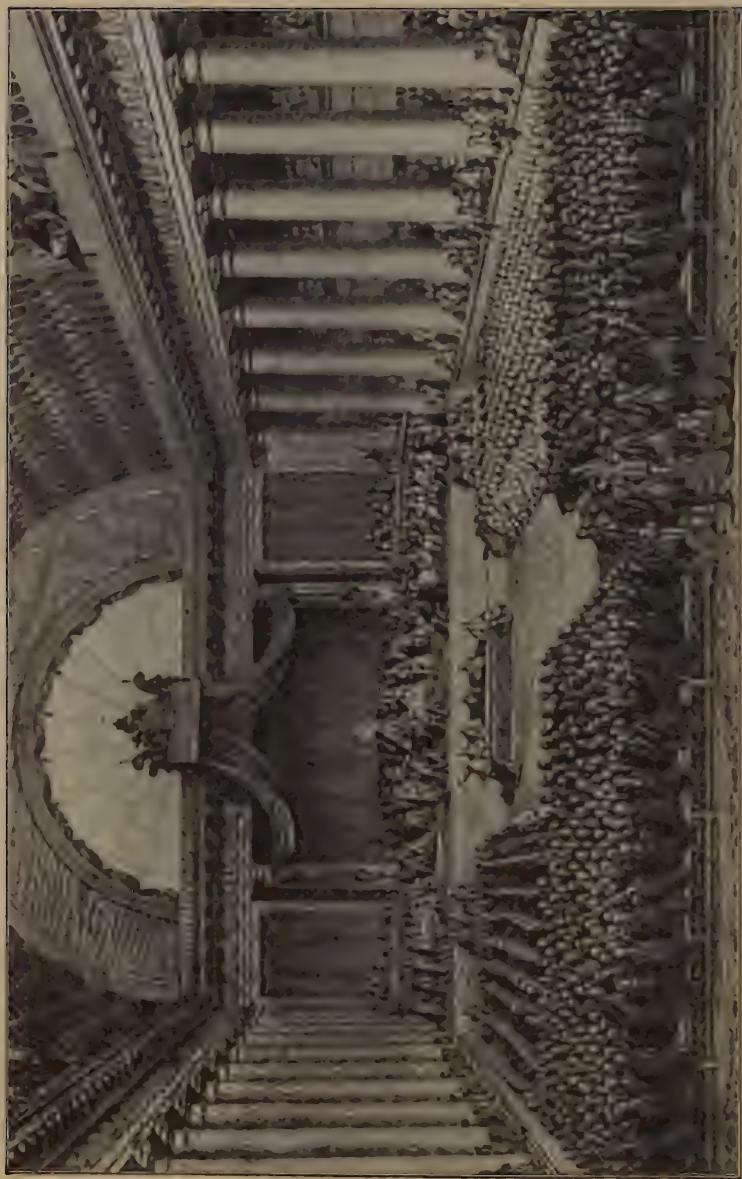
From their deliberations they brought forth not a revision of the Articles but a new instrument of government, the Constitution of the United States. It marked an epoch in the political evolution of the European race. The first and still the most remarkable contribution of the new world to the science of politics, it set up a form of government till then unknown, and till then deemed impossible—an effective union of states so federated as to maintain the rights of both central and local authority without emasculating the one or destroying the other. Confronted by the inextinguishable particularist sentiment of states' rights, the antagonisms between commonwealths of widely varying size, the rivalries of north and south, of free and slave-holding communities, above all, the century-long quarrel between the conflicting views of those believing strong administration the goal of their efforts and those contending for popular government, the framers of the Constitution steered a middle course with eminent ability and success. To their task they brought the fruits of their experience in state affairs and under the defective system of the Articles. They invoked the lessons of the old world, from the days of Greece and Rome to the theories of the English and French philosophers. In particular they adopted the principle of separation of powers set forth so skilfully by Montesquieu, while, at the same time, they leaned heavily on English precedent and practice. Thus, combining old and new, practice and theory, into a novel form of polity, they justified their proud claim of forming "a more perfect Union, establishing Justice, promoting the general Welfare, and securing the Blessings of Liberty for themselves and their Posterity."

By adroit compromise and ingenious constitutional device, avoiding expression of principles, they used the machinery of check and balance to produce a practical paradox, which, however capable or incapable of logical defense, was to prove a marvel of prudent efficiency. By an initial master-stroke



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

After the portrait by Gilbert Stuart.



THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL, VERSAILLES, MAY 3, 1789.

After an engraving by Morcau.

of policy they disarmed the most powerful mutual antagonisms by transferring the source of constituted authority from the states to the people. They frankly divided sovereignty between the central government and the commonwealths, according to the functions to be performed, adjusting the authority of each so as to preserve their respective rights in mutual interdependence. They formally separated the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government, with powers so defined as to make the permanent domination of any one difficult if not impossible.

Upon the people in their various capacities was conferred the duty and privilege of choosing their rulers. Electors were named by popular vote within the states to select the chief executive. From districts, apportioned according to population within the states, the people elected the members of the popular branch of the national legislature, the House of Representatives. The same electorate, differently districted, returned the members of the state legislatures, who not merely enacted statutes for the separate commonwealths but chose the members of the national upper house, or Senate. Thus was preserved the balance between the large and small units, whose antagonism might otherwise have wrecked the plan. State governments were undisturbed in form or powers within their own boundaries; while those functions best performed collectively were transferred to the central authority. There was created a federal judiciary, its Supreme Court co-ordinate with Congress and the chief executive, or President. Control of army and navy, customs, excise, diplomatic service, treasury, coinage, and postal service, were reserved to the federal power, and forbidden to the states, as interference in their affairs was denied to the central government.

Its character and provisions

Such was the nicely balanced system—typified in the motto of the state it established, “*E Pluribus Unum*”—which now took its place among the constitutional classics of the world, and became the model for later republican experiments. Its compromises measured at once the wisdom of its framers and the strength of the opposing interests it sought to combine. Its most ardent advocates scarcely dared anticipate its

adoption as it stood, or its unaltered continuance, in the face of the many conflicting interests it sought to reconcile. Its most ardent opponents hoped to modify or destroy it before the nine states whose assent was necessary to its adoption had sanctioned it. Necessary and equitable as it was, the advocates of wider states' rights and greater popular liberties were not prepared to yield their convictions without a struggle. Every element of disorder helped their cause. As often happens in such a contingency, the hopes and fears of neither side were destined to be fully realized. From the ensuing conflict over adoption the body of the instrument emerged unaltered; but scores of amendments were proposed, and of these ten finally became the price of its acceptance by the states. They formed a bill of rights securing guarantees not mentioned in the document itself. Thus were established free speech and religious liberty, the privileges of assembly and petition, right to bear arms, and freedom from the quartering of soldiers upon the people in time of peace, security against unwarranted search, speedy and public jury trial; safeguards against excessive bail, prolonged imprisonment without judicial hearing, cruel or unnecessary punishment. In short, the old provisions of English protection to the individual against the executive, embraced in documents from Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights, were thus ensured.

Its
adoption
1789

With these additions the assent of the states necessary to adoption was secured, and the new constitution took its place among the political systems of the world. The great general who had led the armies of the colonists to victory became, not a dictator, but the elected president of a real self-governing community. Of the three stages of any revolution, the agitation which precedes appeal to force; the clash of arms; and the formation of a new organization to replace the old; the third was safely past. With the adoption of the Constitution the American Revolution was now complete.

Importance of the establishment of the United States

The establishment of the United States was the end of a long development, the climax of two powerful movements which had been at work for centuries. The one was the evolution of self-government, the other the territorial expansion of

the European race in lands beyond the sea. It was not merely that this was the first child of Europe to break away to independence. In so doing it was the first of European societies to make on a great scale the most crucial experiment on which any people can embark, that of ruling themselves. Nor was the spirit which found expression in the American Revolution confined to the new world or to the realm of politics. In a far truer sense than even the astute Prussian monarch dreamed, it was at once a part of the great European movement then on foot in almost every department of human endeavor, and an incentive to still further change. During the years of armed conflict in America at least four principal departments of European activity, politics and economic thought, colonial affairs and industry, were revolutionized. Now at the very moment when the constitution which gave the new nation its final form was adopted, the spirit which had informed the struggle that gave it birth was transferred to the oldest of continental monarchies, there to inaugurate a new era of political development in the old world.

For as the formation of the American Constitution had been accompanied by an Assembly of French Notables to consider means of saving their country from the financial and administrative bankruptcy which threatened it, the adoption of that Constitution by the states to which it was submitted for ratification was accompanied by the meeting of the French States General to consider the same great problem. From that meeting there were to flow consequences far greater than even its authors dreamed. With it began a cycle of events which was to plunge the world in war, revolutionize not merely the boundaries and the politics of the European continent, but its modes of thought and action both in politics and society. With the period of the Stamp Act disturbances in America there had begun an Age of Revolution which was to last sixty years, which, in fact, is not yet over. Of this period of rapid and violent change, the French Revolution which began with the meeting of the States General was the second act; and as it ended one age of European development, it began another. For a full quarter of a century, then, the forces of the old

order and those of the new struggled fiercely for control of the future; and not until that colossal conflict was over was it certain which would win. In such fashion, then, with the adoption of the American Constitution and the meeting of the French States General there came another of those great turning-points which mark the transition from one age to another in European development.

Conclusion The great circle of events which had begun nearly four centuries earlier with the unfolding of the classical civilization, and the discovery of the lands outside Europe, was now complete. Every continent now held a European population; and Europe was now the dominating factor in world-politics. The realm of nature had begun to yield its secrets to the use of man. Art, letters, and invention had increased his capacity to express himself; the progress of knowledge and thought had enormously developed his range of ideas, and his ability to realize them. His physical comfort had grown in like proportion; and he had reached heights in nearly every field of human endeavor beyond the greatest achievements of the imagination five centuries before. He was possessed of the two greatest instruments which science and politics had been able to devise, the steam-engine and popular government. With them he was prepared to enter upon a new social and industrial inheritance. Thus, however far he fell short of that great and intangible ideal toward which he strove, whatever tremendous problems still confronted him, as they must confront every succeeding generation, his feet were set upon new paths, his eyes looked forward to new goals, from which there was to be no turning back. The Expansion of Europe was by no means at an end. But with the beginning of the Age of Revolution and the Age of Steam men had attained the boundaries of that world toward which they had been striving for four hundred years. That realm is still far from being fully explored or conquered—and it may never be; but with the impulse of great achievement and the insatiable thirst for knowledge and power engendered by long striving and success, men had developed that spirit and those qualities

to which no undertaking seemed too great, no way too long. And this, in the last resolution of events, remains the ultimate result of those activities which brought them to the borders of the promised land, "strong in will to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield," the inextinguishable desire to achieve new triumphs in new fields, and the capacity to accomplish them.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON. 1789-1815

I

Dynastic autocracy

THE years which saw the formation and adoption of the American Constitution on the principle of representative government were marked in European affairs by what seemed the final triumph of the political system known as dynastic autocracy. Save for England and Switzerland, the one a parliamentary monarchy, the other a federation of cantons, the states of the continent were in the hands of a group of families ruling by hereditary right. Austria was Hapsburg; France, Bourbon of the elder branch; Spain of the younger; Prussia was Hohenzollern; Russia, Romanoff; Sweden, Vasa; Portugal, Braganza. Central Europe was a congeries of lesser states; Italy with a dozen, chiefly in the hands of the greater families like Hapsburg and Bourbon of the younger lines; Germany with some four hundred, large and small, with only the shadowy authority of the Holy Roman Empire as a centralizing force. Even the Emperor, though chosen by the seven Electors among the German rulers, was so commonly a Hapsburg that the great office seemed almost hereditary in that house.

Those families were closely interrelated by marriage into a group by whose alliances, ambitions and rivalries European history had been largely conditioned for three centuries, and statesmen studied the *Almanach de Gotha*, which listed these ruling houses, with even greater care than they bestowed on the states which they governed and in no small measure owned. Yet though it seemed the one great permanent and all-powerful element in European polity, dynastic autocracy was limited by two great forces. The one was the continual

shifting of its members and their power. Within two generations, England had exchanged Stuarts for Hanoverians; Spain, Hapsburgs for Bourbons; Poland, Leszcynskis for Wittelsbachs. Within his own lifetime Charles of Bourbon had been successively Duke of Parma and King of the Two Sicilies and was now King of Spain; Catherine the Great of Russia was a princess of a petty German house; and these accidents of birth, marriage and inheritance continually affected the fortunes of these ruling houses and of the states they governed.

The second circumstance which conditioned their activities and those of Europe in general was the feudal heritage of division into an infinity of districts. These, whether they were local independent sovereignties like petty German states of a few square miles, or provincial divisions of kingships like France and Spain, retained their local "liberties"—laws and customs, tariff regulations, peculiarities of administration, even costumes and dialects. Not only did one "change laws with each change of post-horses" throughout the continent, but weights, measures, money, dialects or perhaps language. Even in such unified national kingdoms as France and Spain there existed a medley of conflicting local and class interests, jurisdictions and taxes over which the crown exercised only a limited authority; since there, and still more elsewhere, this feudal heritage of division and disparity had left the continent in a condition of "organized anarchy."

Feudal
heritage

Over these states, which were often, like the possessions of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, composed of widely scattered provinces, the dynastic autocrats had extended their power in so far as possible, by war, diplomacy, marriage alliance or purchase. Their system was everywhere essentially the same—a ruler with a council, a court, an army, officials, and a diplomatic service of his own. The revenues were his, the expenditures in his hands, the laws made and administered by him and his ministers, his authority apparently supreme, yet limited on every hand by local and class privilege and provincial "liberties," his acceptance of which had often been the price of submission to his rule. In consequence, inspired in part by desire to increase their authority and their reve-

The Old
Régime

nues, in part by the influence of legal and constitutional reformers like Burlamaqui and Beccaria, or economic reformers like the French Physiocrats, the "enlightened despots" of the eighteenth century had striven to unify and rationalize their administration and improve the condition of their subjects.

The class
system

In this they were opposed at every point by local and provincial interests. They were scarcely less opposed by the classes into which the European people were divided. At the head of those classes stood the clergy, rich and powerful in their position as guardians of the faith. Next to them were the aristocracy, no longer the independent baronage of the middle ages, but still wealthy and strong, supporting and supported by the monarchy. Each of these was in no small measure free from the ordinary taxes which fell on the other class, the so-called Third Estate. That embraced a wide variety of elements, from rich business and professional groups through shopkeepers and artisans to peasants but little removed from serfs. Serfdom, indeed, had virtually disappeared from western Europe. Its shadow darkened to the east and south; but it had not existed in England for three centuries and in France the peasantry had through two generations increased their holdings even beyond those of the English of like class, till they were the most prosperous of all European small landholders.

Yet even here the feudal heritage remained. The touchstone of life was "privilege." From highest to lowest each class had ancient rights and liberties—and duties. They were confined to no district and no group. If the clergy and aristocracy held tenaciously to their exemption from taxation and their monopoly of the offices of dignity, the guilds and corporations of the upper middle class were no less jealous of their vested interests, and even the peasant clung to his slender rights against the vexatious obligations which feudalism had imposed. Thus Europe was divided horizontally as well as vertically by its feudal heritage into warring interests over which the dynastic autocrats exercised what authority they could.

Upon these elements there now fell the impact of two forces.

The one was the increasing wealth and power of the middle class, which challenged the dominance of the aristocracy in every department of public life, controlling guilds, corporations and bureaucracy and pushing its way into the higher posts of army, navy, church and diplomacy. The second was the influence of "philosophers" like Rousseau and the Encyclopedists which challenged the traditional organization of society with doctrines of "reason" against tradition, and theories of equality against privilege. These were grasped eagerly, especially by the rising bourgeoisie, seeking to undermine or overthrow the long ascendancy of the aristocracy.

The rise of
the bour-
geoisie

From these elements arose the next great change in European politics. Stimulated by the influence of America, to which she lent her aid, France became the center of this new movement, as she had been the source of the new revolutionary doctrines on the continent which she had borrowed in no small measure from English thought and practices. Yet the first outbreak of revolt came not in France but in the Netherlands, and not from these new doctrines, but as a result of Belgian opposition to the attempted reforms of the enlightened despot, the Emperor Joseph II, which invaded the ancient "liberties" of his Belgian subjects. This Belgian revolt was but the prelude to a greater drama of a far different sort. At the moment that England drifted into war with her colonies, the young, amiable, well-intentioned Louis XVI came to the throne of France and with his reign began that great movement known as the French Revolution.

Louis XVI
and the
attempts
at reform
1774-89

Seldom has any ruler faced a more dubious heritage. The vast debt incurred by Louis XIV's ambition and extravagance had grown through the long and disastrous reign of his successor, Louis XV, till France was confronted not only by financial but administrative bankruptcy. Her aid to the Americans had revived her waning prestige but had increased her debt, and under the guidance of the old minister Maurepas the young king embarked on the task of saving his country from collapse. Hampered by the pride and extravagance of his young Hapsburg wife, Marie Antoinette, to whom he was devoted; by courtiers, officials and pensioners, defending their

incomes; by clergy, aristocracy, business and professional interests, jealous of their privilege, he did the best he could. In quick succession he called to his aid the leading French economist and administrator, Turgot, and the greatest of French bankers, Necker, to reorganize the state. Each failed to break the power of the courtiers, supported by the queen; and their successors—Calonne who drove the country farther toward bankruptcy by endeavoring to spend his way into prosperity, and Brienne, under whom was called an Assembly of Notables—met with no better fate. Amid quarrels with the Parlement of Paris and among the various elements of the people and the court, no remedy was found but to revive the old States General, which had not met for a century and three-quarters; and, not unwillingly, the king summoned a meeting of that body for May 5, 1789.

The States
General
May 5, 1789

With that began a new era of the history of France and of the world in general. In the very days when the American states were voting to adopt their new constitution, there came together in the Hall of the Lesser Pleasures at Versailles, twelve hundred men chosen by the people from among the three estates—clergy, nobility and the people in general—to find a remedy for the ills of France. As the result of the election regulations, the Third Estate equaled the other two in numbers; and each representative brought with him a list of grievances, the so-called *cahiers*, among which were many plans for the reorganization of the state. On this body the eyes not only of France but of the world were turned, for it was recognized that in this oldest of European monarchies great changes would take place, in which the rest of Europe was vitally concerned. To court and officials the States General was but a source of new supplies. To moderate men, as to the king, it seemed an occasion, as he had said in his summons, to “settle the constitution in perpetuity.” To more extreme reformers it appeared to be a long-awaited opportunity to regenerate mankind.

The
National
Assembly
June, 1789

In consequence there ensued a struggle for power among these various elements. Refusing to organize separately after the old fashion, the Third Estate prevented the formal

opening of the States General; then, denied access to their meeting-place, its members swore the Oath of the Tennis Court, to which they had adjourned, not to separate till they had framed a constitution. Joined by most of the lesser clergy and a few of the nobility, headed by the king's cousin, the Duke of Orleans, the remaining members of both orders were commanded by the king to meet in a body which took the name of the National Assembly and embarked on the formation of a constitution. Amid scenes of mob violence throughout France, which virtually destroyed the structure of feudal privilege of the landholding aristocracy and wrecked royal administration everywhere, that great work went on. It was introduced by a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which, unlike the American constitution, endeavored to define those rights in generalities of "liberty, equality and fraternity." Again unlike its American example, it was embodied not in a single document but in a series of fundamental laws, which during the next two years revolutionized the government of France.

The Consti-
tution of
1791

By them the provinces and governments of the ancient monarchy were replaced with a new series of political divisions—departments, named after rivers and mountains, *arrondissements*, districts and cantons, and the old communes, each self-governing, and each sharing in the election of representatives to a National Assembly, meeting at regular intervals. The old judicial system of *parlements* and royal courts followed the royal divisions and officials into oblivion. Hereditary aristocracy, titles and coats of arms were abolished; ecclesiastical orders, save for schools and hospitals, extinguished; and France emerged as a limited, decentralized and secularized monarchy, in which authority lay in the people's hands. The king no longer ruled, he only presided. His veto powers were restricted; his right to declare war and peace subjected to the Chamber's approval; his power to appoint local officials removed; and by the time that this first "Constituent" Assembly was dissolved in 1791, France took her place among the limited, parliamentary monarchies of the world.

The mobs
and the
clubs

To these changes the king agreed, despite the efforts of his queen and courtiers to check or overthrow the revolutionary movement by threat of force. But theirs was not the only threat of force, nor were these changes accomplished merely by debate. Besides the tremendous outpouring of agitators, newspapers and pamphlets against the monarchy, to the support of the revolutionary movement was summoned the power of the mob, especially in the capital. The troops in Paris were infected with the revolutionary spirit and seduced from their allegiance to the monarchy. The summer of 1789 saw the peasants rise against the noble landholders, whose châteaux were burned, their title-deeds destroyed, and property of every kind stolen from their owners. The Paris mob stormed the royal stronghold and prison of the Bastille on the fourteenth of July, since then held as a national holiday like the fourth of that month in America. Royal administration everywhere collapsed. The king was unable, the Assembly unwilling, to check the anarchy which served the revolutionary cause so well. The nobles and clergy renounced in a grand gesture the privileges which had already disappeared; and to crown the whole, the Paris mob, by the so-called March of the Women to Versailles, compelled the king and royal family to remove to Paris, whither they were followed by the Assembly. The royal ensign was replaced by the tricolor, the blue and white of Paris and the red of revolution. With the center of the revolutionary movement established in the capital, with the municipalities replacing their royal officials by elected governments of their own, partly to check the mobs, partly to support the revolution, there was organized in every district a National Guard, and the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was marked not only by the king's acceptance of the constitution but by a Festival of National Federation, as the new order revealed its military strength in a great review of its armed force.

Nor was this the only characteristic of the movement which made Paris the center of the world's interest in these months. Mob demonstrations seemed too well timed and too well directed to be spontaneous. In part this organized mob vio-

lence was attributed to the king's cousin, the head of the French Freemasons, the dissolute Philippe duc d'Orleans, who from his Palais Royal directed and financed an attack upon the king and queen he hated. In part it was attributed to the order of which he was the head; in part to its inner circle, the so-called Illuminati, an international organization bent on the destruction of the old monarchical and clerical régime. In the words of one of its chief actors, the French Revolution was a great conspiracy made up of many lesser conspiracies. Among these many obscurities, however, one thing is certain—its direction came almost at once into the hands of leaders, all, or nearly all, Freemasons, who first met at the Club Bréton in Versailles, then, when king and Assembly moved to Paris, took up their headquarters in an old Dominican monastery of St. Jacques, near the Assembly, whence was directed the activities of their members in the Assembly, who came to be known from the name of their headquarters as Jacobins.

The
Jacobins

This was more than an incident of French politics, for as the movement grew, these Jacobins became the missionaries of the new faith, not alone in France, where in every district were formed like clubs associated with the mother society, but in other countries where their correspondents spread the gospel of liberty, equality and fraternity both with tongue and pen. It was a new phenomenon in European history and from this moment international movements and secret societies, in one form or another, disturbed the peace of rulers and of ruled.

Nor was this all the tale. As the great revolutionary movement spread, it fell into far different hands than those of the eager reformers who had planned the regeneration of the monarchy. Before the threat of violence they had begun to withdraw, first from the Assembly, then from France, preceded, accompanied and followed by many of the court aristocracy, the king's brothers among the first. In consequence the leadership of the movement altered. At first the declassed Comte de Mirabeau had led the Assembly toward reform; then as the struggle deepened and became more violent, he

lent his talents to the monarchy in an endeavor to save it from its enemies and France from anarchy. But at the moment that the revised constitution was about complete, in April, 1791, he died, and king and court were left facing their enemies in an unequal contest with popular agitators with whose methods they were unable to compete.

The *assignats* and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy

There was one thing more. Amid the convulsions of reform and revolution, the country was bankrupt. No one would pay taxes; further borrowing was impossible; and what money came was largely spent in buying food for the Paris populace. As a result of this and the anti-clerical spirit of the revolutionary leaders, the Assembly turned to the confiscation of church property and the issue of increasing quantities of paper money or *assignats* against it as security. The mass of property thus thrown upon the market declined in value, and the *assignats* with it. The result was inevitable disaster, and France faced a deficit beside which the old royal debts seemed inconsiderable. From this confiscation of the estates of the clergy flowed another consequence. The clergy became the charge of the state; and as part of the new fundamental law there was framed a Civil Constitution of the Clergy by which they became in name and fact elected state officials. With few exceptions the upper clergy repudiated this arrangement, and though many of the priests went on with their old duties as before, many, both high and low, took refuge in flight; and there ensued a schism in the church and a deep-seated quarrel between the Papacy and the anti-clerical government of France. Thus with the more conservative elements removed by emigration or withdrawal from public affairs, the revolutionary movement, like all such movements fell more and more into the hands of extremists.

The summer of 1791 saw the crisis come to a head. In June the king fled from Paris to seek refuge with that part of the army still loyal to the monarchy, but was brought back, compelled to assent to the newly revised constitution, and, with his family, became virtually a prisoner. In August the king of Prussia met Marie Antoinette's brother, the Em-

peror Leopold II, at Pillnitz to discuss, among other things, the critical situation of the French monarchy. In September the National, or as it came to be known, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved and its place taken by the so-called Legislative Assembly, chosen under conditions which debarred all members of the Constituent from the new body. Younger, inexperienced, more radical, elected in the fever-heat of revolution, it was divided into parties described for the first time by the place where they sat. On the right of the presiding officer were the conservatives—constitutionalists and Royalists, so-called *Feuillants*, growing weaker day by day; in the center the more moderate constitutionalists known from the district whence their leaders came as Girondins; high on the left the Jacobins, the radical party of the "Mountain," demanding the further "reform" of the constitution.

The
Legislative
Assembly

Between Jacobin and Girondin raged a fierce struggle for power, which almost at once took a wider range. The virtual annexation of the old Papal territory of Avignon to France, the freeing of the serfs of the German princes who held French lands along the Rhine, the denunciation of all treaties made between the monarchy and the states of Europe, brought French foreign relations to the breaking-point. The Declaration of Pillnitz by the monarchs of Prussia and Austria against the enemies of French monarchy provided the spark which set the world in flame. The constitutionalist ministers were replaced by Girondins bent on war. The Jacobins urged on the conflict in the hope that it would overthrow the monarchy; even the Royalists joined in, believing that an unsuccessful war would restore the king. In April the Girondin ministry declared war on Austria. Its fortunes went at first against the French; the ministry was dismissed; the mob invaded the Tuileries and threatened the king's life; the Assembly declared the country in danger and levied new forces. The Prussians and Austrians advanced into France; and their leader, the Duke of Brunswick, issued a manifesto threatening the leaders of the revolution with destruction.

—and war

The result was another explosion. On August 10 the Tuileries were stormed; their heroic guard of Swiss butch-

The massacres of September 1792, and Valmy

The Republic Sept. 22, 1792

ered; the king suspended and imprisoned in the Temple. Suspected persons were seized everywhere; and in the first week of September there took place a frightful massacre of royalists and constitutionalists in the prisons of the chief cities of France, especially in Paris. Three weeks later the revolutionary armies checked Brunswick's forces at Valmy; and on the day following the battle, September 21, 1792, the new National Convention, chosen amid these scenes of war and massacre, replaced the Legislative Assembly with a body composed almost entirely of republicans. On that day France was declared a Republic; the king was deposed; and there was presently framed a new republican constitution, though it was never ratified, for government was conducted by the Convention itself. Perpetual banishment was decreed for the emigrés. The old methods of address were replaced with the more familiar "thee" and "thou"; the red Phrygian cap worn by convicts condemned to the galleys became the symbol of the new liberty as the tricolor became its standard; and a new song, the *Marseillaise*, became the battle-hymn and national anthem of the Republic. Nice, Savoy, the Rhenish provinces were invaded and annexed and France embarked on her first great experiment of democracy. Within four months the king was brought to trial, condemned and beheaded by the new invention of Dr. Guillotin; and in a sense the revolution was complete.

Such was the fierce drama which was played on the French stage of politics between May, 1789, and January, 1793. To it the rulers and the peoples of the continent could not be indifferent. Whatever sympathy it roused among those afflicted in mind, body, or estate in other lands, almost without exception it forfeited that of rulers and ruling classes everywhere. Whatever hope it held for wider liberty of the individual, its violence and ferocity at home, its renunciation of foreign engagements; its contemptuous disregard of foreign rights; its seizure of foreign property; its crusade against established authority in other lands; its encouragement to disaffected elements everywhere, deprived it of whatever sympathy men felt for the great cause it championed. It was inevitable

that it should come into conflict with its neighbors; it welcomed that conflict which, among other things, distracted the attention of the French from events at home. In consequence, within a fortnight of the execution of the king, war was declared against Great Britain, Spain and Holland. The Empire joined this group of powers with Sardinia which was already at war with France over the seizure of her province of Savoy; and in the spring of 1793 the French government faced the hostility of every neighboring country. Nor were the enemies of the Republic all foreigners. In the west of France the Royalists of Vendée rose against the government, while the emigrés in German territory on the Rhine formed themselves into an army, proclaimed the dauphin king and proposed with foreign aid to attack the revolution from that side.

The Euro-
pean war

Threatened by the hostility of all western Europe, the revolutionary leaders rose to meet the threat with the Girondin Danton's famous battle-cry, "*L'audace! l'audace! toujours l'audace!*" "We make war against governments on behalf of peoples," he declared, "and as the gage of battle we cast into the arena the head of a king." Their first efforts were unfortunate, for their general in Belgium, the Girondin Dumouriez, suffered defeat at Neerwinden, deserted, and so followed the former idol of the French people, Lafayette, into exile as the Austrians reoccupied Brussels. The Girondins opposed the Jacobin dominance by arguments and arms, so that to the fear of the enemy was now added that of treason, and thus inspired, France embarked on a system of government and defence unparalleled in history. With its great Committee of Public Safety, its Committee of Surveillance, its Revolutionary Tribunal, its deputies on mission who carried its authority to every part of France and her armies, the Convention entered on a Reign of Terror which amazed the world, and a series of "epic wars" which came near to conquering it.

The Reign
of Terror
May, 1793-
July, 1794

Ringed about by enemies, hampered by Girondin and Royalist foes at home, the fierce resolution and capacity of the Jacobins prevailed. The Girondins fell before them; the

Royalists were suppressed; Toulon was saved from English attack; Belgium conquered and the Rhine frontier achieved. Meanwhile France became the scene of excesses beyond the previous bounds of European experience. The guillotine took its daily toll of victims of the tribunal in Paris and elsewhere, reinforced by firing-squads and wholesale drownings to exterminate or terrify into submission the enemies of the Jacobins. During this time strange new cults and wild theories appeared. The cathedral of Notre Dame saw a Festival of Reason celebrated by the atheistical Hébertists in its sacred aisles; and a new calendar celebrated the birth of the republic and of liberty with a fantastic combination of logic and poetry adapted to the latitude of Paris. Wages, prices, every activity of life were regulated by decrees of the all-powerful Committee of Public Safety, and the name of its chief representative, Robespierre, became the symbol of a despotism such as the world had not seen since the proscriptions of Sulla. It succeeded. Girondin rebellion and Royalist insurrection were suppressed. Hébertists followed Royalists and Girondins to the guillotine, as Robespierre persuaded the Convention to decree the existence of a Supreme Being.

The
triumph
and fall
of the
Jacobins

Meanwhile under the guiding influence of the "organizer of victory," Carnot, every resource of the nation was conscripted for the war, which, as incompetent generals were sent to the guillotine and raw levies disciplined, went more and more in favor of the French. The victories of Wattignies and Fleurus relieved them of all danger from the east and as the fear of their foes declined, the French people awoke from their nightmare of the Terror, which its leaders pushed to new excesses as the need for it disappeared. Reaction came at once. Its leaders were overthrown by the *coup d'état* of Thermidor, in July, 1794, accomplished by those members of the Convention who feared for their own lives; and the directors of the Terror soon followed their victims to the guillotine. The French armies pushed their way through Belgium and drove the Austrians and Prussians across the Rhine. Within a twelvemonth the power of the Jacobins and the Paris supporters of the Commune was broken by the moderate Ther-

midorians; and the remaining Girondins were readmitted into the Convention. One by one the foreign enemies of the Republic withdrew from the conflict and the treaties of Basle in 1795 left only England and Austria unconquered and unreconciled. A new constitution replaced that of the Terror with a Directory of five men as an executive and a two-chamber legislature. A "whiff of grapeshot" from the guns of the artillery officer who had saved Toulon, the Corsican Napoleon Bonaparte, destroyed the last of the Paris mobs which had long terrorized the government, and France turned to another stage of revolutionary progress.

The Peace
of Basle
and the
Directory
1795

At once the Directory launched a triple attack against Austria—in upper and lower Germany and in Italy. In Germany Moreau, confronted by the Archduke Charles, was driven back, but the Italian campaign of Bonaparte broke the power of Savoy and wrested the Po valley from the Austrians, in a series of brilliant victories which revealed a new force in European politics. From his capital of Milan he forced peace and tribute on the lesser states of Italy, and the Peace of Campo Formio secured for France the Belgian provinces, the whole of Lombardy, now transformed into a Cisalpine Republic, to which were added the Batavian and the Ligurian Republics, the one formed from Dutch Flanders, the other from Genoa, each with its Directory on the French model and under French control. The occupation of Switzerland saw the establishment of another client state, the Helvetic Republic; and that of Rome, the Roman Republic, while Venice was seized under pretext of a revolt in Verona.

The
war with
Austria
1796-7

The Peace
of Campo
Formio

The successes of 1796 did still more. They saved the French Republic from bankruptcy and from its foes at home. Bonaparte's return was the signal for an attack on its last enemy, England. An expedition was prepared to aid a projected Irish rebellion; plans were laid for an invasion of England itself; and the conqueror of Italy was provided with a fleet and an army for an attack on Egypt, on the way to India. Nelson's victory in the Battle of the Nile deprived him of his fleet; but, defeating the Mameluke masters of Egypt in the Battle of the Pyramids, Bonaparte advanced

The attack
on Egypt.
1798

against the Turkish power in Syria. Checked in his ambitious effort there, he returned to Egypt to crush the Turkish forces sent against him. But his position was hopeless despite his victories and he escaped to France with his chief officers, leaving his army to its fate.

He came none too soon. In his absence the French situation had profoundly changed. Against her had been formed a second coalition to check her aggressions. To England and Austria were now joined Russia, whose Emperor, Paul I, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, was infuriated by French seizure of that island; the Ottoman Porte, angered by the attack on Egypt and Syria; Naples; and England's old ally, Portugal. Upon the French positions from the North Sea to the Mediterranean the allies had launched a great attack. Its first phase was unfortunate for the allies as a Neapolitan invasion of the Roman Republic was repelled and a counter-blow transformed Naples into the French-controlled Parthenopean Republic. But in Germany and Italy the Austrians rolled back the tide of French conquest; and Switzerland saw a fierce if indecisive struggle between the French and the Russians. The mushroom republics disappeared. New armies raised by France met with no better fate, and the French conquests melted away before the armies of their enemies, of which only the English expedition to Holland failed.

The war of
the second
Coalition
1798-1801

The *coup
d'état* of
Brumaire
and the
Consulate

Those reverses threatened to undo the great achievements of past years, even to end the Republic itself, as its power declined abroad and its enemies at home plotted its overthrow. With the return of Bonaparte all this was changed. Under the guidance of the astute Sieyès, his antagonists were driven from the Directory, and a conspiracy between the followers of Sieyès and those of Bonaparte resulted in a military *coup d'état* in November, 1799. The legislative bodies were overawed and driven out by the soldiers; and there arose in place of the Directory the government of the Consulate. This, the fourth constitution of France within ten years, established an executive of three consuls, of whom Bonaparte was the first, and in effect the master. A Senate,

a Tribune and a Legislative Chamber served to conceal the fact that France was in the hands of one man, and preserved the name but not the character of a republic. Assented to by a managed plebiscite, it replaced the weak, incapable and corrupt government of the Directory with a strong, centralized and efficient dictatorship, no less absolute in that it was disguised in republican forms. With its establishment the revolutionary movement in France had run its course, and from it France emerged with the greatest military genius of the age as her ruler, compelled, and in general content, with the exchange of part of her liberty for order and efficient government.

II

The return of Napoleon Bonaparte from Egypt and his elevation to the post of First Consul by the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, 1799, was a European event of the first magnitude, since in politics as in war, as he said, "It is not men but a man that counts," and France now had that man. The influence of his career upon men's minds was scarcely less important than the effects of his conquests. Sprung from a decayed Corsican family, this "child of the Revolution" had made his way from the humblest of circumstances to the highest post in his adopted country and the dominant position in Europe by talents for war, administration and diplomacy peculiarly suited to the age in which they fell. It is scarcely too much to say that on his ability, his ambitions, his passions and prejudices, his strength and his weakness, his virtues and even his vices, there hung the fortunes of the next fifteen years of European politics. If human greatness consists in imposing one's will upon his fellows, Napoleon Bonaparte was the greatest man in history, for no one has ever controlled the lives of so many of his fellows as he, and as was said of him, "He was as great as a man could be—without virtue!"

Napoleon
Bonaparte

Under his direction, though in far different fashion from that of the French Revolution, France continued to be the focus of European politics, diplomacy and war. Almost from

The campaign of
1801

The Peace
of Lune-
ville
Feb., 1801

the moment of his accession to the post of First Consul, she changed from the weakness, corruption and ineptitude of the Directory to the strength and efficiency given her by a master of war and administration. His first concern was to recover the position France had lost in the campaign of 1799. His skilful flattery persuaded the Russian Emperor to withdraw from the coalition, and, relieved of one enemy, he turned to crush the others. Despatching Moreau to face the Archduke Charles in Germany, while Massena held the Austrians in check at Genoa until compelled to surrender, Bonaparte himself crossed the Alps by the St. Bernard pass, recaptured Milan, and won the battle of Marengo, while Moreau was victorious at Hohenlinden. The Peace of Luneville which concluded this brief but glorious campaign not merely restored the fruits of Campo Formio to France; it gave to her the grand duchy of Tuscany, the left bank of the Rhine, and the recognition of the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine and Ligurian republics. It did more; for it virtually ended the Holy Roman Empire; and, outside of Europe, as part of the negotiations which revolutionized European political geography, Spain ceded Louisiana to France. To this was joined a peace with Naples; the junction of Prussia and the northern powers against England; and the occupation of Hanover by French troops.

Once more England alone remained to face the enormously increased power of France; but she was not long alone. The murder of the Russian emperor, Paul, brought to the throne his son, Alexander I, who made overtures to Great Britain. The bombardment of Copenhagen by the British fleet, compelled Denmark's withdrawal from the neutral league of the northern powers against Great Britain, and it was presently dissolved. A parliamentary union between Great Britain and Ireland, removed the fear of French intrigues in that quarter; while the capture of the French army in Egypt, and the return of Egyptian sovereignty to the Porte, ended French ambitions in the near East. The resignation of Pitt as prime minister brought a peace party to power, and twelve months after Luneville, the Peace of Amiens ended Anglo-

French hostilities for a time. By it, Great Britain restored to France all her colonies, save Trinidad, which was given to Spain. Malta was nominally given back to the Knights though still controlled by Great Britain; Ceylon went to the Batavian Republic; France made peace with the Porte; and her European status was recognized. A concordat between the Consulate and the Papacy restored the Pope to Rome and compromised the quarrel between the Vatican and the French government over the French church as France and Europe entered on a brief and uneasy period of peace.

The Peace
of Amiens
March,
1802

But the victory over the enemies of France and the treaties which confirmed it were not the only triumphs of the Consulate. Amid the storm of war and the exactions of diplomacy, under the dynamic impetus of Bonaparte, the whole organization of the state was reformed and strengthened. The finances were set in order; the system of education revolutionized and put under direct supervision of the government. The ancient "academies" of learning were united into a reorganized National Institute. Above all, the legal reforms begun under the Convention were carried through under his direction into a body of law which took name from the new master of France as the Napoleonic Code. Peace with foreign powers and the Papacy, the restoration of the church in France, and finally the creation of a new order, the Legion of Honor, were the prelude to conferring on the First Consul higher dignities. Scarcely were these arrangements completed when he had himself chosen Consul for life, with the right to appoint his successor, and became the president of the Cisalpine, now renamed the Italian Republic. A new constitution confirmed and legalized these arrangements, enlarging the powers of the senate, which was under control of the First Consul, and reducing those of the other legislative bodies. Still under the forms of a republic, it was evident that this was about to be transformed into something different, with Bonaparte as its head.

The reor-
ganization
of France
1799-1804

Before that solution was arrived at, Europe saw another revolution in her political geography. The states of the Holy Roman Empire were redistributed as the lesser units

—and of
Germany

were merged in the greater, and a series of “indemnifications” strengthened the one at the expense of the other. All but four of the ecclesiastical states and all but six of the free cities were absorbed; to the seven old electors, four more were now added; and the Hapsburg power over the Empire was broken. Meanwhile France and Great Britain quarrelled over the French occupation of Hanover and their military intervention in Switzerland; the refusal of Great Britain to surrender Malta in the face of these aggressions, and the violence of recriminations of the journalists. The reorganization of the French army, the establishment of a camp at Boulogne with maneuvers evidently designed for an invasion of England, brought the relations of the two countries to the breaking-point. And at this moment the earlier conspiracies against the life of Bonaparte which had provided an opportunity to transport the leaders of the Jacobins and Terrorists were followed by the discovery of another plot which relieved him of the republican generals, Pichegru, who was found dead in prison, and Moreau, who fled to America. In return, by his orders, the Bourbon duc d’Enghien was seized, carried to Paris and executed; and with this last defiance to the Bourbon power, the Tribunate and Senate proclaimed him Emperor.

The
Napoleonic
Empire
1804-

As in the case of Napoleon’s other elevations, this was confirmed by a managed plebiscite. The Pope was brought from Rome to crown him in a magnificent spectacle staged in Notre Dame; but even here the head of the Church was humiliated, for the new Charlemagne, as he aspired to be called, crowned himself. With the same care he had bestowed on his army, this founder of a new dynasty in Europe formed a court with all the trappings and formality of imperial dignity. To his side he summoned his paladins to grace the court with their new titles and their new costumes, and the spectacle of these heroes of the camp who had risen from humble circumstances to such place—and especially the spectacle of their wives—roused the amusement of Europe as much as the achievements in the field had roused their fears. With all the customary offices of imperial show and dignity;

with his leading generals erected into marshals; with a new nobility of service; with his family given new titles and honors, this last of the dynastic autocrats embarked on his attempt to set the Bonapartes among the ruling families of Europe as the peers of Hapsburg and Romanoff.

The first expression of the development of the Napoleonic Empire which rose on the ruins of Republican France and her client states was the transformation of north Italian states under French control—save for the Ligurian Republic now incorporated into France—into the kingdom of Italy with Napoleon as king and his step-son, Eugene de Beauharnais, as viceroy. The next was the development of a great design of European conquest against the efforts of a third coalition of England, Austria, Russia and Sweden planned to check the ambitions of the new Emperor and restore the balance of European power. He hastened to anticipate his enemies. Disposing of his new acquisition of Louisiana to the United States, allying himself with Spain, Napoleon suddenly hurled the Grande Armée, which he had made the finest fighting force in Europe, from its camp at Boulogne against his foes in Germany. While the main force of Austrians under the Archduke Charles was held in play by Massena in Italy, Napoleon himself, supported by the south German states, surrounded and captured the main Austrian army under Mack at Ulm, and within three months had occupied Vienna and defeated the Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz. The Russians withdrew; the Prussians who were about to join the coalition, made peace; and the Treaty of Pressburg transferred the remaining Austrian possessions in Italy to Napoleon's Italian kingdom and recognized him as its ruler. In return for their support of Napoleon, the southern German states, Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, were enlarged at the expense of Austria. The next twelvemonth saw the establishment of the south German states into a Confederation of the Rhine, under the protectorship of Napoleon, whose elder brother, Joseph, became king of Naples; his younger brother, Louis, king of Holland; and his brother-in-law, Murat, prince of Berg. At the same time negotiations were

The War of
the Third
Coalition
1805

The
Peace of
Pressburg
1805

The Con-
federation
of the
Rhine

begun which allied members of his family with the heirs and heiresses of the ruling house of southern Germany, now incorporated into the Confederation of the Rhine, and the House of Bonaparte took its place among the greater dynasties of Europe.

The result was the reconstitution of the political geography of the continent. The Napoleonic Empire, based on an enormously enlarged France, spread over the whole of the Netherlands and Italy, the western half of Germany and Switzerland, so that, save for Spain and Portugal, it controlled all western Europe from the English Channel to the Adriatic Sea. With the loss of his territory and prestige in Germany, the Hapsburg Emperor, Francis II, abdicated the crown of the Empire and became Francis I of Austria: and the Holy Roman Empire, after a history of near a thousand years, finally disappeared from European politics. England alone remained unconquered; and meanwhile had strengthened her position; for four days after Austerlitz, Nelson's fleet had destroyed the combined naval forces of France and Spain at the battle of Trafalgar off the Spanish coast and left her the mistress of the seas at the moment that Napoleon had become the master of the western continent.

The end of
the Holy
Roman
Empire

The war
with Prus-
sia and
Russia
1806-7

He was not content with that. Hardly had he consolidated the gains of Pressburg when he turned to face Prussia, who, though she had hesitated, was now infuriated by Napoleon's double-dealing diplomacy and, too late, hurried into war. That struggle was decided in the single day of Jena and Auerstadt where the outworn system and generals created by Frederick the Great fell before the French attack. From the occupation of Berlin, Napoleon advanced toward his last continental enemy, Russia, and in the bloody battles of Eylau and Friedland broke the last resistance to his power on the continent. By the Peace of Tilsit he reached the summit of his power. To him Prussia ceded all her lands between the Rhine and the Elbe and agreed to close her ports to English ships and reduce her army to little more than a skeleton organization. Russia recognized the Confederation of the Rhine and the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw which he now

The peace
of Tilsit
July, 1807

created out of the Prussian spoils of the old Polish kingdom, and agreed to join him against England, if she would not accept Napoleon's offer of peace. To these concessions were added a huge indemnity from Prussia and the development of an internal blockade of the continent against English commerce by the so-called Continental System, to whose acceptance the states of nearly all western Europe were persuaded or compelled. With the establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia under the rule of his brother Jerome, the circle of the Napoleonic Empire was rounded out in the west, while the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the occupation of the Prussian fortresses carried his power to the frontiers of Russia.

The Con-
tinental
System

Only England still remained unconquered and the "war of the elephant and the whale" entered on another stage with the Peace of Tilsit and the Continental System designed to destroy her trade with the continent and accomplish by embargo what Napoleon had not been able to effect by arms. To complete the chain of ports to which her ships were denied access and to round out his power on the continent, Napoleon's next attack was directed against the Iberian peninsula. Portugal, England's old ally, refusing to join the Continental System, was occupied, and its royal family fled to their great colony of Brazil, under the protection of the English fleet. Forcing the abdication of the weak Charles IV and his son, Ferdinand, Napoleon launched an army into Spain which quickly overcame its feeble government, and set his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, as Murat took Joseph's place in Naples.

Spain and
Portugal
1808-9

But meanwhile the situation of affairs had changed. It was by now apparent that Europe faced not a national crusade such as had carried French arms to victory under the banners of the Republic, but a bid for European supremacy by a new dynasty, and it rose to meet that threat under the same principles of nationality and liberty which had earlier inspired the French revolutionists. At the same time the rulers of the continent had changed in accordance with the situation thus produced. Austerlitz broke Pitt's heart, but though he died, his spirit animated his successors. Under the

guidance of Castlereagh who had accomplished the Act of Union with Ireland, Great Britain embarked on a new policy. An expedition was prepared to aid the Portuguese and the Spaniards in their resistance to Napoleon, and after two failures, the talents of Sir Arthur Wellesley were summoned from his victories in India to command against the French in the Peninsula.

The Penin-
sular War
1808-14

Against his English troops and their auxiliaries, first in Portugal then in Spain, the French commanders strove in vain to hold what they had won. They were first driven from Portugal, then in a series of brilliant campaigns, assisted by the guerilla war of the Spaniards against the invaders, the English and their allies, bit by bit, wrested from the French the ground that the Napoleonic armies had gained by their sudden thrust. Meanwhile Castlereagh drew together the threads of a new coalition and the whole continent was roused against Napoleon. In Prussia the genius of Stein, Scharnhorst and Hardenberg reorganized the state and formed an army based on the principle of universal, compulsory and short-term service which provided their adopted country once more with a formidable fighting force. In Austria meanwhile the abilities and courage of Stadion drew together the strength of the diverse lands and peoples which still owned the Hapsburg rule, as everywhere in German lands there arose a spirit of national resistance to French dominance like that which had inspired Spain and Portugal.

The
war with
Austria,
1809,
and the
Peace of
Vienna

That spirit hurried Austria into war and in the fierce battles of Aspern and Essling Napoleon met his first defeat at the hands of the Archduke Charles. For a moment it seemed that he might be overthrown; but from his fortified island camp of Lobau in the Danube he summoned aid from Italy and with Eugene's reinforcements won the battle of Wagram and compelled Austria to the Peace of Vienna which gave him new lands in southern Germany, the Illyrian provinces on the Adriatic, and Austria's assent to the Continental System. But meanwhile Germany was rousing to resist, and isolated gallant if hopeless efforts to stem the Napoleonic tide nerved her people to new plans for liberation. Though



Sweden joined the Continental System and allied herself with France, adopting Napoleon's marshal Bernadotte as the heir to her throne; though the Pope, refusing to ally himself with France or to join the Continental System, saw his territories incorporated in the Napoleonic Empire and himself a prisoner; though Napoleon divorced his empress Josephine and compelled Francis I to give him his daughter Maria Louisa in marriage; even this last testimony to the place he had won for himself and his family in Europe failed to conceal the fact that the continent was uniting against his dominance.

The struggle against Napoleon

In Spain the conflict went on with the slow but irresistible advance of Wellesley and his allies and the draining of French strength. With the retreat of Wellesley before the overwhelming French forces under Massena to the fortified mountain range of the lines of Torres Vedras about Lisbon, the vain efforts of the French to force that position and Massena's retreat; his defeat and that of Soult, French strength declined at the moment that it was needed elsewhere on the continent. It seemed by 1811 that the Napoleonic Empire had reached its widest extent. With the birth of a son to inherit Napoleon's empire, it appeared that the House of Bonaparte would equal or surpass the eminence of Hapsburg or Romanoff. But already that house was being undermined. The colonies of France and Holland were now in English hands. Portugal and southern Spain were lost, Prussia was arming for a new struggle; and though Austria under the guiding genius of her new foreign minister, Metternich, was for the moment quiet, she only bided her opportunity. That opportunity was provided by Russia, challenging Napoleon's right to dominate the continent, refusing to continue in the Continental System, and fearing the loss of her Polish lands to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw now enlarged by the addition of Austrian Poland.

Against Russia, in consequence, Napoleon launched the whole strength of his empire. Alliances with Austria and Prussia furnished him with the right and left wings of his attack. The rest was drawn from all western and southern Europe from Holland to Italy and Spain, but the most from France; and in the

The Russian expedition 1812

spring of 1812, half a million men were set in motion against Russia. Checked for a moment in the fierce and bloody battle of Borodino, the army pushed on to Moscow after the retiring Russians only to find Napoleon's proposals for peace ignored, the city burned, and retreat its only resource. The six weeks of that retreat in the hardships of the Russian winter all but destroyed the great army. Scarcely a fifth of its numbers escaped death or capture. Napoleon himself fled back to Paris; the Prussians made terms with the Russians; the diplomacy of Castlereagh and Metternich wove the threads of a new coalition; the national spirit of Germany roused to a war of liberation; and the last great struggle for the freedom of the continent began.

The War of
Liberation
1813-14

Two great battles, Lützen and Bautzen, against the Prussians and Russians in the following spring, left the Napoleonic forces still in command of western Germany; but the entry of Austria and the English subsidies turned the tide. The summer of 1813 saw the forces of Russia, Prussia and Austria directed against Napoleon by the genius of the old Republican general Moreau who had come from exile to oppose his old rival. That rival won his last great victory at Dresden, but his generals were defeated in lesser engagements, and in October, 1813, the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig saw Napoleon's army yield to the overwhelming numbers of the allies. At once the Napoleonic structure in Germany fell apart. The Confederation of the Rhine dissolved and its component parts, save Saxony, deserted his standard. The old rulers were restored; the cities in French hands fell to the allies; their garrisons were captured; and Germany was lost to Napoleon at almost the same moment that Wellesley had pushed his conquest of Spain to the Pyrenees, and presently across them into France.

There Napoleon prepared for his last stand. With his little force he for a time successfully opposed the three armies which converged on the capital. But the odds were too great; his marshals refused to follow him in the hopeless struggle; the Senate, under the influence of Talleyrand, declared the throne forfeited by the Bonapartes; and Napoleon was forced to abdicate. At that moment Wellington defeated Soult at Toulouse;

and the end had come. The allies who occupied Paris gave the fallen Emperor the island of Elba as a principality—and a prison; restored the Bourbon Louis XVIII to the throne of France under a new constitution; and permitted her the boundaries of 1792. The Pope returned to Rome; the petty princes to their principalities; and, in so far as possible, Europe was restored to something like its form before the storm of the French Revolution and Napoleon had uprooted its old boundaries and conventions.

The first
Peace of
Paris, May,
1814

But this was not the end of that greatest of all adventures in war and politics. While the rulers of Europe planned the future of the continent in the great Congress of Vienna, the exiled emperor from his prison in Elba plotted his return and at the moment that the powers had all but agreed on their plans for the reorganization of Europe, he landed again in France. Hastening to the capital amid the plaudits of his old followers and of those irritated by the tactless Bourbon rule and the demands of the returning emigrés, he entered on a Hundred Days of preparation to restore his power. To his side he called all of his old commanders, but not all came; and though he made concessions to the liberal party in France by his Additional Act to the constitution of the Empire, even the liberty he promised could not outweigh the certainty of war. France no longer trusted him, despite his formal renunciation of autocratic power.

The Con-
gress of
Vienna;
and
the Hun-
dred Days

Meanwhile his enemies gathered against him; from the south the armies of Austria under Schwarzenberg; in the north the Prussians under Blücher, the English, Dutch and Hanoverians under Wellington. To check the nearest foe, he hastened to the Belgian frontier, crossed it, drove back the Prussians at Ligny and turned to crush Wellington before Blücher could arrive. On Sunday, June 18, 1815, he fell upon that general's motley force and for the moment had the best of it. But Grouchy whom he had sent to hold back Blücher, failed in his mission. The Prussians came up in time to reinforce their allies and Napoleon's army was not merely defeated but destroyed. He took refuge on the English ship *Bellerophon*; was proclaimed an outlaw; and carried to St. Helena to linger

Waterloo
June 18,
1815

there a prisoner till his death some six years later. There he endeavored to retrieve by his pen what he had lost by his sword, and the Napoleonic legend which he founded in his apology and defence of his actions and his denunciation of his enemies played a great part in the history of France and helped to bring his nephew to the throne of the Second Empire in later years.

The second
Peace of
Paris, Nov.,
1815

Meanwhile for the second time in little more than a twelve-month the allies entered Paris and there once more determined the fate of Europe and of France. As punishment for her support of Napoleon's last effort to preserve his power, they reduced French borders to the limits of 1790, exacted a huge indemnity, and imposed on her an army of occupation. Louis XVIII was again restored and France became a limited monarchy not unlike that which had been established by the constitution of 1792. In so far as possible the old system of dynastic rule was re-established throughout Europe, but now much modified by the changes in frontiers, laws, administration and above all the temper of the people which the Revolution and Napoleon had wrought.

For the Revolution had both failed and succeeded. It had brought to France great losses and great gains. It had cost uncounted lives and wealth; but it had brought new concepts and new practices in government. It had opened the way for the talents; unified and rationalized laws and administration; established the principle defined in the American Revolution, as the consent of the governed expressed in elected representatives. "I have come," Napoleon had said, "to preserve the fruits of the Revolution," and it has been observed that since his overthrow the social order in France has been founded on the principles of the Revolution and her administrative system on that of the Empire. In some measure that has been true of Europe in general; for though the Restoration brought back the dynastic system for a time, there had been lighted on the continent a flame of revolt against the old régime which was destined in time to consume its last remnants. In more senses than one the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era mark the end of the middle ages and the beginning of modern politics.



EUROPE IN 1815

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400

— Boundary of German Confederation

60
50
40
30
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60

20

10

0

10

SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.

Bergen
Christiania

HERIODS
SCOTLAND
NORTH
SEA
UNITED KINGDOM
Ireland
Wales
ENGLAND
London
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
Amsterdam
Brussels
Hamburg
Berlin

DENMARK
Copenhagen

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

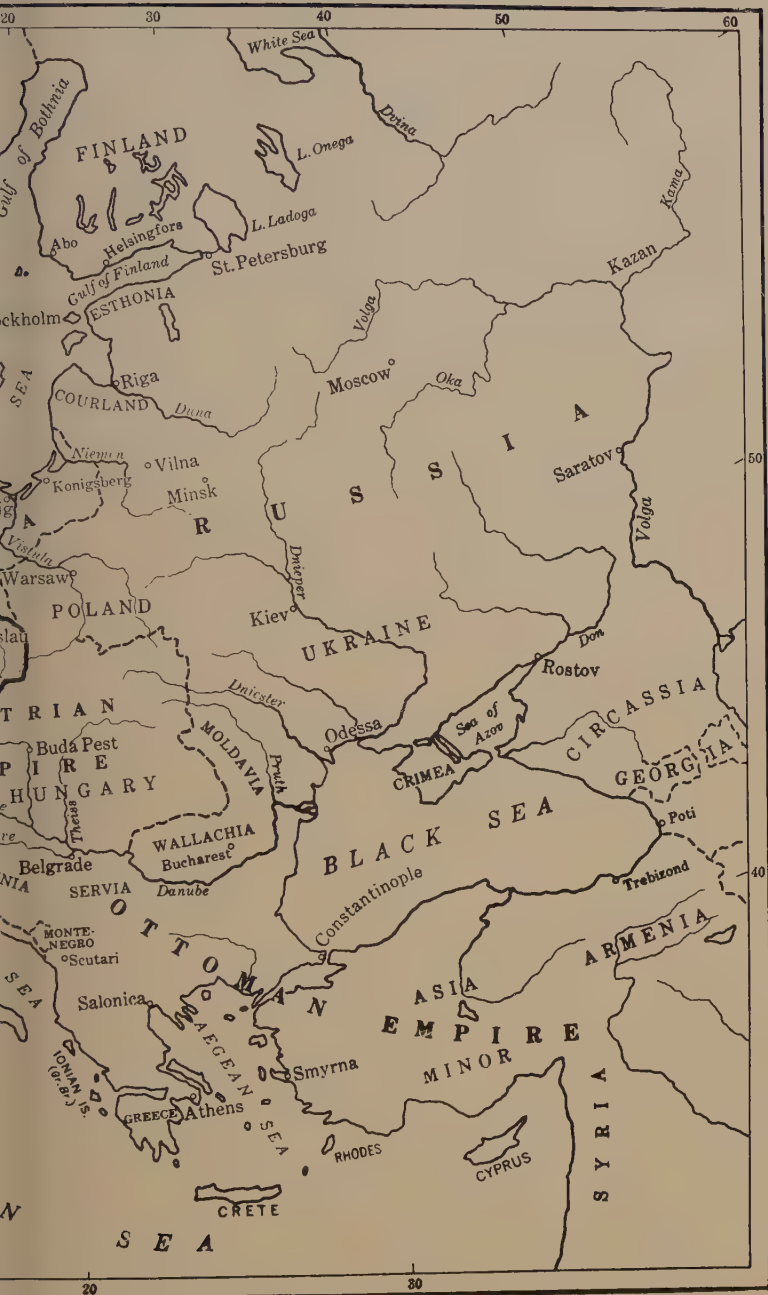
HELGOLAND (Gr. Br.)
HOLLAND
PRUSSIA
SAXONY
BAVARIA
SWITZERLAND
Lombardy
Venetia
LUXEMBURG
PARIS
LYONS
BORDEAUX
TOULOUSE
MUNICH
BERNE
GENOVA
PAPAL STATES
ROMA
CORCICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN

PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Lisbon
Oporto
Douro
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Valencia
Cadiz
C. Tarifa
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)

MOROCCO

ALGERIA

TUNIS



Such were the political convulsions which had racked Europe in the quarter of a century since the formation of the first French constitution. From them the continent emerged profoundly altered in political geography and still more profoundly altered in spirit. The arrangements of the Congress of Vienna and the treaties of Paris revolutionized the map of Europe. In place of more than four hundred German states with which the period began, there were now scarcely forty. But even those figures do not tell the tale, for of these forty only five—Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Baden and Württemberg—were of much size, and of these Prussia was not only by far the largest and most powerful, but morally as well as materially the leader of north Germany. Its long line of territory which stretched from the Russian to the French and Belgian frontiers made it the guardian of the German people on two fronts. Unconsciously Napoleon had showed the way to the unification of the German people and set the Hohenzollerns in place of the Hapsburgs as the leaders of that movement.

The settle-
ment of
Europe

Yet the Hapsburg territories, though widely scattered, were still considerable. They included not only the old German states of Austria and the lands of the eastern Alps, but on the one side Bohemia and on the other Hungary, the Illyrian provinces along the Adriatic and, in Italy, Venice and Lombardy, with domination of the lesser states. The Emperor of Austria doubtless held more square miles than his predecessors of the Holy Roman Empire and held it more directly. What he lacked in comparison with his Hohenzollern cousin was the unity of language and custom which lay at the root of the principle of nationality. In some degree that lack was shared by the lands and peoples of the Romanoffs. Though the Hohenzollerns kept their old province of East Prussia and the more recent acquisition of Posen, and the Hapsburgs retained Galicia as the spoil of the partition of Poland, Russia held the lion's share of that now vanished kingdom, together with Finland which had fallen to her within five years. Thus, despite the hopes which Napoleon had held out to the Poles as the price of their assistance, their country no longer existed as an independent state.

On the other hand, Sweden, which had lost Finland to Russia, kept Norway, ceded to her two years earlier as the price of her adhesion to the coalition against Napoleon; while Denmark was forced to be content with the district of Lauenburg as indemnity for the loss of Norway. What seemed of more importance than even the transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden was that of the Belgian provinces from Austria to the kingdom of the Netherlands under the house of Orange, as another bulwark against France. These were the greater changes. Farther south, Switzerland gained three cantons—Geneva, Wallis and Neuchâtel—and Italy remained, as Metternich observed, a “geographical expression.” There the Papal States, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the kingdom of Sardinia, to which Genoa was now added, were, apart from the Austrian provinces, the largest units, while Parma, Tuscany and Modena remained under Hapsburg influence.

Yet with all these transfers of territory and the shifting balance of power, the most far-reaching change in the European situation lay in another direction. Though everywhere the old dynasties had been restored so far as possible, the status of many of them, especially in central Europe was profoundly altered. The old constitution of Germany had been revolutionized by the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire and the petty “states” which had formed the most numerous element of its component parts. From these states, including Austria, was formed a Germanic Confederation, with an elected head and a Diet at Frankfort composed of what were in effect diplomatic representatives of these sovereign states. For its headship Hapsburg strove with Hohenzollern, and this Confederation, only less impotent than the Empire it succeeded, became the chief contribution to German unity, whose accomplishment was to absorb the next two generations with its wars and rivalries.

The German Confederation

Such is the bare outline of the tremendous events which in a little more than a quarter of a century between the summoning of the French States General and the fall of Napoleon, shook the world of politics to its base and redrew the map of Europe.

They form not merely one of the most dramatic episodes of European history, but they mark the great transition from the old world of European society which had developed in the fifteen hundred years since the fall of Rome into a new world of politics and society which differed at nearly every point from that ancient régime. Not since the Reformation had Europe seen such a revolution in her thought and practices; not since Charlemagne had she experienced such conquests. The world which emerged from this convulsion had no such roots in a historic past as the world which had been weakened or destroyed. The rise of obscure men in a few years to European stature; the development of mass politics; the rapid and unpredictable waves of emotion which swept over France and threatened other states were sharply opposed to the system which had lived so long. The crash of ancient dynasties; the replacement of age-long customs, traditions, systems and standards by new theories and practices; the weakening of authority everywhere, of class distinctions, of the church establishment and even of its faith cleared the way for a different system of thought and practices. The rise of new concepts in government and society, new men and new methods, revealed the strength of those forces and those ideas which had been able in so short a time to destroy such an imposing edifice as the old régime. It remained to be seen whether those forces and those ideas would be able to raise a new structure on the ruins of the old as strong and long-enduring as the one it had destroyed.

Conclusion

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL AND COLONIAL EUROPE. 1789-1815

APART from its tremendous effect on every phase of politics, in material ways the era of the French Revolution and of Napoleon brought profound changes to nearly every quarter of the European continent. It not merely disrupted the old order of society but it caused enormous loss of life and property. From the destruction of the monastic foundations in France to the burning of Moscow, it left in its wake a train of calamities more widespread and more disastrous in extent and magnitude than any event in modern European history, save perhaps the devastation of Germany in the Thirty Years' War. To many, Napoleon appeared as a new Attila bent on the overthrow of civilization; to many more as the anti-Christ. As first the French revolutionary then the Napoleonic armies and their opponents swept back and forth across Europe, whose soil echoed to the tramp of marching legions for a full quarter of a century without respite; as long lines of wagon-trains bore back to France the spoils of conquest, to enrich her treasury and her art galleries; as one by one the European capitals from Lisbon to Moscow saw French troops encamped in their squares and palaces; it seemed that all the world had become the victim of war and spoliation. Not all the glory of victorious arms, not even the visions of a world regenerated by the triumph of the great ideas then on foot seemed to atone for this enormous waste of lives and wealth. It even seemed to some that the end of that world had come.

Had the wars and diplomacy of the French Revolution and Napoleon been the whole of life; had all the energies of Europe been confined to these destructive activities, they would, indeed, not merely have meant the overthrow of European civili-

zation as it was then known, but they would have had no more lasting effect than the achievements of Asiatic conquerors like Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane. But these external events and their material consequence were only part of the great drama of European history, even in the years when the legions of France poured across the continent. Europe was not destroyed. Its life went on; and, whether as friends or foes, men were even more profoundly and permanently influenced by the ideas than by the armed forces loosed upon them in this quarter of a century. Of these the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity which the French leaders professed and their followers embraced, were the most enduring heritage of the great conflict. From that time until this they have been the watchwords of modern politics, the inspiration of that "democracy" which infused the nineteenth century.

In every European state at home and overseas these glittering generalities were welcomed by those who were, or felt themselves, hampered by the old order of government and society. That spirit of unrest was stimulated by the Jacobins, who used a multitude of agents and ambassadors to stir up discontent wherever possible and promote the cause of world revolution. Even in the most liberal of powers, like Great Britain and America, they encouraged those societies which under the name of "constitutional" or "corresponding" kept in touch with the "mother society" of the Paris Jacobins and agitated or conspired against their governments. In European states opposed to France the spirit of revolt was kept alive by secret societies bent on the same end. French armies spread the revolutionary doctrines and reorganized their conquests on French models. And, as the conquerors established their authority, though they were everywhere welcomed by discontented minorities, those who were thus given the blessings of the new "liberty" found that the price was high, for everywhere they paid tribute in some form to their new masters and to France.

Upon the old order of society the storm of revolution fell with disastrous force. Autocracy, enlightened or unenlightened, was diminished or destroyed. Traditional administra-

The
Jacobin
crusade

The
Revolution
and the
Old Régime

tion felt the impact of more rational and more systematic principles; traditional ascendancy of royalty and aristocracy was undermined by the doctrines of popular rights. The power of the church was weakened by the anti-clerical crusade of the republicans. Class privileges were challenged or suppressed. Old standards of thought, expression and conduct were modified or overthrown. Though the French revolutionary calendar found no acceptance beyond French borders, the French decimal system of weights and measures became, as it were, the symbol of the new order, as the doctrines of "reason" made their way into the long-guarded preserves of tradition and custom.

Men of the old régime deplored the decay of manners as those of the republicans replaced those of the old courtly society. Even in the domains of costume and furniture the influence of the revolutionary movement was felt. As "citizen" replaced "subject" in the political vocabulary of the new order, to the aristocratic knee-breeches succeeded the more democratic pantaloons as symbols of equality. The wigs which had so long concealed men's hair—or the lack of it—now disappeared as the law of nature made its way into hairdressing. To the slender and graceful, if unsubstantial, furniture of Louis Seize, the billowing skirts and magnificent headdresses of the age of Pompadour, succeeded first the classical models of the Republic, expressed in the fashions of the Directory, then the splendid, if heavy, magnificence of the Empire, as France, even in these days, retained her leadership of the fashionable world.

Those fashions extended into politics, but there, even more than in society, they met with resistance as stubborn as that opposed to French armed aggression. The violence of the champions of liberty roused the enmity not only of conservative elements but of many who at first had welcomed this day-spring of freedom. The results upon the states most committed to the doctrines of autocracy and opposition to French conquest were naturally most apparent. They took two different forms. In the crisis of French occupation, the Spanish Junta which led the country to resist French occupation, not merely appealed to Spanish national instincts against the invaders, but adopted

a constitution modeled on that of the France of 1792, as a weapon against the foreign enemy. That constitution became the goal of south European states in their struggle against dynastic autocracy in ensuing years, and so took its place among the great results of this epoch.

To northern continental powers these constitutional-parliamentary doctrines for the moment appealed but little, if at all. They sought the remedy in revision of the old rather than in adoption of the new. Among them Prussia took the lead in the reform of her dynastic-autocratic system. In the spirit of enlightened despotism and in the days of her greatest humiliation she revised her whole system of government and society. Administration, especially finance, was reorganized on new lines, in part inspired by French influence. Serfdom was abolished; industry was freed from its former disabilities; and, adopting the French system of universal, compulsory, military service, she added to that the principle of short-term enlistment which was in time to become the model of all continental states. She did more than that. In those days was founded the University of Berlin as a center of German culture, under the guidance of the philologist-diplomat von Humboldt. To its service were summoned the most eminent men in Germany, and against the ideas of the Weimar school of "good Europeans" there was set the ideal of a united, nationalistic Germany under Prussian lead. In this movement the faculty of the new foundation took a share, as the metaphysician Fichte issued his *Addresses to the German Nation* to reinforce the poetry of Arndt, the gymnastics of Jahn, and the youthful fervor of the Tugendbund and the student Burschenschaften in the struggle against Napoleon. To Fichte succeeded Hegel, who, apart from a philosophy which challenged that of Kant, set forth his concept of men's actions as moulded by the *Zeitgeist* or spirit of the times, as one people or another rose to power by best expressing that spirit.

Prussia

—and the
German
states

That philosophy was typified, as it was perhaps inspired, by the career of Prussia, and in some measure her example was followed by other powers. While in Austria, Stadion, though with less success, strove to unite and strengthen the adminis-

Austria
and Russia

tration of the diverse lands and peoples which made up that heterogeneous empire, the smaller states of Germany felt the impulse to reform from the influence of the French rulers or administrators who dominated the Confederation of the Rhine. Even the young Emperor of Russia, under the liberal influence of his French tutor, embraced vague dreams of a regenerated Russia and a Europe governed by the precepts of the Golden Rule in a Holy Alliance.

Great
Britain

But if the effect of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era was profound on the states of the continent, its effect on those peoples which already enjoyed constitutional and parliamentary government was scarcely less striking. It was only natural that Great Britain, which had long since achieved self-government and nationality, should become a battle-field in the war of ideas which accompanied the clash of arms. Its prime-minister, William Pitt, who for nearly a decade before the war broke out had devoted his great abilities to the reorganization of the state, especially its finance, and had made the first advances toward the reform of Parliament, was bitterly opposed by the champions of the new French ideas, with Charles James Fox at their head. The activities of these "radicals" reinforced by those of the Jacobins, had, with the threat of war, compelled the government to take strong measures against seditious and treasonable practices, even to the point of suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the trial of the agitators for treason.

Paine and
Burke

In consequence there arose a violent controversy over the rights and wrongs of men and the means of their deliverance from "tyranny." In this one contest was as conspicuous as it was typical. The gospel of the new order was set forth in his *Age of Reason* by the English agitator Thomas Paine, who came from his labors in behalf of American independence to take a seat in the French Convention and plead its cause before the world. It was answered by the statesman-philosopher, Edmund Burke, who turned aside from his efforts to reform the English government to pen the greatest of all indictments of the French enthusiasts in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

It was the beginning of an argument which has lasted to our time. It was continued, as the years went on by other appeals of like but lesser sort. The youthful poet Shelley was inspired to praise the country and the age,

When free thoughts, like lightnings are alive,
And in each bosom of the multitude
Justice and truth with custom's hydra brood
Wage silent war; when priests and kings dissemble
In smiles or frowns their fierce disquietude.

It was then that Shelley's gifted, disreputable father-in-law, Godwin, attacked the existing order in his *Inquiry concerning Political Justice*; and his wife in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* struck a chord which has not yet ceased to reverberate. And it was then that the rising young statesman, George Canning, and his colleagues in the *Anti-Jacobin*, with mingled humor and satire endeavored to refute the poetic conception that justice and truth were confined entirely to "the bosoms of the multitude."

Yet even amid the clash of arms and ideas the cause of reform was not forgotten. Mutiny of the fleet, rebellion in Ireland, the threatened invasion of England, indeed, postponed the wider reforms proposed by Pitt; but the movement for the readjustment of English administration to the new conditions and theories of life went on. Even amid war, projects for improving the legal and penal systems were pushed forward by the Radical followers of Bentham. Though the reform of Parliament was not then achieved, the movement was kept alive by successive motions to that effect. William Wilberforce and his fellow-members of the Anti-Slavery Society began that great crusade for the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire which came to fruition in another generation; and, as part of the results of the Congress of Vienna, the English representatives were able to secure the consent of other European powers to the abolition of the trade in negro slaves. The disabilities of Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, which had existed since the struggles of the seventeenth century, were in part relieved. Thus, even in the heat of her struggle for existence, in the face of foreign enemies and of extremists at

The
Reform
Movement

home, there were signs that the excesses of the champions of revolution on the continent and in England itself, though they harmed the cause of reform, had not ruined it. Moreover it was apparent that, apart from radical elements which planned the destruction of the existing system, the more extreme ideas made little headway among those they were supposed to benefit. Even in England people rioted against those champions of the French, who, like their colleagues in America, annually celebrated the fall of the Bastille, and, among their many manifestations of displeasure, mob violence drove the radical scientist Priestley from his native land to refuge in the new world.

Spanish
America

In no small measure that new world was moved by the same impulses. There they took two forms. In South America it was evident that under the weak rule of Charles III, unsupported by French Bourbon monarchy, Spain had lost even what strength she had revealed under Philip V; and this, with the examples of the American and the French revolutions, inspired many South Americans to dream of independence.

Francisco
Miranda
1756-1816

Of these the first was the Venezuelan Francisco Miranda, sometime in the French army in America and there fired with the ambition of liberating his country from the rule of Spain. His plots discovered, he fled to England, thence to the Continent, seeking aid for his venture, and made his way to France at the outbreak of European war. In that he played a part as Dumouriez's subordinate in the disastrous defeat of Neerwinden; and finally returned to Venezuela, where, taking the lead of a revolutionary movement which had broken out, at the moment of Napoleon's invasion of Russia he became dictator. His eminence was short-lived, for an earthquake convinced the people that the rebellion was against the will of God, and for the first and perhaps the last time in history, a natural convulsion brought a political upheaval to an end. But this was not the end of the matter. His lieutenant, Simon Bolivar, coming to Paris from his studies in Spain near the close of the French Revolution, had been inspired with the same ambitions which drove Miranda on; and, though he was compelled to flee Venezuela, it was only to return for another and successful effort to overthrow the Spanish power in north-

Simon
Bolivar
1783-1830

ern and western South America. From that he was to emerge with the title and powers of dictator and take his place in history as the "Liberator."

The effects of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras on the young republic of the United States were of far different character. Between the "Federalists," with Washington as President, and the so-called "Republicans," headed by Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and, as it happened, the inspirer of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, there arose a sharp contest. The savior of his country was attacked for his "autocratic" rule and he and his supporters for their "aristocratic" principles. With the unbridled concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity the Federalists were less in sympathy than their opponents, the "Republicans" or Jeffersonian "Democrats," and the United States became the scene of a struggle between the champions of liberty and those of order who contended that there could be no liberty without order. As the Democrats had earlier opposed the Federalist concept of a strong central government, they now stood forward as the defenders of individual rights and those of the separate states against that government, and, with the outbreak of European war the situation of the new republic became difficult. The French did not propose to allow it to remain aloof from their quarrel with Great Britain, for if sympathy was to be found anywhere, they argued, it must be in the land which had achieved its independence in large part by French aid.

Thus when Washington was chosen President for a second term, they sent a minister, Genêt, to secure the aid of the United States. He allied himself with the opponents of the administration, and the rivalry of the two parties at one moment seemed to threaten the stability of the government. But Washington's proclamation of neutrality was supported by the people; Genêt was recalled; and for the time being the United States remained at peace. That peace was further confirmed by a treaty with Great Britain, regulating trade and transfer of the western posts; and another with Spain; and when Washington retired from the Presidency, his Farewell

The
United
States

Address against "entangling alliances" set the tone of American foreign policy from that day to this.

Yet this was not the end of the struggle. On the accession of Adams to the presidency, with Jefferson as vice-president, war almost came with France over her infractions of neutrality. Her sympathizers became so violent that, like the British Parliament, Congress passed alien and sedition laws against those who from within or without conspired to overthrow the government. Against these, in turn, just as the Consulate was formed, the so-called Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions reaffirmed the right of states to decide for themselves how far the actions of the central government were binding upon them; and with this began a controversy of far-reaching consequence to the future of the Republic.

The
Louisiana
Purchase
1803

It was the irony of circumstance that the struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon saw the author of the Declaration of Independence, the friend of France and the champion of states rights, Thomas Jefferson, as President; for at that moment Napoleon, who had acquired Louisiana from Spain, offered to sell it to the United States. In defiance of his previous principles but in accord with those of common sense, it was bought by Jefferson's administration, and there was added that tremendous empire to the new republic at the moment that the energies of its people were released for its development. But again this was not the end of the situation which arose from the life and death struggle on the continent. The economic war which had produced the Continental System and the British Orders in Council bore heavily on the commerce of a neutral like the United States and the administrations of Jefferson and his successors were filled with protests to the warring powers. Against them Jefferson opposed a futile embargo policy; but it was evident that the situation called for more than legislation, if American rights were to be recognized. Napoleon's adroit diplomacy led Jefferson's successor, Madison, into war with Great Britain at the moment of Napoleon's Russian enterprise. The War of 1812 was brief, inglorious and indecisive. It was marked on the one side by the British occupation and destruction of the capital at Washington; on the other by the Ameri-

The
War of
1812

can victory at New Orleans and successful engagements between individual ships of war; but it ended with no gain for either side.

It was only too evident that the clash of interests and ideas must lead to more than mere interchange of opinions and arguments, even to more than political controversy. Little by little it involved the world in war. The revolutionary leaders had neither the resources nor the opportunity to make their power felt much beyond the continent, and, apart from their encouragement of the enemies of Great Britain in Ireland and in India, they had been able to accomplish little outside Europe's frontiers, but with the accession of Napoleon to power all this was changed. Among his grandiose conceptions he dreamed of restoring a French colonial empire to something of its old greatness. The Egyptian expedition was the prelude to more ambitious schemes, which took form as he entered the Consulate on his way to the imperial title. The acquisition of Louisiana from Spain became the basis of a plan to recover French predominance in North America. To Hayti which had rebelled from French rule under the leadership of the negro coachman, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the First Consul sent his brother-in-law, Leclerc, with an army drawn chiefly from the republican forces of Moreau in an endeavor to make that island a stepping-stone to the mainland and a center of French influence in the Caribbean—and perhaps to weaken republican influence at home. At the same time his agents found their way to the Spanish ports of that region and elsewhere in South America, and it seemed that he might launch a new colonial venture there.

French
colonial
designs

But the climate of Hayti, the resistance of Toussaint's followers, and the activities of the British fleet were too much for these ambitious dreams. Though Toussaint was taken and died in a French prison, Hayti was lost. Louisiana was sold to the United States, and Bonaparte turned from this losing venture to spend its proceeds on the campaign of Austerlitz. Yet, absorbed as he was at home his vision was not limited to the European continent nor America; it reached to India, even to Australia. The French were defeated in their efforts to

support Tippoo Sahib's attempt to drive the English from India, but at the moment of the Peace of Amiens another expedition was despatched to seize a position in that peninsula, where, with or without naval aid, it might be possible to establish French power there, or among the Portuguese or Dutch possessions in the farther East. And, even before that expedition sailed, there had been sent out another, under guise of scientific exploration, to gain knowledge of the Australian continent and its surrounding islands and waters which might become the basis for French claims on such of those distant regions as were not already in European hands.

These plans came to nothing in the end, for English sea-power was too strong and French concerns on the continent too pressing. But they revealed the far-reaching effects of the European convulsion in ideas as in arms, and, among other things, opened a new era of European expansion overseas. Its first expression was in North America. There Spanish explorers pushing up the western coast from the missions of California had reached Vancouver, whence the Spanish coastguards patrolled as far north as Alaska, then claimed by Russia on the basis of Bering's discoveries. In that region they had met the adventurous representatives of the English Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading corporation and those of the United States, and, at the moment of the assembling of the States General in France, the seizure of an English vessel by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound had led to a threat of war. Unsupported by the French government, which was as powerless as it was unwilling to carry out the so-called Family Compact between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, Spain was forced to withdraw and leave the Vancouver region in English hands.

In this situation the United States was vitally concerned. From hard-pressed Spain she secured not merely a delimitation of frontiers, but the right to navigate the Mississippi and the "right of deposit" for her goods at New Orleans. On every front her hardy pioneers were pressing forward into the wilderness and among them, as among the nation's leaders, were being formed designs of empire beyond the Appalachians.

There by the Northwest Ordinance the lands acquired from Great Britain had begun to be organized, and there while the opposition of the Indian tribes was being broken in the north, were founded two new states south of the Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. Beyond those regions the sometime vice-president Aaron Burr dreamed of an empire wrested from Spain and extending, perhaps, even to Mexico. That vision soon faded for he was arrested and tried for treasonable practices, and though he was acquitted, his imperial plans were wrecked.

The
Northwest
Territory
1787

None the less the dreams of the expansionists remained. They took form first in securing the posts in the Great Lakes region as the prize of the war of independence, and in the formation of the Northwest Territory. They found their greatest expression in the Louisiana Purchase; and scarcely was that accomplished when an exploring expedition under Lewis and Clark made its way through that new empire to the Rocky Mountains which became the next frontier of the republic, as it pushed toward the Pacific. To that was added its progress toward the south, as the adventurous pioneers who had first founded Kentucky, then Tennessee, and pressed forward to the Mississippi and so to New Orleans, where their riflemen defeating the British in the war of 1812, seized the region to the eastward of New Orleans, then known as West Florida. Spain was as little able to resist this gradual advance in the south as she had been to hold her position in the northwest, and within four years from the signature of the peace which brought the European war to an end, she had surrendered the whole of the Florida peninsula to the United States. In such fashion did the so-called Anglo-Saxon powers extend their territory and their influence in North America at the expense of the decaying power of Spain at the same time that her southern provinces were rebelling from her old authority.

The settle-
ment of the
West

Meanwhile Great Britain's gains in this eventful period came neither in Europe nor America but in Asia, and even in that distant quarter of the world they were closely connected with the European wars. At the moment of the summoning of the Assembly of Notables in France, Lord Cornwallis, whose surrender at Yorktown had ended the war of the American Revo-

The British
in India
1759-98

lution, arrived in India to initiate reforms in the East India Company's civil and military services, and to regain the reputation he had all but lost in America. In the midst of his reforming activities, the Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo Sahib, encouraged by the French in his ambition of driving the English from the peninsula, attacked a native ally of the Company and was in turn attacked by Cornwallis who defeated Tippoo's forces and for the moment wrecked his plans.

Thence Cornwallis returned to help prevent the French invasion of the British Isles and to repress the rebellion in Ireland which was to aid that scheme. But meanwhile Tippoo, relying on French aid and promises, took up arms again at the moment that the Consulate was proclaimed in France. Again he was defeated by the British under the direction of a new governor-general, Lord Wellesley. After the fall and death of Tippoo, that great viceroy turned his attention to the strengthening of the British position by alliances with the native rulers and vesting the administration of their states in the East India Company and its officials. Thus they became, insensibly, the agents of the British government; and in Wellesley's hands and by this policy the British power grew by leaps and bounds.

From this he was summoned to face the threat of the Mahratta confederacy which held the greater part of central India in its grasp, and now, inspired by French sympathy as expressed in officers, agents and artillery, took up the project of expelling the English where Tippoo had left off. At the moment of the renewal of the European war after the Peace of Amiens, a conflict began between the French-trained and in part French-officered Mahrattas and the British under command of the governor-general's brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley. That struggle culminated in the British victory of Assaye, one of the decisive battles of the modern world. It put in British hands control of the greater part of central India; and with it and the extension of British authority by Wellesley's diplomacy, the British empire in India was trebled in extent. Meanwhile the sea-way to the farther East was secured by British naval victories and the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope,

Mauritius and Ceylon, and at the same time she strengthened her hold on Canada and Australia.

The settlement of Van Diemen's Land by another convict colony and the transformation of New South Wales from a penal settlement into a free colony as it spread across the Blue Mountains into the greatest sheep-grazing district in the world gave new strength and direction to her colonizing projects in the Antipodes. Nor were the changes in the British Empire confined to the East. As the French constitution of 1791 was being adopted, the government of Canada was transformed. To meet the new conditions imposed by the influx of the American Loyalists, that colony was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, the former on the British model, the latter under the French system. Finally by the treaties of 1815, the Windward Islands came into control of Great Britain and, with her other possessions there, gave her a dominant position in the West Indies.

Australia
and
Canada

Such was the transformation of Europe overseas in the years when the continent was torn with war. Yet even amid that war, the activities of the men of letters, science, art, intellect and invention went on, not much disturbed, yet not uninfluenced, by events about them. For the time being, indeed, France lost the pre-eminence she had held in many of these fields, as her chief energies were devoted to politics and war. The talents of her painters like David and Vernet were employed in immortalizing the personalities and events of the Revolution and Napoleon. The genius of her great actor, Talma, the friend of the First Consul and Emperor, were employed on the tragic stage which fitly symbolized the events in the world of reality; while the Italian sculptor, Canova, found in the ancient world the inspiration which enabled him to execute his commissions from Napoleon in the best classical tradition. But it is notable that two of the most eminent French writers of the period, de Maistre and Necker's daughter, Madame de Staël, found in the French Revolution a theme for their pens, and common ground in their antipathy to it and to Napoleon.

French art
and letters
1789-1815

French
science

The chief expression of French genius in this period lay not in literature, which demands free thought, but in pure science which is far removed from political activities, to which it is no danger. Though the Convention, which adopted the decimal and metric systems, sent the chemist Lavoisier to the guillotine as a tax-farmer, he had already laid the foundation of modern chemistry on the ruins of the phlogiston theory which had dominated that science for a century. In the very days of the Terror, the zoölogist Lamarek pursued his speculations on the origins of life and the forms of animals which did so much to serve the doctrine of evolution in the coming years. In those same days the anatomist Cuvier began the work which was to lay the foundations of the science of paleontology; while the contributions of Bichat to both anatomy and physiology gave those studies an impetus which they have never lost. It was not surprising that amid this tremendous loss of life, men studied its origins and its development; or that the schools of surgery and anatomy were more firmly established not merely as centers of healing but of discoveries of the mysteries of the human body.

Military
art

It was still less surprising that the intellectual activities of the French were devoted in large measure to those departments which were bound up with war, or that the science of destruction was profoundly changed. It was no mere accident that the "organizer of victory," Carnot, who moulded the raw levies of the Republic into conquering legions should have published a study of the metaphysics of infinitesimal calculus, or that Napoleon was himself an officer of artillery and engineers. In such hands the whole of military art was changed. Before the looser formations and greater speed of the French charge, with its artillery preparation to clear the way and its *élan* to give it impetus, the rigidity of the old armies was unable to compete, as speed and spirit took the place of brute courage and iron discipline. Weapons improved in like ratio. Though the flintlock remained but little altered, the forgotten inspector-general of French artillery, Gribeauval, had, by the outbreak of the European war, revolutionized that branch of the service on which so much of Napoleon's success was to depend. Al-

most the first of what were to be known as "efficiency experts," he devised a system of interchangeable parts and uniform construction for his guns. And though he died before the wars broke out, his work was carried on by other hands till, with the introduction of horse-artillery and separate driving corps, that branch of the French service became the model and the terror of the continent, at the same moment that improvements in naval construction and armament made the British ships as formidable on sea as French regiments on land.

But the chief triumphs of French intellect in these years were reserved for pure mathematics and astronomy. In those years Laplace, the "French Newton," pushed forward his studies in celestial mechanics, which, with the work of Lagrange, established our knowledge of the solar system and set up the nebular hypothesis as the origin of the planets. To his discoveries yielded in importance even the labors of Legendre, who helped to formulate and introduce the metric and decimal systems, and in his *Elements of Geometry* made the most successful of all attempts to supersede Euclid in that field. At the same time descriptive geometry was developed and the Polytechnic School founded by Monge, who contributed to the art of making cannon and presently became president of the Egyptian commission established by Bonaparte. In every direction—save that which threatened politics—French interest spread in scientific fields, and among its most remarkable manifestations was the circumstance that on his Egyptian expedition Bonaparte took with him a corps of scientists, which, among other things, began that study of Egyptology which has so intrigued the modern world.

Mathe-
matics and
astronomy

But if the chief contribution of France to intellectual progress at this moment lay chiefly in the realms of pure science, in other lands this was far from the case. In two widely different fields the age of revolution and Napoleon was notable in the progress of the race. Of these the first was literature. Germany still remained under the spell of Goethe and Schiller and the Weimar school which in these years reached its greatest heights. It was then that Goethe as director of the Weimar theater brought forth not merely that series of dramas from

German
literature
and music

Götz von Berlichingen to the first part of *Faust*, but his *Wilhelm Meister* and *Werther*. It was then that Schiller wrote his greatest poetry including his *Lied von der Glocke*, and, following his works on history, those dramas of *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, which put him beside his friend Goethe as the second of the great masters of German literature. But even the glory which they reflected on Germany in letters was challenged by the triumphs of music in the hands of Mozart and his successors, Haydn and Beethoven, which set them among the immortals in that field of European culture. And it is among the curiosities of history how Beethoven was hardly persuaded not to destroy the symphony he had dedicated to Bonaparte when the First Consul became Emperor; and how Haydn composed the Austrian national anthem at the crisis of the Peace of Campo Formio. So greatly was even music influenced by war and politics in this eventful period.

England

England revealed no such genius in harmony, but what she lacked in music she made up in art, for the talents of Raeburn and Lawrence carried on the great portrait tradition of Reynolds, Romney and Gainsborough. The biting satire of Gillray's cartoons was no unworthy successor to the works of Hogarth; and the strange and fantastic genius of William Blake was then engaged on that extraordinary combination of poetry and art which gave him a unique, if long neglected, eminence in both fields. As the years went on even these yielded in importance to other expressions of literary art. In the year that Bonaparte invaded Egypt, William Wordsworth and Samuel Coleridge issued a volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, containing, among other things, Wordsworth's *Lines on Tintern Abbey* and Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. They struck a new note in English poetry which has not yet ceased to reverberate. Against the more formal philosophy and verse of Pope and even Gray, they touched those chords of nature and of mystery whose echoes are still heard in every land and tongue.

The literature of revolt

Still more were they forerunners of the literature of revolt which was inspired by the French Revolution. The young Wordsworth eagerly embraced the vision of a time when "Rea-

son seemed the most to assert her rights'' but though he lost his first enthusiasm for the revolutionary movement as it deepened into the Terror and Napoleon, the youthful Shelley was daunted by neither of these. Above all—though in far different fields than those of social and political reform—at the moment of the triumph and the fall of Napoleon, the genius of the “Wizard of the North,” Sir Walter Scott, began to delight his countrymen first with metrical then with prose romances which set him among the immortals of letters. Strongly influenced by the romantic movement in Germany, he followed a translation of *Götz von Berlichingen*, by his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*; and the men who fought Napoleon were cheered by the stirring strains of *Marmion*, *The Lady of the Lake*, and their successors, till, in the year of the Emperor’s overthrow, there appeared the first of his prose masterpieces, *Waverley*.

To these more purely literary achievements was added another in a different field. The same year which saw Bonaparte’s embarkation for Egypt and the appearance of Wordsworth and Coleridge’s *Lyrical Ballads*, saw the publication of another work, unrelated to literature or war, but on a subject of profound consequence to the world as it had become or was then becoming. The Reverend Thomas Malthus, observing the results of the Industrial Revolution which had set his country at the head of the movement toward machine production, published his *Essay on the Principle of Population*. In opposition to the theory then held by the champions of universal equality and prosperity, of the salvation inherent in the political doctrines of the revolution, he set the hard realism of the facts of life, which coming years were to more than justify. Since under industrial conditions, he argued, population increased geometrically, subsistence only arithmetically, inevitably there must come a time of overpopulation and of scarcity. At the same time David Ricardo was pondering those principles of political economy which presently were embodied in his so-called “iron law” of wages and of rent. Beside him stood the social and political economist, James Mill, the “philosophic radical,” a convinced Benthamite, in whose hands the rigid

Political
economy

French doctrines of liberty and equality were transformed to a demand for wider franchise as the guarantee for sound and stable government.

Industry
and finance

In the works of these men were to be found the reflection of the progress of a new spirit which made its way in the world at the time when the Rousseauite dreams of the French revolutionists were fading before the rising star of Bonaparte. They represented, in particular, that force then busy remaking the British Isles and destined to revolutionize the world, the force of industry. It was in these years that the effects of the inventions of the preceding decades—the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, the improvements in weaving, and in blast-furnaces—began to make their influence felt; when, as France pressed forward to the conquest of the states of the continent, Great Britain was conquering the markets of the world. From her factories there poured forth the products of her newly-invented machinery in quantities hitherto unknown at prices which handworkers could not hope to meet. At the same time, under the guiding hand of Pitt and his followers her administrative and financial policy was reformed in accordance with the principles of his preceptor Adam Smith, of whom these new economists were the worthy successors. Thus though the drain of war bore heavily upon her, Great Britain was able to carry the burden of opposition even to Napoleon, as in the midst of world conflict she built a new form of social organization on the basis of industry. She fought Napoleon with the Industrial Revolution, whose resulting society differed at every point from the agricultural economy which had been the foundation of her own existence not many generations since and was still the mainstay of the continent. If Hegel's philosophy was correct, it was not Prussia but Great Britain that expressed most fully the spirit of the times. In letters as in arms she bid for the leadership of the European world. In the new force of industry; in wealth and power; in the problems which industry had brought to the great fields of population and of government, she now stood in the forefront of European progress.

Among the problems raised by industry at this moment none was more pressing than the distribution of the products of the

factories. By means of her naval power she had not merely made the ocean hers, opened new markets throughout the world and defeated the efforts of Napoleon to shut her from the ports of the continent, but she had widened and deepened the currents of her sea-borne commerce, carrying everywhere the products of her mass production. To meet the problems raised by this extension of her trade, the talents of the inventors had addressed themselves. At the moment of Napoleon's first advance against Russia, the American Robert Fulton, who had vainly offered the Emperor his new invention, launched his steamboat, the *Clermont*, on the Hudson River in his native land. At the moment that the Emperor made his second attack on Russia, Bell launched his steamer on the Clyde. With this the problem of steam navigation was on its way to solution. But it was not enough to put Watt's invention on a boat and so traverse the sea. It remained to put it on a wagon and the wagon on rails. On Christmas, 1801, Richard Trevithick's "road locomotive" carried the first load of passengers ever conveyed by steam; and while the Congress of Vienna was in session, George Stephenson made the first journey with his "steam locomotive" on a "railway" between Manchester and Darlington.

The steam-
boat and
steam loco-
motive

In such fashion, during this period of storm and stress, the genius of English and American inventors provided new facilities for the transportation of the products of the factories. As yet the earlier experiments of the successors of the Montgolfier brothers and their "balloon," which applied the discoveries of gases to the navigation of the air, had produced no practical result, though they pointed the way to the navigation of that element whose conquest has been one of the marvels of the modern world. But in other directions a great number and variety of advances had been made on the many fronts of science and invention. While Bonaparte was conquering northern Italy, Dr. Jenner in London was introducing successfully his vaccination treatment against one of the great plagues of mankind, smallpox, which was destined through his efforts to be virtually stamped out throughout the civilized world. In that same year, Dr. Hahnemann in Germany was introduc-

Medicine
and

Meteor-
ology

ing his new principle of "homeopathy" into the practice of medicine which had hitherto relied upon what the new school of "homeopaths" regarded as excessive dosages. Finally, among these eminent contributors in various fields to the sum of human knowledge, none was more typical of this period than the German naturalist-traveler, the brother of the philologist, Baron von Humboldt, who, disappointed in his design of accompanying Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, began those travels and investigations which took him to the farthest corners of the world and enabled him to lay the foundations for the sciences of physical geography and meteorology, as he had earlier introduced the principles of the new science of geology into the mining industry.

Unlike the simple and direct methods and aims of politics and war which lead to the domination of one's fellow-men, the activities of those who contribute to the good of humanity are varied, complex and unrelated. They have not one but a thousand aims, and, however directed to one great end, they reveal neither the continuity nor the unity of politics. They are, in general, the product of individuals but little known to the fame which comes to the destroyer of his fellow-men; they are not rewarded by either immediate eminence or a place in history. Of this there were at this moment four striking instances. While Napoleon was engaged in the conquest of Italy and in his Egyptian expedition, on his ascent to power, his humble fellow-countryman, Joseph Jacquard, was busy perfecting in Lyons his loom which enabled men to weave patterns in silk hitherto only possible by hand work; and at the moment that Bonaparte became First Consul for life, the invention which was to revolutionize weaving was perfected, to contribute, in time, more to the welfare of France than all the conquests of Napoleon. At the same time in England the physicist Dalton not merely identified for the first time the peculiar affliction known as color-blindness, but formulated the atomic theory of matter with which his name was to become inseparably associated. In Italy the physicist Volta was performing those experiments in electricity which, among other things, immortalized his name in the "volt" as a measure of that force. In Germany the philoso-

phers, Hegel and Schelling, strove to inspire their countrymen with new principles of government and society, finding in religion and humanitarianism the cure for the evils of the world.

Such were some of the many and various advances in science and invention of these years. Yet with all this redistribution of lands and authority and the development of man's knowledge and capacity in so many different fields, the chief result of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era was its effect upon the minds of men. Its chief contribution on the side of politics and society lay in what Robespierre apotheosized as "democracy," that complex of social sentiment and political devices, opposed at every point to the old principles of aristocracy. However little he and his followers carried their theories into practice; however fiercely they repressed the efforts of the Socialist Babeuf and his followers to introduce that principle into the economic field, "democracy" became the shibboleth of succeeding generations bred in the tradition of hatred of "kings" and "tyranny." In Germany it found small echo for the time being in the midst of the nationalist reaction against French dominance. In England it was expressed in the word "reform"; in southern Europe by the demand for parliamentary and constitutional government; in South America by a combination of nationalistic and constitutional principles known as "liberty"; in the United States by the revolt of the lower classes against property and authority. In all of them there was evident something of that doctrine known in time as "class war"; and in all of them was visible the working out of the French trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity, which, in one form or another and in varying proportions, became the rallying-cry of the modern world.

It was not merely political freedom from the "tyranny" of rulers or an upper class; it was social freedom from the traditional system of the past. It was, as has been said, the replacement of the principle of *status*, which had dominated society for a millennium and more, by a system of *contract*, which in political as in social affairs became the basis of the new theory and practice. As "duties" were transformed into "rights"—

or, more frequently and more appealingly,—into “wrongs,” the ancient traditions of birth, breeding and inheritance began to give way before the principles of individual achievement. Custom was replaced by “reason,” and “new” became an adjective of quality, not of time. The “good old times” were transformed into the “bad old past” as the world set forth on another adventure in its history.

Nationality To that was added the principle of nationality, that curious compound of language and sentiment, independent of race, religion or historical tradition. First on the side of the French revolutionaries, then on the side of their opponents, it came to dominate the world of politics and provide a motive force for subject peoples from that time to this. It expressed itself in widely different forms. England and Spain, though at the opposite ends of the political scale, were at one in having been among the first of European states to achieve national unity. Nationalism, however expressed or unexpressed, had contributed to the American Revolution, as to like movements in the Spanish colonies. But its greatest force was felt in central Europe, where in Italy as in Germany, men now began to grope toward that same goal, whose attainment was to become the *motif* of nineteenth century international affairs, as democracy was its goal in domestic politics.

Industrialism But to these elements—which were new only in form, not in substance, for they had been known from ancient times—was added another element which marked modern history off from all its predecessors. It was that great force derived from the brains of the inventors, and in some measure, as time went on, from the scientists, known as “industry,” or “industrialism.” It was the application of physical and mechanical principles to provide power and machinery for manufacturing which had heretofore been done by hand, or with the aid of wind, water, or animal motive power. It had begun to build a new structure of society in Great Britain, no longer dependent on the soil, but relying upon the talents of inventors, manufacturers, merchants and financiers for its progress, and on sea-borne commerce for customers and raw materials. Its trade secrets were jealously guarded by the British authorities, and, save for the

achievement of Samuel Slater in smuggling out the plans of its spinning and weaving machinery to the United States, and the use of the steam-engine there and elsewhere, it scarcely touched the European world as yet. Political conditions on the continent were unfavorable to the introduction of new methods, and the investment of capital in an industry which might well be ruined by a sudden shift in the political or military situation was too precarious, so that Great Britain for the time retained the virtual monopoly of this new source of wealth.

That development had results far beyond the walls of the factories. On the one hand it involved profound changes in finance and new methods of credit and exchange to meet the necessity for supplies of capital to finance the building and equipping of the factories, and, above all to supply them with raw materials and to carry over the period between the purchase of those supplies and the receipts from the sale of the manufactured goods. In consequence, Great Britain, and London in particular, became a reservoir not merely of wealth but of financial talent; and Great Britain emerged from the Great War not merely the richest country in the world but with the best financiers and financial machinery of all the European powers. She was at once the treasury and paymaster of the war against Napoleon and the fountainhead of the new source of wealth and power; and she had, besides, command of the sea, not only by possessing the greatest, indeed almost the only, navy in the world, but an unequalled mercantile marine.

This was of the more importance since it bound her factories to their markets and the source of their raw materials; and in one direction at least the inventors had an effect upon society which no one could foresee. Among the principal results of the new spinning and weaving machinery was the rise of cotton to a place first equal, then superior, to all other materials for cloth, whether wool or flax or silk. The demand for cotton was reflected by increasing areas devoted to its cultivation, especially in the southern United States. There, at the moment of the outbreak of European war in 1792, Eli Whitney invented a machine or "gin" to remove the seed from the fiber of the cotton bolls, and thus revolutionized not merely the econ-

omy but the society of that region. While the energies of the English Anti-Slavery Society were directed toward the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, while the Northwest Ordinance in the United States forbade the introduction of slavery into the newly acquired territory, the cotton planters of the South pushed forward toward the cultivation of wider and still wider areas with slave labor. In consequence not only did that region grow rich by furnishing the factories with their raw material, but there came a division between the southern and the northern social systems which was in time to be of vital importance to the Republic.

Conclusion

Thus if the great French trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity had profound effect on European thought and practices, there was called into existence in this period the still greater trinity of democracy, nationality and industry to dominate the future of politics and society. Of that group the French battle-cry was but a part, though it came to interpenetrate the greater trinity. In consequence the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon was not so wholly dominated as men conceived by the ideas and the force which went into European war, diplomacy and administrative change. It saw the beginnings, and more than the beginnings, of forces even more powerful than the arms of the contending powers, not merely the ideas loosed on the world by the convulsions of the continent, but material as well as spiritual changes in the lives of men, from which the problems of the modern world have come. It saw not merely the thoughts of men but the conditions of their lives transformed. If this quarter of a century saw the beginning of the end of dynastic autocracy at the hands of democracy, it saw, as well, the beginning of the replacement of the handworker by machines. If it saw the extinction of the feudal heritage, it saw the disappearance of the guilds, and the decay of aristocracy was not more striking than that of the old methods of transport in the face of man's new servant, steam. From these no less than from the theories and practices of the new politics—perhaps even more—arose the modern order of society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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GENERAL WORKS

INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTER I

It is obviously impossible to provide such a work as this with a bibliography which is in any sense exhaustive, without an inordinate use of space. The following lists include, therefore, only the titles of such books as seem useful for more extensive treatment of particular subjects or periods, and are fairly accessible to the average reader or student. More minute bibliographies of the principal countries involved are to be found among the following:—

MONOD, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de France* (1888). DAHLMANN-WAITZ, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (8 ed., 1912). NIJHOFF, *Biblioteca Historico-Nederlandica* (1898-99). HIDALGO, *Diccionario general de Bibliografía Española* (1862-81). DE BRITO ARANHA, *Diccionario bibliographico Portuguez* (1858, etc.). For England there is no such compilation, but the bibliographies at the end of the several volumes of HUNT and POOLE'S *Political History of England*, 12 vols., (1912), and OMAN'S *History of England*, 6 vols., London (1912), are good. There is a good specialized bibliography in TRAILL, *Social England* (1895, etc.). For the United States, the bibliographies in the *American Nation* series are especially useful. The principal bibliography proper is the collection of CHANNING, HART, and TURNER, *Guide to the Study of American History* (1912); supplemented by the annual *Writings on American History*. See also LARNED, *Literature of American History* (1902). See also H. PIRENNE, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique* (2 ed., 1902); and R. ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, *Historia de España y de la civilización española*, vol. iv., (1911). To these may be added the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (1878, etc.) and the general reviews in the historical periodicals, especially in the *Revue Historique*.

It should perhaps be added that the printed catalogue of the British Museum is the most comprehensive accessible book-list; that of the London Library (last ed., 1914) the most generally useful; while the printed cards issued to subscribers or purchasers by the Library of Congress are the most convenient sources of general bibliography.

For encyclopædic accounts of the period here treated, LAVISSE ET RAMBAUD, *Histoire Générale* (1895) and the *Cambridge Modern History* (1902, etc.) offer the most comprehensive and satisfactory accounts. Each is accompanied by book-lists, of which the latter is by far the fullest yet compiled for European history in general. There is no corresponding work in German, since the older ONCKEN'S *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, besides being now somewhat antiquated, is arranged on the plan of treating each country separately. For those who wish brief and popular accounts of various countries in

English, the *Stories of the Nations* series offers a fairly complete, though very unequal, collection of sketches.

The general histories of the world, which are usually, like the works noted above, of the syndicate or co-operative type, are none of them beyond criticism. The *Historians' History of the World*, 25 vols., (1908) is a compilation from the writings of a great number and variety of historical writers, connected by running accounts from editorial pens. It contains a considerable bibliography, often of value. HELMOLT'S *History of the World*, available in an English translation from the German original, with an introductory essay by Lord Bryce (1901) is a curious and interesting attempt to write history from an anthropo-geographical standpoint, and deserves consideration as such. The *History of all Nations*, ed. J. H. WRIGHT (1902-05), is a useful adaptation and condensation of the Oncken series.

There are, besides these, a number of encyclopædias and biographical dictionaries, many of which are extremely valuable both in content and bibliography. The most recent, and in many respects the best, is the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which the bibliographies are a notable feature. The French *Grande Encyclopédie*; the German BROCKHAUS *Konversations Lexikon*, though older, are still valuable. Besides these still, the new *Everyman's Encyclopædia*, the *New International Cyclopædia*, and the *Century Dictionary of Names and Places* each has its own merit for quick and ready reference.

The greatest of biographical publications is the English *Dictionary of National Biography*, which includes a vast amount of bibliographical material in addition to its articles, which are of singularly high and uniform merit. In German the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and in French the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* of HOFER (1857-66); and the *Biographie Universelle* of MICHAUD (1854-65) are useful. The Austrian *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* of WURZBACH (1856-91), and for the Netherlands, VAN DER AA'S *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* and MOLHUYSEN and BLOK, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (1911-14) are of value, as is also the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*—which extends, however, only to "Ryt." (1866-1910).

There are a number of manuals of dates and events which may be found of use in quick reference. Of these the chief is PLOETZ, *Epitome of History*, translated into English by TILLINGHAST, and enriched with American sections by CHANNING. PUTNAM'S *Tabular Views of Universal History* is the most recent and one of the best of these works, and may be supplemented by HASSALL'S *European History 476-1871*. The great French publication, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates des Faits Historiques*, is invaluable but extends only to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. See also STOKVIS, *Manuel d'histoire de généalogie et de chronologie des tous les états du globe*, 3 vols., (1888-93).

In such a view of history as is here presented, historical geography is an essential; and the past generation has seen the appearance of many valuable contributions to this subject. The older works of DROYSEN and of SPRUNER may be supplemented by those of POOLE and of SCHRADER, and by the more recent geographical volume prepared to accompany the *Cambridge Modern History*. This last, like POOLE and

SCHRADER, includes an interesting running account of the changes noted on the maps. Among the lesser and more easily accessible atlases, designed for school use but of much wider utility, may be noted those of PUTZGER, DOW, MUIR, and SHEPHERD. Of these the last is the most comprehensive and in many ways the most useful. DOW and SHEPHERD are particularly well indexed, which makes them especially valuable. No single historical atlas contains every possible desirable map; for some purposes the older publications of GARDINER and even COLBECK may be found to contain material not accessible in later publications. Finally, no such list would be complete without mention of the great work of NORDENSKIÖLD, the *Facsimile Atlas* (1889), and the *Periplus* (1897), which contain not only magnificent reproductions of fifteenth and sixteenth century maps but a history of early cartography. With these may be mentioned KRETSCHMER'S *Entdeckung Amerika's* (1892) and the contributions made by Professor E. L. STEVENSON to early cartography. And, though it is confined to the Americas, no account of the principal works in this field could omit WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1886-89), which is replete with geographical and bibliographical, as well as historical, data for the entire period here considered.

There remain to be noted some of the more useful works covering various topics over the whole period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the field of art there are a number of good accounts, of which that of MUTHER, now available in English, is the most readable popular book on the subject of painting. Of architecture the same cannot be said. Perhaps the work of JAMES FERGUSON (1873), though it is now forty years old, is as good as any handbook; though the works of VIOLLET-LE-DUC are at once entertaining and instructive from a historical standpoint; while STURGIS' *History of Architecture* is of considerable value. See especially A. MICHEL, *Histoire de l'art*, 5 vols., (1905-12), and the convenient sketch of S. REINACH.

Literature is far more fortunate, and every European nation boasts a history of its literature, though it would be impossible to enumerate them here, for almost every nation has more than one. Perhaps the most easily accessible work in English on the general subject is the series on the *Periods of European Literature* under the editorship of Professor SAINTSBURY. The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, the series entitled *Les grands écrivains de la France*, and BROCKHAUS, *Bibliothek der deutschen National-Litteratur in 18-19 Jahrhundert*, are useful.

Education is blessed with as great a literature as literature itself so far as the individual countries are concerned, and perhaps even more liberally so far as the general history and aspects of the subject are concerned. A full account of the works on the subject may be found in W. S. MONROE'S *Bibliography of Education* (1897); a briefer, more analytical summary is CUBBERLEY'S *Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education*; and fairly complete accounts of most educational activities in J. M. BALDWIN, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols., (1901-05). A convenient general account is P. MONROE'S text-book on the *History of Education* (1905): see, also, his *Cyclopædia of Education*, which contains much bibliographical material.

See also B. RAND, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, etc.*, 3 vols., 1905; in BALDWIN as above; and F. ÜBERWEG, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (1868-98); PAULSEN, *Geschichte der Gelehrten Unterrichts*.

The history of scholarship falls far short of that of education in the number though not in the quality of the works on the subject. J. E. SANDY's *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii., Renaissance, iii., 1908, covers the modern period ably and thoroughly. History is treated with equal fullness in FUETER, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (1911), revised for the French translation, while there is a large variety of monographs upon special subjects, primarily scholarly, but reckoned as educational, noted in the bibliographies in the latter field.

The number of books on the social and economic development of Europe is legion, and it is difficult to choose among them. The great German work of SCHMOLLER, *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre* (1901-04); PALGRAVE's *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1894-99); CUNNINGHAM's *Essay on Western Civilization in its economic aspects* (1898-1900); DAY's *History of Commerce*; and BUCHER's *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (1901) translated as *Industrial Evolution*, may be taken as illustrations of the various types. See also W. R. SHEPHERD's *Expansion of Europe*, 1919, reprinted from the *Political Science Quarterly*. Similarly in the field of colonization there is a multitude of books on almost every conceivable phase of expansion. In English the work of MORRIS is perhaps the most popular though not a highly scientific work. In German the most considerable book is ZIMMERMANN's *Die Europäischen Kolonien* (1896). In French, LEROY-BEAULIEU's *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples modernes* (1908) is of great value. Probably the most satisfactory account, however, is LANNOY and VAN DER LINDEN's *L'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens*, of which, however, but two volumes have appeared. See also P. HINNEBERG, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, a great series covering nearly all departments of human activity, and contributions in many fields (1905, etc.). See in it W. LEXIS, *Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre*, etc., (1910). To this should be added L. ELSTER, *Wörterbuch der Volkswirtschaft* (1898); KONRAD, ELSTER, LEXIS, etc., *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (7 vols., 1898-1901).

The history of science remains to be written in such fullness and with such detail as that of the political or even the cultural activities of modern Europe. There is as yet no adequate history of invention. The old book of BECKMAN on the subject is a misnamed collection of curious facts. URE's *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* (1843) contains much information, but is not a history. The most recent and by far the most valuable compilation is DARMSTAEDTER's *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und der Technik* (1908), but it is a chronological table and not in any sense a history. Probably the most valuable single addition to the study of the history of science and invention in recent years is comprised in the bibliographies compiled under the auspices of the John Crerar Library by A. G. S. JOSEPHSON (1911-15). The chief book on the history of science is MERZ, *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft*, but there are two recent books: the one by WILLIAM LIBBY (1917), the other by W. T. SEDGWICK and H.

W. TYLER (1917). There should perhaps be added here besides the various works of BUCKLE, DRAPER, LAMPRECHT, etc., on the development of European civilization; A. D. WHITE, *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* (1910). But in spite of the excellences of these volumes the subject must be pursued in detail in the accounts of the various separate sciences. In medicine the best books for this period are those of GARRISON, *History of Medicine* (1914), and J. H. BAAS, *Geschichte der Medizin* (1876), Eng. tr., though the more recent volume of BUCK has some interesting material for the Renaissance in its final chapters. See also T. PUSCHMANN (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (1902-05). Probably the most accessible account of the progress of biology is to be found in LOCY's *Biology and its Makers* (1908), which may profitably be compared with GARRISON. In chemistry the work of VON MEYER, translated by MCGOWAN (1906), is the most authoritative and exhaustive. The most easily available popular history is that of VENABLE (1894). The standard history of physics is GERLAND's *Geschichte der Physik* (1913). There is no adequate account in English. Mathematics has a large historical literature. Among its numerous titles in English may be noted CAJORI's *History of Elementary Mathematics* (1896) and BEMAN and SMITH's translation of FINK's *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik* (1905), under the title *Brief History of Mathematics*, while among more extensive treatises the chief is that of CANTOR. Three recent popular books on astronomy are Sir OLIVER LODGE's *Pioneers of Science* (1893); W. W. BRYANT's *History of Astronomy* (1907); and G. FORBES' *History of Astronomy* (1909), the last in PUTMAN's *History of the Sciences*. See also F. DANNEMANN, *Grundriss einer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, 2 vols., (2 ed., 1902), and MERZ.

The use of explosives and the art of war have not been very scientifically or exhaustively treated in comparison with many subjects here enumerated. KOHLER's *Die modernen Kriegswaffen*, 2 vols., (1897-1900); HIME's *Gunpowder and Ammunition* (1904); WEISS' *Waffenkunde*, 3 vols., (1908-99) may be noted as more specifically technical works. See, also, W. W. GREENER, *The Gun and its Development*, and T. F. FREMANTLE, *The Book of the Rifle*. VIOLETT-LE-DUC's *Annals of a Fortress* is an entertaining volume. Admiral MAHAN's *Influence of Sea-Power in History* is the classic work on the importance of naval strength. The contributions of successive commanders to the art of war may best be studied in the biographies of individuals, which are fairly numerous and usually of value.

The literature of church history is too vast to receive adequate notice here. Perhaps the best brief book-list is to be found in the printed *Catalogue of the London Library* (last ed., 1915); the fullest bibliography in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907-12), which is the most valuable accessible source for the subject in general. There are also excellent articles and bibliographies in the *Realencyclopaedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1896-1913). For the history of the Papacy, see especially those by M. CREIGHTON (1899-1901); L. RANKE (1885); and L. PASTOR (1912). All of these are available in English editions of the dates mentioned, and though each covers a somewhat different field, together they form a comprehensive account for most of the period here

treated. For the Church proper, see W. MOELLER, *History of the Christian Church*, tr. J. H. FREESE (1893-1900); P. SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, and G. P. FISHER, *History of the Christian Church* (1887). These are written from the Protestant standpoint. The principal Catholic works on the subject are those of J. ALZOG, *Manual of Universal Church History*, (tr. 1903); Cardinal Hergenröther, revised by J. P. KIRSCH (German only) and F. X. VON FUNK (1911). For the period of the Reformation there is a useful compilation by B. J. KIDD, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911). See, also, the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (1904).

GENERAL NOTE.—It is to be observed in the following brief book-lists that no reference is ordinarily made to the works included in the general list above, which may be consulted for many of the subjects comprised in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE RENAISSANCE

Probably the best brief general account in English of the Renaissance remains the article, under that head, by J. A. SYMONDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. His larger work, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 7 vols., and the abridgment of it under the title *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, are standard accounts of that part of the movement. They may be supplemented by BURCKHARDT'S *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, which is available in an English translation. The most recent summary of the entire movement is HULME'S *Renaissance and Reformation* (1915). The various volumes of MUNTZ on the Renaissance in Italy and France, and Art during the Renaissance, are the standard works in French. There are no easily accessible accounts of the influence of the Renaissance movement on England, Germany, and the Netherlands comparable to these. SEEBOHM'S *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, and his *Oxford Reformers*, contain a good deal of information in a popular form relating to the English Renaissance leaders; while the histories of the English universities, like MULLINGER'S *History of the University of Cambridge*, in particular, RASHDALL'S *Universities of Europe during the Middle Ages*, and the biographies of Erasmus, Melancthon, and their fellows, throw much light on this period. One should perhaps note also SANDYS' *History of Classical Scholarship* and the biographies of the humanists, from Petrarch through Bracciolini to the members of the Florentine Academy, as well as the Renaissance studies of WALTER PATER. EMERTON'S *Erasmus* (1899); STRAUSS' *Ulrich von Hutten* (translated, 1874); STOKE'S edition of *The Letters of Obscure Men* (1909); the various biographies of Savonarola; VASARI'S *Lives of the Painters*. See also the works of P. VILLARI, especially his studies of Machiavelli and his times, Savonarola, etc.,—available in English translations; GOOCH, *Annals of Politics and Culture*; SMITH'S *Erasmus*. See the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. I, for further bibliography.

For the invention of printing, see DE VINNE'S work on that subject and his *Notable Printers of Italy during the Fifteenth Century* (1910).

The best recent summary of the controversy over the invention of printing is to be found under the heading *Typography* in the last edition of the *Britannica*; and a good brief bibliography under the heading *Gutenberg*. For the invention of gunpowder, see HIME, above. For the compass, see BEAZLEY, *Dawn of Modern Geography* (1897), and the brief account in JACOBS' *Story of Geographical Discovery* (1906), with the article and illustrations in NORDENSKIÖLD quoted above. In general, these same sources may be consulted for the story of early cartography, with those mentioned among the general bibliography. One of the most scholarly and readable of books in this field is Colonel YULE's edition of *Marco Polo's Travels* (1871, etc.) and his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (1866). JACOBS' *Story of Geographical Discovery* is the best work of its size on the general subject. See also the various works of J. KOHL on his travels in many lands during the nineteenth century—especially useful in regard to Russia for earlier periods. The latter are available in English. RUGE'S *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Oncken series, 1881) is good, and the great literature arising from the controversy over Columbus, *q.v.*, contains much material on the subject of exploration and cartography prior to his time. JOHNSTON'S *History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (1899) contains some slight account of the earlier period, as does R. BROWN'S *Story of Africa*, 4 vols., (1894-95). In particular a number of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, such as BEAZLEY'S editions of Carpini, Rubruquis, etc., are of the utmost value and interest to the early history of geography and exploration. For the bibliography of the Renaissance as well as the Middle Ages, see also L. J. PAETOW, *Guide to the Study of Mediæval History* (Univ. of California, 1917).

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF EXPANSION

For the Age of Prince Henry the Navigator and for his achievements, probably the best brief account is the biography by C. R. BEAZLEY (1890), though the earlier work of R. H. MAJOR is not without merit. DANVERS' *The Portuguese in India* (1894) is a very useful book, as is H. MORSE STEPHENS' *Story of Portugal* (1891). In this connection may be noted the various publications of the Hakluyt Society and of the Geographical Society relating to early Portuguese activities along the African coast. For Behaim, see RAVENSTEIN'S *Martin de Bohemia* (1900) and various articles in the *Geographical Journal*. For Vasco da Gama the best account is RAVENSTEIN'S *Vasco da Gama's First Voyage* (Hakluyt Society, 1898), and CORREA'S *Three Voyages of da Gama* (same, 1868). Beside the work of K. G. JAYNE on *Vasco da Gama and his Successors* (1910), see J. P. OLIVEIRO MARTINS' *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator*, trans. with notes, etc., (1914).

The Columbus literature is endless. Probably the best of the more recent popular accounts which takes cognizance of the results of the long controversy is F. YOUNG'S *Christopher Columbus and the New World of his Discovery*, 3 ed., (1912). In general the various publications of

HENRI HARRISSE, especially *Christophe Colomb* (1892), *John Cabot* (1896), and *The Discovery of North America* (1892), and those of HENRI VIGNAUD, in particular his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colombe*, 2 vols., (1911), are most notable contributions to the argument. E. G. BOURNE'S *Spain in America* (1904) and his contributions to the general subject of Columbus and the discoveries are also of the greatest value.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL STATES

The best scholarly account of the French monarchy and the relations between France and England during the fifteenth century is to be found in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, a co-operative history which is of the first rank not only for this but for succeeding periods. See also H. HAUSER, *Les sources de l'Histoire de France, 1494-1610* (1906-12). There is no equally good account in English, the work of KITCHIN being antiquated, dull, and almost entirely political. English history during the fifteenth century is exhaustively treated in VICKERS' *England in the Later Middle Ages*; in GAIRDNER, *The Houses of Lancaster and York* (1874, etc.), and in the painstaking though not very readable work of RAMSAY, *Lancaster and York* (1892). The early Tudor period has been most ably handled by H. A. L. FISHER in the Hunt and Poole series, 1906. In this period, as throughout H. D. TRAILL'S *Social England*, especially in its illustrated form; and A. F. POLLARD'S *Factors in Modern History*, are most useful and interesting. CUNNINGHAM'S *English Industry and Commerce* is also invaluable.

For Spanish history in the fifteenth century the older work of PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, is still as readable as ever, but it has in some measure been superseded on the scholarly side by other works. Of these perhaps the most accessible, though not of much value, is that of U. R. BURKE, *A History of Spain to the Death of Ferdinand*, edited by M. A. S. HUME (1900). G. DIERCK'S *Geschichte Spaniens* (1895-96) is much better. R. B. MERRIMAN'S history of the *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, of which the first two volumes now in press carry the story to 1516, will be still better for this period. For Portugal, the best available work is H. M. STEPHENS' *Story of Portugal* in the *Stories of the Nations* series. The great collection of documents relating to Spanish history, that of NAVARRETE and his collaborators (1842-92) is especially valuable for a somewhat later period. There is no similar collection available for Portugal.

For Germany and the Empire perhaps the best recent history available in English is the popular work of JANSSEN, though it leaves much to be desired. E. F. HENDERSON'S *History of Germany* (1906) is a good popular account. A more detailed study of German history in the fifteenth century is A. BACHMANN'S *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friedrichs III u. Maximilians I* (1884-94); and, still more detailed, that of K. KASER, *Deutsche Geschichte zur Zeit Maximilians I* (1912). Beside these the work of F. KRONES, *Handbuch der Geschichte*

Oesterreichs (1876-79), and RANKE's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1494-1519), translated, in Bohn Library (1915), are to be noted.

For Russia there are available the translation of A. RAMBAUD's *History of Russia* (1879), and W. R. A. MORFILL's *Russia*, in the *Stories of the Nations* series, with a history of Poland by the same author, in the same series. More recent and in some respects more satisfactory is *Slavonic Europe* by R. N. BAIN (1908) and KLIUCHEVSKY's *History of Russia* (translation, 1911-13). There is no very satisfactory history of Turkey in English; J. VON HAMMER BURGSTALL (usually cited as HAMMER), *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, 10 vols., 2 ed., (1840) is the basis of most of them. Perhaps the volume of S. LANE POOLE, in the *Stories of the Nations* series (1888), is the most easily accessible account. The most recent work in German is that of N. JORGA, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, 5 vols., (1908-13).

For Hungary there is accessible C. M. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN's *Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, 2 vols., (1908); for the Medici, G. F. YOUNG's *The Medici*, 2 vols., (1909), and ARMSTRONG's *Lorenzo de Medici* (1897); for Venice, H. F. BROWN's translation of MOLMENTI's *Venice*, 6 vols., (1906-08); for the Papacy, L. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, 6 vols., (1886-1913), Eng. tr. by ANTROBUS and KERR (1891-1912); for Russia, K. WALISZEWSKI's *Ivan le Terrible* (1904).

CHAPTER V

EUROPEAN POLITICS. 1492-1521

For the period of the Italian wars, in addition to the works enumerated in the preceding sections, reference may be made to H. F. DELABORDE's *Expédition de Charles VIII en Italie* (1888) and L. G. PELISSIER's *Louis XII et Ludovic Sforza* (1896). For Francis I, see the bibliographies in LAVISSE, and BOURILLY in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, vol. iv., (1902-03). For Charles V, the most accessible work is that of E. ARMSTRONG, *Charles the Fifth* (1902), and the most elaborate that of H. BAUMGARTEN, *Karl der Fünfte*, 3 vols., to 1539 (1885-92). For the rivalry between these two monarchs see the detailed study of MIGNET, *La Rivalité de François I et Charles Quint*, 2 vols., 2 ed., (1875). The older work of ROBERTSON, *Charles V*, is still worth reading. There is a good brief and general account, clear and well organized, of the politics of this whole period, in A. H. JOHNSON, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 ed., (1898). See also, especially for the fifteenth century, E. EMERTON, *The Beginnings of Modern Europe* (1917).

For England under Henry VIII, see BREWER's *The Reign of Henry VIII*, 2 vols., (1884); A. F. POLLARD's *Henry VIII* (1902); RANKE's *English History*, mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a translation (1875); H. A. L. FISHER's *History of England*, 1485-1547, as above; and for the more picturesque side of the reign, the various studies of J. A. FROUDE—especially his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey* (1870-72). For a more general account, see W. BUSCH,

England unter die Tudors (1892), Eng. tr. by A. M. TODD, introd. by J. GAIRDNER (1895).

For Spain, the Netherlands, and the Empire, see the lives of Charles V, as above; BLOK's *History of the People of the Netherlands*, a translation (1900, etc.); M. A. S. HUME's *Spain, its Greatness and Decay, 1479-1788* (1898)—better for the later part; H. PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*—also in German in Heeren-Ukert series—(1899-1907); the works of PRESCOTT, now somewhat out of date but still readable and informing; RANKE's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1882), and C. EGELHAAF's work under the same title (1893). K. HÄBLER's *Geschichte Spaniens unter den Habsburgen* (1907) includes much new material of interest, though it must be accepted with caution.

For Italy in this period, see R. MAULDE LA CLAVIÈRE's *La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, 3 vols., (1892-93); RANKE's *History of the Popes*, translated in Bohn Library (1913); M. CREIGHTON's *History of the Papacy during the Reformation*, 6 vols., (1882); W. ROSCOE's *Life and Pontificate of Leo X*, 4 vols., 5 ed., (1846); and SYMONDS' and PASTOR's works, as noted above.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1498-1521

For the early history of Spanish America, its organization and exploitation, there are a number of important works covering special fields. The older book of Sir A. HELPS, *The Spanish Conquest of America*, though it has appeared in a new edition (1900-04) and contains much excellent material, is at once discursive and biassed. PRESCOTT's *Conquest of Mexico* and *Conquest of Peru* retain their picturesque value; but his conclusions, like those of HELPS, must be greatly modified by more recent investigation. Probably the best account of Spanish activities in America is that of E. G. BOURNE, *Spain in America* (1904). W. ROSCHER's *The Spanish Colonial System*, an extract from his larger work translated by E. G. BOURNE (1904), is excellent. W. R. SHEPHERD's *Latin America* (1914) is a good slight sketch, and the volumes of B. MOSES on Spanish administration are worthy of attention. For the conquests, F. A. MACNUTT's *Life of Cortes* (1909), his edition of *Cortes' Letters* (1908), and the *Historia de la Conquista de Mejico* of BERNARDO DIAZ DEL CASTILLO (1632), available in translation, afford the best picture of Cortes' adventure. To these may be added the works of the Spanish historians: OVIEDO, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, 4 vols., (1851-55), and HERRERA, *Historia General de las Indias* (1828-30), and NAVARRETE. For the entire subject reference should be made to the monumental work of H. H. BANCROFT, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols., (1874-76), and to his *History of the Pacific States*, 21 vols., (1882-90), including *Central America*, 3 vols., (1885-87). See also C. LUMMIS, *Spanish Pioneers*.

For Magellan and Spanish activities in the East the chief sources are the narrative of FIGAFETTA printed in RAMUSIO's collection of travels, 1563-74, many of which, together with that of an unknown Portuguese and many others relating to this subject, are available in

the Hakluyt Society publications. A great amount of original material on this and kindred subjects is contained in the admirable work of BLAIR and ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, 53 vols., (1903-07). The best life of Magellan is that of GUILLEMARD (1891).

For the Portuguese in Africa and the East the best general account is that of F. C. DANVERS, *The Portuguese in India*, 2 vols., (1894). K. G. JAYNE'S *Vasco da Gama and his Successors, 1460-1580* (1910) is good; and H. M. STEPHENS' *Albuquerque and the Portuguese Settlements in India* (1892) is the best brief account of that period. ALBUQUERQUE'S *Commentaries* are perhaps the chief source for this subject. For the Portuguese in South Africa, see G. M. THEAL'S work under that title (1907). A. MARVAUD'S *Le Portugal et ses Colonies* (1912) is among the most recent volumes on this subject.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. 1492-1521

For the general subject of the later Renaissance, reference may be made to the works included in the preliminary list of comprehensive titles and the bibliography of Chapter I, with some titles in Chapter II. There are, however, a number of special studies which may be mentioned here. Among them are L. EINSTEIN'S *Italian Renaissance in England* (1902) and W. H. WOODWARD, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators* (1897), together with the older book of G. VOIGT, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums, oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3 ed., 1893), and the admirable recent work of TAYLOR, *The Mediaval Mind*. See also C. BURSIA'S *Geschichte der Classischen Philologie in Deutschland* (1883) and GEIGER'S *Renaissance u. Humanismus in Italien u. Deutschland* (1882). A fairly good book-list will be found in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, bibliographical section.

Among the volumes interesting or important for the eve of the Reformation may be noted ERASMUS' *Letters*, translated by NICHOLS (1901); B. A. GASQUET, *The Eve of the Reformation* (1900); F. W. FARRAR, *History of Interpretation* (1886); and B. J. KIDD, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911). See, also, W. WALKER, *The Reformation*. For the history of the Inquisition, the standard works are those of H. C. LEA. The most recent suggestive work on the early Reformation is that of P. IMBART DE LA TOUR, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, 2 vols., (1905-09). Among earlier works it is necessary to note *The Reformation*, by J. J. I. DÖLLINGER (1853-54); LAMPRECHT'S *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. v., (1896)—interesting if not always sound in its generalizations; A. E. BERGER'S *Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation*, 2 ed., (1908); J. S. SCHAPIRO'S *Social Reform and the Reformation* (1909). For the Indulgence controversy, see H. C. LEA'S *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 3 vols., (1896); E. BRATKE'S *Luther's 95 Theses u. ihren Dogmenhistorischen Voraussetzungen* (1884); and W. KÖHLER'S *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit von 1517* (1902). See, also, A. SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom*. There are innumerable biographies of Luther, among whose authors may be named KOLDE,

KÖSTLIN, LINDSAY, BEARD, MCGIFFERT, SMITH, DENIFLE, and GRISAR—the last two being Catholic historians.

On the development of the technique of painting probably the best work in English is that of P. G. HAMERTON (1882). H. N. HUMPHREYS' *History of the Art of Printing* (1867) and BIGMORE and WYMAN'S *Bibliography of Printing* serve as an introduction to the great literature on this subject. For more recent publications there is a good book-list in the article *Typography* in the *Britannica*, 11th ed.

CHAPTER VIII

REFORM AND POLITICS. 1521-1542

Many of the books most important for the study of this period have been noted in the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. It remains to enumerate those on the subjects not treated there. Among them is the history of the Ottoman Turks under Suleiman the Magnificent. Here the study of RANKE, *Die Osmanen u. die Spanische Monarchie im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrhundert*, and the great work of J. VON HAMMER (1834-35) are noteworthy. The recent study of A. H. LYBYER, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (1913), is valuable on the administrative side, and contains a good bibliography. To this may be added the monographs of E. CAT, *De Caroli V in Africa rebus gestis* (1891), and of J. ZELLER, *La Diplomatie Française au milieu du xvi Siècle* (1881), together with H. F. BROWN'S *Venice* (1893).

Among other works of interest in connection with the Reformation movement may be noted Cardinal F. A. GASQUET, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890) and his *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (1888-89). See also "Annals of an Abbey" in FRÉUDE'S *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; and, in particular, A. F. POLLARD'S *Cranmer; Henry VIII; and Factors in Modern History*.

The subject of the rebellion of the knights and the peasants in Germany has received great attention. E. B. BAX, *The Peasants' War in Germany* (1899), gives a general popular account of the latter, concerning which there is a long list of German monographs, many of which are listed in the *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 753. There is a good biography of Ulrich von Hutten by STRAUSS, translated by STURGE (1874), and one of von Sickingen by H. ULMANN (1872). The bibliography of the German Reformation is too long to find any adequate representation here but is easily accessible in the general works noted in the bibliographical introduction, where may also be found an account of Reformation literature in general, which can only be touched on here. W. W. ROCKWELL has prepared a recent bibliography of the whole for the centenary of 1917.

For the Swiss reformation the best English biography of Zwingli is that of S. M. JACKSON (1901), who has also edited Zwingli's writings. The best accessible English biography of Calvin is W. WALKER'S (1906). H. M. BAIRD'S *Beza* (1899) and his *Rise of the Huguenots in France* (1879) are useful. P. H. BROWN'S *Life of John Knox* (1895) and A. LANG'S *Knox and the Reformation* (1905) cover the Scotch

period and give side-lights on Geneva. The Autobiography of Loyola is available in the English translation of J. F. X. O'CONOR (1900), and his *Life*, by F. THOMPSON (1910), is the latest presentment of that subject and of the early years of the Jesuits. Their activities in the various countries form the subject of a series of national histories now appearing under their auspices. The works of Calvin have been repeatedly republished in every north-European language and in innumerable forms. And it may be interesting in this connection to call attention to A. HARNACK'S *History of Dogma*, available in English, for a general comparative view of the results of this period.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1521-1542

For the work of Cortez see the bibliography c^f Chapter VI. There is no biography of any importance of Pizarro. Sir C. MARKHAM'S *History of Peru* (1892) and his *Incas of Peru* (1910) touch on Pizarro's conquest and may be supplemented by the general works cited previously, and by GARCILLASSAO DE LA VEGA'S *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, translated in Hakluyt Society publications. The treatment of the Indians is the subject of much discussion, the sanest summary of modern opinion being probably that of BOURNE, as above. LAS CASAS' great indictment of his countrymen, the *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion des las Indias Occidentales* and his *Historia de las Indias* are not available in English but that lack is partially supplied by the biographies of Las Casas by Sir A. HELPS (1868) and F. A. MACNUTT (1909). To these may be added W. LOWERY'S *Spanish Settlements*, 2 vols., (1901-05).

The explorations are the subject of an unusually large literature, for which the bibliographies in BOURNE'S *Spain in America*, in WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History*, and in the publication known as *Writings on American History* (1902 ff.), may act as guides. There are several available narratives of the explorers, that of Coronado, edited by WINSHIP (1904); that of Cabeça de Vaca, by SMITH (1866); that of De Soto, by BOURNE (1904). NAVARRETE'S *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, 5 vols., (1825-37), is useful for this period as for the earlier.

The so-called *New Laws of Charles V* are available in Spanish but no public English editions. The import of specie from the American colonies has been made the subject of a number of studies, the latest and perhaps the most satisfactory being that of C. H. HARING, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for May, 1915. See also his *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies under the Hapsburgs* (1918).

There is no adequate history of Brazil in English. The Brazilian-Portuguese history of C. DE ABREU, *Descobrimento do Brazil e seu desenvolvimento no seculo xix* (1883), the various accounts of its colonial development in the general histories of colonies, and the brief and not very satisfactory sketch in DAWSON'S *South America* in the *Stories of the Nations* series, may suffice for an introduction to its history.

The explorations of the French are treated in many volumes relating to North America and colonial history. Among these, PARKMAN'S *Pioneers of France* (1865) remains the most readable account. CARTIER'S *Narrative* has been published by J. P. Baxter (1906) and by the University of Toronto; H. P. BIGGAR, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, etc., (documents, Canadian gov't publications). See, also, J. F. JAMESON (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early American History*.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EUROPE. 1521-1542

The developments of science in the sixteenth century have been treated in a multitude of monographs widely scattered in time and place. Some of them may be found listed in the *CRERAR Bibliographies*, noted above; and many more in the scientific journals. But a general bibliography of such material is still desired. Apart from the histories of mathematics, the work of Copernicus has been elaborately treated in L. PROWE'S *Nicolaus Copernicus*, 2 vols., (1883-84), and that of his predecessors in G. V. SCHIAPARELLI'S *I Precursori del Copernico nell' Antichità* (1873). F. H. GARRISON'S *History of Medicine* (1914), apart from its other virtues, contains a great amount of medical bibliography of value and interest to the general reader as well as to the specialist. The life of Vesalius (which finds no place in the *Britannica*) has been the subject of two biographies, one in German by M. ROTH (1892), the other in English by J. M. BALL (1910). The other biographical material may be found in Garrison.

The history of art has been more fortunate and there is a wealth of material upon painters and their work. Reference may be made briefly to some recent works. WÖLFFLIN, *The Art of the Italian Renaissance* (1903); CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in Italy; Early Flemish Painting* (1879); DIMIER, *French Painting in the 16th Century*; L. F. FREEMAN, *Italian Sculptors of the Renaissance* (1902); H. JANITSCHKE, *Geschichte der Deutschen Malerei* (1890). The source for much of the material relating to Italian art of this period is VASARI'S *Lives of the Painters* (1550-68), which is available in many translations. There are several biographies of the younger Holbein which throw light upon his period. Among them may be mentioned those of H. KNACKFUSS (1899) and of G. S. DAVIES (1903).

The social and economic changes of the sixteenth century may be studied in EHRENBERG, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger* (1896); W. NAUDÉ, *Die Getreidehandelspolitik der Europäischen Staaten vom 13ten bis zum 18ten Jahrhundert* (1896); WIEBE, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI u. XVII Jahrhunderts* (1895); W. J. ASHLEY, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, 4 ed., (1913); G. UNWIN, *Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1904) and his *Gilds and Companies of London* (1908); W. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Middle Ages*, 4 ed., (1904), in *Modern Times*, 5 ed., (1912); M. KOVALESKY, *Die Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas bis zum Beginn der Kapitalischen Wirtschaftsform*, 7 vols., German from Russian (1901-14).

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. 1542-1563

The best known work in English on the Council of Trent is that of FROUDE (1896); in German, probably that of MAURENBRECHER (1886-90); in French, the much older work of PRAT (1854). H. MÜLLER's *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Ignace et Lainez* (1898), and C. SOMMERVOGEL's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1890, etc.) afford an introduction to that vast and intricate subject. REUSCH's *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher* (1885) and the current issues of the *Index* illuminate that subject. The great work of SARPI on the Council of Trent and its answer by PALLAVICINI afford the basis for much of the history of its activities. They have been critically examined by RANKE in his *History of the Popes*, which affords a check on each, and on FROUDE. For the history of dogma, see HARNACK, as above. The history of political theory has been clearly set forth by W. A. DUNNING in his *History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu* (1905). H. HÖFFDING's *History of Modern Philosophy* (1900), P. JANET's *Histoire de la Science Politique dans ses Rapports avec la Morale* (1887), and BAX's *The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany* may be read with profit.

The history of the different European countries during this period may be found in the general works listed under the preceding chapters. To them may be added H. M. BAIRD, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France* (1879-80); J. M. STONE, *History of Mary I* (1901); J. L. MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855, etc.); HAAG, *France Protestante*, 2 ed., (1877-95); LINGARD's *History of England* (Catholic—many editions); STEPHENS and HUNT, *History of the Church of England—a co-operative work* (1902 ff.); S. R. MAITLAND's *Essays on the Reformation* (repr.-Introd. by A. W. HUTTON, 1899); A. W. WARD's *Brief Sketch of the Counter-Reformation* (1889). For the part of the enigmatical Maurice of Saxony in German affairs, see E. BRANDENBURG, *Moritz von Sachsen* (1898); for the Schmalkaldic War, see G. VOIGT, *Geschichtsschreibung über den Schmalkaldischen Krieg* (1874), and G. WOLF, *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede* (1890). See also A. F. POLLARD, *England under the Protector Somerset*.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF PHILIP II AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS

For the reign and character of Philip II perhaps the most easily accessible works in English are those of PRESCOTT, MOTLEY, and M. A. S. HUME, all of which are written from a more or less hostile standpoint. A more favorable view by a Danish scholar is BRATLI, *Philippe II roi d'Espagne* (1912). M. PHILIPPSON's *Zeitalter von Philip II u. Elisabeth* is perhaps less biassed, as is the work of RANKE. In Spanish there is the work of L. CABRERA DE CORDOBA, *La Historia de Felipe II* (1876), and in French that of H. FORNERON, *Histoire de Philippe II*, 4 vols., (1881-82).

For the history of France during this period, see ARMSTRONG, *French*

Wars of Religion (1892), and RANKE, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France*. The best and most recent study on this subject, however, is that of J. W. THOMPSON, *Wars of Religion in France* (1909). The little biography of Coligni by WALTER BESANT is a very readable though not a very scholarly account; while E. ARMSTRONG'S *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre* (1887) is longer and better. For the civil wars and Catherine de Medici, see COMTE H. DE LA FERRIÈRE, who has written extensively on the subject, chiefly in monographs.

For the Netherlands, besides MOTLEY and PLOK, the more recent biography of William the Silent by Miss R. PUTNAM, 2 vols., (1895), gives the more modern view of his career and character; while the essay by F. HARRISON (1897) offers some interesting views. The extensive work of KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE on *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, 6 vols., (1883-85) is the best authority on that relationship, but the many contributions of "the Dutch Ranke," FRUIN, including his *Tien jaren nit den tachtigjarigen oorlog* (1861), form by far the most valuable contribution to the history of the period.

Elizabethan England is the subject of a vast literature. BEESLEY'S *Queen Elizabeth* (1892) is a brief readable biography, as is M. CREIGHTON'S work under the same title (1896). M. A. S. HUME'S *The Great Lord Burghley* (1898) and the *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* (1896) are of interest and importance. The histories of England in the Hunt and Poole and the Oman series are good; while for Ireland the work of BAGWELL, though not interesting reading, has virtually superseded all others in its minute accuracy. FROUDE'S *English Seamen in the 16th Century* (1895), chiefly derived from Hakluyt, is a fascinating book with little scholarly value. See W. STIRLING MAXWELL'S *Don John of Austria*, 2 vols., (1883); and A. O. MEYER, *England u. d. Katholische Kirche* (1911). The best accounts are found in A. F. POLLARD, *England 1547-1603*; and in E. P. CHEYNE'S *History of England* in this period, of which one volume has appeared.

For the acquisition of Portugal by Philip II, see J. ESTÉBANEZ CALDERON, *La conquista y perdida de Portugal* (1885). For the expulsion of the Moors, see H. C. LEA, *The Moriscos of Spain* (1901), and S. LANE POOLE, *The Moors in Spain* (1897).

The literature on Mary, Queen of Scots, is as endless as the controversy which still rages concerning her character and career. It is only possible to observe here that there is a good book-list of it in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, p. 810.

With regard to the early English chartered companies the best book on the whole is that of P. BONNASIEUX, *Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce* (1892). The volume of CAWSTON and KEANE on *The Early Chartered Companies* (1896) is too brief and general. The publications of the University of Pennsylvania contain some interesting and important studies on this subject; the material for which, however, save for the East India Company, is relatively scanty and unsatisfactory.

The expansion of Russia and the Europeanization of its people is a subject not very easily accessible in west-European languages beyond the general histories. The volumes of A. KRAUSSE, *Russia in Asia* (1899), and of H. LANSDELL, *Russia in Central Asia*, 2 vols., (1885),

with works like that of G. TOLSTOY, *The First Forty Years of Inter-course between England and Russia* (1875), and of A. BRÜCKNER, *Die Europäisierung Russlands* (1888), with the accounts of the various travelers and ambassadors as contained in Hakluyt and Purchas, and in published diplomatic correspondence, comprise the available material on a subject which deserves more treatment in English. See, also, the article by Mme. LUBIMENKO in the *American Historical Review*, XIX, 525.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONDITIONS OF CONFLICT. 1578-1588

For the condition of Spain and Portugal, see the works enumerated in the general and chapter bibliographies as above. For the Spanish navy, see C. DURO FERNANDEZ, *La Armada Española*, etc., (1896-97). For the English navy, see J. CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 2 vols., (1898). These should be compared with BOUREL DE LA RONCIÈRE'S *Histoire de la Marine Française*; R. H. COLOMP, *Naval Warfare*, 2 ed. (1895); Sir W. L. CLOWES, *The Royal Navy*, 7 vols., (1897-1903); and OPPENHEIM, *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (1896), as well as POLLARD'S *England 1547-1603*.

For Mercator there are works by RAEMDONCK, BREUSING, WAUWERMANS, and VAN ORTROY, and for Belgian cartography, H. E. WAUWERMANS, *Histoire de l'École Cartographique Belge et Anversoise du xvi Siècle*, 2 vols., (1895), is good.

See, also, L. BATIFFOL, *The Century of the Renaissance in France*, tr. E. F. BUCKLEY (1916).

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARMADA. 1575-1588

For the exploits of Drake, see CORBETT'S *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, as above, and his brief biography of Drake (1890). The pages of Hakluyt are full of the accounts of the exploits of Drake and his companions; and there is much material in the publications of the Hakluyt Society relating to the same subjects. See, also, E. JONES, *Life of Frobisher* (1878). For Polar exploration, see A. W. GREELY'S *Handbook of Polar Discovery*, 4 ed., (1910), which contains much interesting information, and for the literature of the subject, see J. CHAVANNE. The articles and bibliographies under the individual names in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are, in general, especially good.

For Ireland, see BAGWELL, as above, and lists in J. KING'S *Irish Bibliography*. One of the best books on Ireland is BONN'S *Englische Kolonisation in Irland*. Most of the volumes on Ireland, however, are, like FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, so highly controversial as to be good reading but poor history.

For the Armada, see C. DURO FERNANDEZ, *La Armada Invencible*, 2 vols., (1884-85), and the account of the Armada in Hakluyt and in the various works quoted above under English, Spanish, and naval

history. The most brilliant account in English is unquestionably that of FROUDE, the best are to be found in POLLARD, *England 1547-1603*, and LAUGHTON, *Defeat of the Spanish Armada*.

CHAPTER XV

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH AND THE ANGLO-DUTCH INVASION OF THE EAST.
1583-1601

For the general naval operations, see the works quoted above on English and Spanish history. To these may be added J. A. FROUDE, *The Spanish Story of the Armada* (1892); M. A. S. HUME, *The Year after the Armada*, etc., (1896); W. F. TILTON, *Die Katastrophe der Spanischen Armada* (1894). Purchas His Pilgrimes—the corollary of Hakluyt—is the source of a great amount of material relating to the adventures of the English in the East; and the publications of the Hakluyt Society contain many of the narratives of the adventurers, notably that of LANCASTER (1877), ROE's *Embassy to the Great Mogul* (1889), DE VEER's *Voyages of Barentz* (1876), and the like. BURNELL and TIELE's *Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies* (1885) and the old collections of Kerr and Renneville have still others. The best *Life of Raleigh* is that of E. EDWARDS, 2 vols., (1868), but there are several shorter and more recent biographies containing new material, by GOSSE, STEBBING, HUME, and DE SELINCOURT. See, also, S. R. GARDINER's *History of England* (1883-84).

Of secondary works, W. W. HUNTER's *History of British India* (1899-1900) and many of his other voluminous works contain a great amount of information relating to the subject; while the chief source for the early years of the English India Company is the collection of its papers edited by BIRDWOOD. C. DAY, *The Dutch in Java*, is the authority for its subject. J. DE LA GRAVIÈRE, *Les Anglais et les Hollandais dans les Mers Polaires et dans les Mer des Indes* (1890), covers precisely this field. The Dutch material is catalogued to 1875 in J. A. VAN DER CHIJS, *Nederlandsche Indische Bibliographie*, in his publication of that date; while the older work of TIELE, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Néerlandais* (1867), still has value. Most important of all is the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* (1896).

For the Dutch East India Company, see J. K. J. DE JONGE, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in oost-Indien*, 13 vols., (1862-88); J. J. MEINSMA, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche oost-Indische Bezittingen*, 3 vols., (1872-75). The great original of most of these works is the old book of F. VALENTYN, *Beschryving van oud en nieuw oost-Indien*, 8 vols., (1724).

CHAPTER XVI

EUROPE AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

For the economic phases of the late sixteenth century see the works quoted in the bibliography to Chapter X. To these may be added H. D. TRAILL's *Social England* (1893-98), which contains a vast amount of information and, in the illustrated edition, an unusually informing series

of pictures. For the development of armor and weapons one of the best sources is ELTON'S *Compleat Body of the Art Military* (1668). HEWIT'S *Arms and Armor* and the works of VIOLETTE-LE-DUC also contain much valuable and interesting information and many illustrations both of armor and costume. For the latter there is a considerable literature. The *Cyclopedia of Costume*, 2 vols., (1856-57), and RACINET, *Le Costume Historique*, 6 vols., illus., (1888) are useful. For architecture, see R. STURGIS, *History of Architecture* (1906 ff.), and the volumes by FERGUSSON, HAMLIN, and FLETCHER on the same subject. For Palladio, see the lives by ZANELLA (1880) and by BARICHELLA (1880).

It need hardly be said that the literature of the drama and the Elizabethan stage is almost unlimited. The latest, and in many respects the most important, work on that subject is the co-operative work, *The England of Shakespeare* (1916, etc.). Probably the best biography of Shakespeare is that of S. LEE, several editions, the last in 1915. The best accessible bibliography of Shakespeare is in the last edition of the *Britannica*, under his name. For a general account of Elizabethan drama and dramatists, see A. W. WARD, *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Anne* (1899), and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by WARD and WALLER (1907-16).

For the rise and development of the opera, see the *Oxford History of Music* (1901-05) and G. GROVE'S *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by MAITLAND (1904-08).

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE OF HOLLAND AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY. 1603-1623

For the character and career of Henry IV of France, see WILLERT'S *Henry of Navarre* in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, and especially E. LAVISSE, *Vie de Sully* (1880), and his *Histoire de France*. The *Mémoires* of Sully are among the most interesting and valuable of the sources, and are available in an English translation. For Henry's Grand Design, see C. A. CORNELIUS, *Der Grosse Plan Heinrichs IV* (1896). The literature of the reign of the most popular of French sovereigns is very great; and an exhaustive bibliography of it is to be found by H. HAUSER in his *Sources de l'histoire de France* (1909). See, also, bibliography to Chapter XII.

For Russia and the beginning of the Romanoffs, see STRAHL and HERMANN'S *Geschichte des Russischen Staates*, vol. iii, (1846); PRINCE E. GALITZIN'S *La Russie du xvii^e Siècle dans ses Rapports avec l'Europe Occidentale* (1855); R. N. BAIN, *The First Romanovs* (1905); and Hakluyt Society, *Russia at the Close of the 16th Century*, ed. BOND (1856).

For the early years of the seventeenth century in Germany, see GINDELY'S *History of the Thirty Years' War to 1632*, tr. by TEN BROOK (1884), and his various writings in German on the reign of Rudolf II; A. W. WARD, *The House of Austria in the Thirty Years' War* (1869); STIEVE'S *Der Kampf um Donauwörth* (1875); FREYTAG'S *Pictures of German Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries*; WAKEMAN'S *The Ascend-*

ancy of France 1598-1715. The little book of S. R. GARDINER, *The Thirty Years' War*, is a good introduction. For more detailed lists, see the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii; and especially DAHLMANN-WAITZ as quoted in the general bibliographical introduction above.

For the history of England and the policy of James I, see S. R. GARDINER, *History of England from the Accession of James I* (1899-1900), and the volumes in the Hunt and Poole and Oman series.

For the history of the Netherlands, see bibliography for Chapters XII and XV. To the works there quoted may be added J. L. MOTLEY's *History of the United Netherlands* (1860-67) and his *Life and Death of John of Barneveldt* (1874). In Dutch, the work of J. A. VAN DER CHIJS, *De vesteeigiging van her Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda Eilanden 1599-1621* (1886), is good. In German, REES, *Geschiedenis der Koloniale Politiek* (1868), and REUS' *Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen, rechtlichen u. finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederlandisch-Ostindischen Compagnie* (1894), are among the principal works. For the Dutch in Brazil and Guiana, see articles by L. DRIESEN and G. EDMUNDSON in the *English Historical Review*, vols. xi to xix, *passim*, and P. M. NETSCHER'S *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (1853) and *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien Essequibo, Demerary, en Berbice* (1888). One of the best monographs on Dutch colonial expansion is that of J. F. JAMESON, *W. Usselinx* (1887). See also in this subject the elaborate reports prepared by the representatives of the British and American governments in the controversy over the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and published as official documents in 1896-97.

CHAPTER XVIII

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND IN AMERICA. 1603-1623

The chief bibliographical and cartographical source for this period is the *Narrative and Critical History* of WINSOR, quoted above. The principal popular works on the subject in English are those of JOHN FISKE; and, for the French, those of FRANCIS PARKMAN. There is a vast literature on the subject of the English and Dutch colonies in particular, which may be found for the most part enumerated in CHANNING, HART, and TURNER'S *Guide*, as above. The two volumes of the *American Nation* series, *France in America*, by R. G. THWAITES, and *England in America*, by L. G. TYLER, are brief popular accounts. The best general authorities are E. CHANNING, *History of the United States*, vol. i (1905), BROWN, *Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols., (1891), OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century*, DOYLE, *English Colonies in America*, 5 vols., (1882-1907), and the publications in connection with the Champlain celebration. E. EGGLESTON'S *Beginners of a Nation* (1897) is a good readable account of the Pilgrim Fathers. G. L. BEER'S *Origins of the British Colonial System* (1908), while chiefly devoted to a later period, is of importance. SMITH'S *Narrative* is available in several recent editions, and Champlain's *Voyages* has been translated by Mr. and Mrs. E. G. BOURNE, and more recently edited by W. L. GRANT (1907).

CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. 1618-1632

The literature of the Thirty Years' War is too vast to receive any adequate notice here. There is a good brief guide to it in the *Cambridge Modern History* at the end of the volume under that title, and a fairly complete bibliography in DAHLMANN-WAITZ. For the war itself perhaps the best account in English is the translation of GINDELY by TEN BROOK and KLOPP. The best sketch is GARDINER'S *Thirty Years' War* (1874). The work of SCHILLER is a classic not a history; that of HÄUSSER on the Reformation is long since displaced by better work but is still readable. For the history of England, see Chapter XVII. NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, though an old work, still has value. It is available in many editions. In the matter of biographies the period is prolific. Among them may be noted G. FAGNIEZ, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, 2 vols., (1894); A. GINDELY, *Friedrich V von der Pfalz*, etc., (1884); K. HAUCK, *Elisabeth, Königin von Böhmen*, etc., (1905); F. STIEVE, *Ernst von Mansfeld* (1890), and *Kurfürst Maximilian I von Baiern* (1900); and the biographies of Richelieu by R. LODGE (1896) and by J. B. PERKINS (1900). Perhaps the best biographical material relating to the period is to be found in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE AND COLONIES. 1621-1642

The biographies of Richelieu and especially those of Champlain contain some account of the beginnings of Canadian settlement and French colonial policy. For the history of Virginia, see FISKE'S *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, 2 vols., (1900), and BRUCE'S three works on the *Economic* (1896), the *Institutional* (1910), and the *Social Life in Virginia* (1907) during the seventeenth century. For the New England settlements, see FISKE'S *Beginnings of New England* (1889); for New Amsterdam, see J. H. INNES, *New Amsterdam and Its People* (1902) and Mrs. S. VAN RENSSELAER'S excellent *History of the City of New York in the 17th Century* (1909). For the administration of Frederick Henry, see G. EDMUNDSON'S article on Frederick Henry in *English Historical Review* (1890), and the bibliography under his name in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, p. 931 ff. For Coen, see W. A. TERWOGT'S *Het land van Jan Pieterz. Coen* (1891). For Dutch exploits in Brazil, see F. A. VARNHAGEN'S *Historia das Lutas com os Holandezes no Brazil desde 1624 a 1654* (1871), and especially P. NETSCHER, *Les Hollandais au Brésil* (1853), with articles as above Chapter XVII. G. M. ASHER'S *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on Dutch books, etc., relating to the New Netherland and the Dutch West India Company* (1854-57) is still useful as a guide to the literature of this not very well worked-up subject, while the same may be said of the old book of BRYAN EDWARDS, *The History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 4 ed., (1807), and of EXQUEMELING'S

Buccaneers, available in several editions and various translations. The best sketch of the buccaneers is that by C. H. HARING (1910). For works relating to Spanish and Portuguese America in this period, chiefly contemporary or nearly so, see WINSOR'S *Narrative and Critical History*. For the revolt of Portugal and the regaining of its independence, J. DUNLOP, *Spain during the Reign of Philip IV* (1834); M. A. S. HUME, *History of the Spanish People* (1901) and *Spain: Its Greatness and Decay* (1898). In Spanish, M. LAFUENTE, *Historia de España* (1888); A. CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Estudios del Reinado de Felipe IV* (1889) and F. SILVELA (ed.), *Cartas de Sor Maria de Agrela y del rey Felipe IV* (1885-86) introd.; and in German RANKE, *Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert* (1874, etc.).

CHAPTER XXI

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. 1610-1642

For costume and armor see the bibliography to Chapter XVI. For lace-making there are a number of pattern-books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; and a *History of the Manufacture of Venetian Laces* by G. M. URBANI DE GHELTOF, tr. by Lady LAYARD. Probably the best work on the subject is that of E. LEFEBVRE, *Embroidery and Lace, their Manufacture and History*, etc., (1888), and another on *Point d'Alençon* by Mme. G. DESPIERRES (1886). For tobacco, see W. BRAGGE'S *Bibliographia Nicotiana* (1880) for the best, yet very incomplete book-list; and FAIRHOLT'S *Tobacco, its History and Associations*, 2 ed., (1876) and TIEDMANN'S *Geschichte des Tabaks* (1856). For tea, see J. G. HOUSSAYE, *Monographie de Thé*; and the bibliography in D. CROLE, *Tea, its Cultivation and Manufacture* (1897). For coffee, see WALSH'S *Coffee, its History* (1902). For chocolate and cocoa, see W. BAKER & Co., *Cocoa and Chocolate* (1899), and CANNON, *History of Cocoa* (1901). The historical muse does not seem to have inspired the devotees of strong drink as she has those of the milder beverages. There is a history of the art of distillation and of distilling apparatus by O. SCHREINER (1901), but it is devoted chiefly to volatile oils, and we are compelled to fall back on the articles in the general and technical encyclopædias for information.

For the advance in science, beside the works noted in the general bibliography, see S. A. ARRHENIUS' *Theories of Chemistry* (1907); E. O. VON LIPPMANN'S *Abhandlungen u. Vorträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* (1906); E. VON MEYER'S *A History of Chemistry . . . being also an Introduction to the Study of Science* (trans.), (1906); W. RAMSAY, *Essays, Biographical and Chemical* (1908); R. O. MOON'S *The Relation of Medicine to Philosophy* (1909); and, among the many histories of medicine enumerated in the Crerar Library catalogues, and the catalogue of the Surgeon-General's office in Washington which is the most comprehensive of all book-lists relating to the subject. There may also be noted the popular essays of J. J. WALSH, *Makers of Modern Medicine* (1907) and *The Popes and Science* (1908). For Harvey, see R. WILLIS' biography (1878) and the Life by W. MUNK (1879). For Galileo see the edition of his works begun in Florence in 1890; J. J.

FAHIE, *Galileo* (1903); and F. R. WEGG-PROSSER'S *Galileo and his Judges* (1889). For Kepler, C. G. REUSCHLE'S *Kepler u. die Astronomie* (1871) and A. MÜLLER'S *Johann Kepler, der Gesetzgeber der Neueren Astronomie* (1903). For Tycho Brahe, see J. L. E. DREYER'S *Tycho, Brahe* (1890). See, also, M. FOSTER'S *History of Physiology during the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (1901), and H. ZEUTHEN'S *Geschichte der Mathematik im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert* (1903).

For Bacon, see J. SPEDDING'S *Life and Letters of Lord Bacon*, the standard biography; S. LEE'S *Great Englishmen of the 16th Century* (1904); J. M. ROBERTSON'S *Short History of Freethought*; and CH. ADAM'S *Philosophie de Francis Bacon* (1890), besides the histories of philosophy quoted above.

These histories are valuable for Descartes and his philosophy. For more detailed studies, see also E. S. HALDANE, *Descartes, his Life and Times*, including a bibliography (1905), and the article in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv, with bibliography, and N. SMITH, *Studies in the Cartesian Philosophy* (1902). A complete collection of his works was begun in 1907. See, also, R. ADAMSON, *The Development of Modern Philosophy* (1903); K. FISCHER, *History of Modern Philosophy; Descartes and his School*, tr., (1887); and L. LEVY-BRUHL, *History of Modern Philosophy in France*, tr., (1899).

For Grotius, see L. NEUMANN, *Hugo Grotius* (1884). A life and bibliography of Grotius was published by LEHMANN in 1727; an English life by C. BUTLER in 1826; and an English translation of *De Jure Belli* (trans. and abridged) by WHEWELL, in 1853. See also A. PILLET, *Fondateurs du droit international, Grotius* (1904); and the edition of Grotius, ed. J. B. SCOTT, in *Classics of International Law*, Carnegie Inst. (1913—).

For Bruno, see J. LEWIS M'INTYRE'S *Life, Commentary and Bibliography* (1903) and A. RIEHL'S *Biography*, tr., (1905), among several. For Campanella, see L. AMABILE, *Fra T. Campanella*, 3 vols., (1882). There is a bibliography of Campanella in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (1904).

CHAPTER XXII

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. 1642-1648

The principal sources and bibliographies for the Thirty Years' War have been indicated under Chapters XVII and XIX. There are a number of biographies of Wallenstein of importance for the period, though unfortunately no adequate work in English. In German the principal books are those of RANKE, *Geschichte Wallensteins* (1872, 1910); and GINDELY, *Waldstein*, 2 vols., (1886). There are two English biographies of Gustavus Adolphus available, C. R. L. FLETCHER (1890) and T. A. DODGE (1896). In German, one of the principal biographies is that of G. DROYSEN, 2 vols., (1869-70). See, also, R. N. BAIN, *Scandinavia 1513-1900* (1905) for a brief account of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and F. F. CARLSSON, *Geschichte Schwedens*, tr. from the Swedish, (1855). In French, see E. CHARVÉRIAT, *Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans*, 2 vols., (1878), and for Austria, see F. KRONES' *Handbuch der*

Geschichte Oesterreichs (1877, etc.); E. DENIS' *Fin de l'Indépendance Bohême* (1890) and *La Bohême depuis la Montagne-Blanche* (1903) are useful, as is H. PIENNE, *Histoire de Belgique* (1911). See, also, the works of J. B. PERKINS, *Richelieu* (1900) and *France under Mazarin* (1886); and also G. AVENEL, *Richelieu et la Monarchie Absolue*, 4 vols., (1884-90). There is an older book of popular interest by E. CUST, *Lives of the Warriors of the Thirty Years' War*, 2 vols., (1865); and more recent lives of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar by A. THOMA (1904), of Bethlen Gabor by GINDELY (1890) and IGNÁE-ÁCSÁDY, *Gabriel, Bethlen and his Court* (1890).

For the history of England in this period the standard work is that of S. R. GARDINER. For histories of Scotland, see J. H. BURTON (1873), P. H. BROWN (1905), and ANDREW LANG (1906). For the Grand Remonstrance, see the monographs by J. FORSTER (1860) and H. L. SCHOOLCRAFT (1902). G. M. TREVELYAN'S *England under the Stuarts* (1905) is an eminently readable but not a very scientific review of the period, excellent on the social and literary side. J. B. MOZLEY'S *Essays, Historical and Theological*, 2 vols., (1878), is good for the high church point of view, and J. G. PALFREY'S *History of New England* (1884) is still valuable for that part of the Puritan movement. C. H. SIMPKINSON, *Thomas Harrison, Regicide and Major-General* (1905) gives a good picture of the more advanced party, and the Stuart series of biographies published by Goupil Frères are beautifully illustrated works of much value historically as well as artistically. J. MORLEY'S *Life of Cromwell* (1900) is excellent on the philosophical side, and T. C. PEASE, *The Leveller Movement* (1916) is the best statement of the case for that group of radicals, as Miss LOUISE BROWN'S *Fifth Monarchists* is excellent for that faction.

The articles of the Peace of Westphalia, as of the treaties of the following period, are available in DUMONT and ROUSSEL DE MISSY'S *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens contenant un Recueil des Traitez* (1727); see also J. G. VON MEIERN'S *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica* (1734-36). For treaties relating to the territories now occupied by the United States, see F. G. DAVENPORT, *Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, 1917).

CHAPTER XXIII

THE AGE OF CROMWELL. 1642-1660

The best three biographies of Cromwell are those of MORLEY (see bibliography to preceding chapter), S. R. GARDINER (1899), and C. H. FIRTH. See, also, GARDINER'S *Cromwell's Place in History* (1897); and for an adverse view R. F. D. PALGRAVE'S *Oliver Cromwell, the Protector* (1890 and 1903). The best edition of his letters is Mrs. S. C. LOMAS' ed. of CARLYLE'S *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 3 vols., (1904). The most comprehensive work on Cromwell as a soldier is that of F. HÖNIG (1887) which should be compared with T. S. BALDOCK (1899); and the best account of his army is that of C. H. FIRTH, *Cromwell's Army* (1902). For the navy, see M. OPPENHEIM, *Administra-*

tion of the Royal Navy (1896). For Cromwell's foreign relations, see G. JONES, *Relations between Cromwell and Charles X of Sweden* (1897); BISCHOFSHAUSEN, *Die Politik des Protector Oliver Cromwell*, etc., (1899); J. N. BOWMAN, *Protestant Interest in Cromwell's Foreign Relations* (1900); CARLROM, *Sverige och England* (1900); and G. L. BEER, *Cromwell's Policy in its Economic Aspects* (1902). See, also, *The Last Years of the Protectorate* by C. H. FIRTH (1909); and *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns* by W. S. DOUGLAS (1898). The principal source for many of these subjects is J. THURLOE, *Collection of State Papers*, etc., 7 vols., (1702-03).

For the English Church during this period, see W. A. SHAW, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, 2 vols., (1900). The articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* are especially good for biographical data.

For the insurrection of Masaniello, see A. G. MEISSNER's and E. BOURG's *Masaniello*. For Khmelnitzki, see R. N. BAIN, *The First Romanovs*, as quoted above. For the effect of Cromwell's policy overseas, see the volumes quoted in Chapter XVIII, and N. D. DAVIS, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados* (1887). For the Anglo-Dutch war, see EDMUNDSON as above. For Ireland, see R. BAGWELL, *Ireland under the Stuarts and Commonwealth*; M. J. BONN, *Die Englische Kolonisation in Irland*, 2 vols., (1906); and A. BELLESHEIM, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland*, 3 vols., (1890-1901). The best brief account is the introduction to R. DUNLOP's *Ireland under the Commonwealth* (1913)—a collection of documents.

There are two good books on the Netherlands in this period: J. GEDDES, *The Administration of John de Witt*, 1 vol., (all published), (1879), and A. LEFÈVRE PONTALIS, *Vingt Années de République Parlementaire au Dix-septième Siècle: Jean de Witt*, 2 vols., (1884), tr. STEPHENSON (1885). For naval affairs, see J. S. CORBETT, *England in the Mediterranean*, 2 vols., (1904), and his *Successors of Drake* (1900).

For general political progress, see G. P. GOOCH, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century* (1889); C. BORGEAUD, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, tr., (1894); and L. H. BERENS, *The Digger Movement* (1906).

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE AT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the development of the English colonies in North America, see the books referred to in the bibliography to Chapter XVIII. To these may be added MERENESS' *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (1901); LATANÉ'S *Early Relations of Maryland and Virginia* (1895); and STEINER'S *The Beginnings of Maryland* (1903). See, also, G. PENN'S *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir W. Penn*, 2 vols., (1833), with the articles of C. H. FIRTH in the *English Historical Review* (1905 ff.) on Blake.

For New France, see PARKMAN's works as quoted above and for New Netherlands, the bibliography to Chapter XVIII. For the exploration of the Northwest, see A. C. LAUT, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*

(1909); G. BRYCE, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (1900); E. HEAWOOD, *History of Geographical Discovery in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1912); and the bibliographies in the annual *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* issued by the University of Toronto.

For the history of Brazil, see bibliography to Chapter XVIII. To these may be added A. J. DE M. MORÃES' *Brazil historico*, etc., (1866-67); F. A. VARNHAGEN, *Historia das Lutas com os Holandezes no Brazil desde 1624-54* (1872) and his *Historia general do Brazil*, 2 vols., (1877). G. EDMUNDSON, *The Dutch in Western Guiana*, and *The Dutch on the Amazon and the Negro in the 17th Century* (*English Historical Review*, 1901-03). See, also, L. DOMINGUEZ, *Historia Argentina*, 4 ed., (1870), and RODWAY, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (1896). For the Dutch in the East, add to the bibliography of Chapter XVII, J. E. TENNANT, *Ceylon* (1860); H. ST. JOHN'S *The Indian Archipelago*, 2 vols., (1853); and G. M. THEALL, *History of South Africa*, 5 vols., (1888); with C. P. LUCAS, *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 2 ed., (1905 ff.).

For the history of art in the seventeenth century, see in addition to the general accounts, M. BELL, *Rembrandt van Rijn and his Work* (1899); A. ROSENBERG'S *Rembrandt* (1906) fully illustrated; BODE'S *Rembrandt u. seine Zeitgenossen*; PILKINGTON'S *Dictionary of Painters*; with the two series (German and English) of *Great Painters*, now in progress.

For morals, see LECKY, *History of Rationalism in Europe* (1865), now somewhat antiquated and never very interesting. For literature in general and Molière in particular, see E. DESPOIS and P. MESNARD'S introduction to Molière's works and the edition of his works in *Les Grandes Ecrivains de la France*. See, also, P. LACROIX, *Collection Molièresque* and H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR, *Molière; A bibliography* (1907) for Molière literature. See, also, the works of SAINTE-BEUVE, SCHERER, and BRUNETIÈRE. For Pascal, see SAINTE-BEUVE'S *Port Royal* and E. BOUTROUX'S *Life* (1903). See, also, in general for this and following chapters, L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE (ed.), *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française* (1896-1900).

For English literature in this period, see the *Cambridge History of English Literature*; D. MASSON, *Life of Milton*, 6 vols., (1859-80); H. J. C. GRIERSON, *First Half of the 17th Century*. For Calderon and Spanish literature, see H. BREYMANN'S *Calderon Studien* (1905); E. MARTINENCHE'S *La Comédie Espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine* (1900) and F. PICATOSTE Y RODRIGUEZ'S *Biografia de Don Pedro Calderon*, etc., (1881).

For Hobbes, see especially the L. STEPHEN (1904) and C. G. ROBERTSON (1886) biographies. See, also, W. GRAHAM, *English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine* (1899).

For the early history of newspapers, see FOX BOURNE, *History of Newspapers*, and especially J. B. WILLIAMS, *Early History of English Journalism* (1908).

For the history of science in the seventeenth century, besides the general works on the subject, see the *Record of the Royal Society* (1901); ELLIS, SPEDDING, and HEATH (eds.), *Collected Works of Bacon* (1870);

S. P. RIGAUD, *Correspondence of Scientific Men of the 17th Century* (1841); C. ADAM and P. TANNERY (eds.), *Descartes, Œuvres* (1897, etc.); PERTZ, GROTEFEND, and GERHARDT (eds.), *Leibniz, Gesammelte Werke* (1843, etc.); S. HORSLEY (ed.), *Newton, Opera* (1779-85); J. NAPIER, *Collected Works* (1839); Galileo's treatises, tr. H. CREW (1915).

For the biographies of the principal scientific men of the century, see SPEDDING'S *Bacon* (1861-74); HALDANE'S *Descartes* (1906); FAHIE'S *Galileo* (1903); BREITSCHWERT'S *Kepler* (1831); GUHRAUER'S *Leibniz* (1842-46); and SLOMAN'S *Leibniz*, Eng. tr., (1860); NAPIER'S *Napier* (1834); BREWSTER'S *Newton* (1855). There is a good brief bibliography of the subject in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v, p. 903 ff.

CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV. 1660-1678

For the reign of Louis XIV, its history, administration, foreign policy, and general relations, see O. AIRY'S little book *The English Restoration and Louis XIV* (1888); P. A. CHÉRUÉL'S *La Politique Extérieure de Louis au début de son Gouvernement Personnel* (1890); S. DE GROVESTINS' *Guillaume III et Louis XIV*, 8 vols., (1868); O. KLOPP'S *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, etc., 14 vols., (1875-88); F. F. CARLSSON'S *Geschichte Schwedens* (1873-87); B. ERDMANNSDÖRFFER'S *Deutsche Geschichte . . . 1648-1740*; and especially LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, as above (1901, etc), with the great series *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie*, etc., (1884 ff.); and E. BOURGEOIS, *Manuel historique de politique étrangère* (1901-06), and his *Sources de l'histoire de France, 1610-1715*, continuing H. HAUSER, see above, Chapter IV.

For his administration proper, see especially P. A. CHÉRUÉL, *Histoire de l'Administration Monarchique en France*, etc., 2 vols., (1855); Comte de LUCAY, *Les Secrétaires d'État . . . jusqu'à la Mort de Louis XV* (1881); the various contributions of A. BÉBEAU; and the bibliography of Colbert in LAVISSE. See, also, J. H. BRIDGES' *France under Richelieu and Colbert* (1866); A. J. SARGENT'S *The Economic Policy of Colbert* (1899); RAMBAUD'S *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, 2 vols., (1885); A. J. GRANT, *The French Monarchy, 1483-1789* (1900); and M. PHILIPPSON'S *Das Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV* (1879); also M. IMMICH'S *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems, 1660-1789* (1903, etc.).

For the Restoration period in England, besides the general histories mentioned above, see O. AIRY, *Charles II* (1901); G. B. HERZ, *English Public Opinion after the Restoration* (1902); D. MASSON, *Life of Milton*, 6 vols., (1859-94). For the rise of English political parties, see TRENT, *Early History of the Tory Party*; G. W. COOKE, *History of Party*, 3 vols., (1836-37).

For English colonial policy, see J. R. SEELEY, *The Expansion of England* (1891), and his *Growth of English Policy* (1895); S. J. FUCHS, *Die Handelspolitik Englands u. seiner Kolonien* (1893); O. M. DICKERSON, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*; A. TODD, *Parliamentary*

Government in the British Colonies; and especially OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the 17th Century*, 3 vols., (1904-07).

CHAPTER XXVI

EUROPE BEYOND THE SEA. 1660-1678.

For the activities of France in North America during this period, see the works of PARKMAN, and WINSOR, quoted above. For Colbert's policy, see P. CLÉMENT, *Histoire de Colbert et de son administration* (1874); E. RAMEAU, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique, L'Acadie* (1877); L. PAULLIAT, *Louis XIV et la Compagnie des Indes Orientales de 1664* (1886); S. L. MIMS, *Colbert's West Indian Policy* (1914). See, also, KINGSFORD, *History of Canada*, 10 vols., (1887-98); and MILES, *History of Canada under the French Régime* (1872); with GAYARRÉ, *Louisiana under French Dominion*, 4 vols., new ed., (1904), and A. FORTIER, *History of Louisiana*, 6 vols., (1904).

For French explorers, see PARKMAN's *La Salle* (1869); WINSOR, *From Cartier to Frontenac* (1894); R. G. THWAITES (ed.), *Jesuit Relations* (1896 ff.); PARKMAN, *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877).

For Africa and the East, see G. M. THEAL, *History of South Africa under the Dutch East India Company*, 2 vols., (1897); W. W. HUNTER, *History of British India*, 2 vols., (1899-90); A. LYALL, *The British Dominion in India* (1906); G. B. MALLESON, *The French in India* (1893); see, also, G. BIRDWOOD, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1891); and C. R. WILSON, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 2 vols., (1895-1900).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE AGE OF WILLIAM III. 1678-1702

The chief source for the history of the house of Orange is GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, 2e série, 5 vols., (1857-60); J. W. VAN SYPESTEIN, *Geschiedkundige Bijdragen en onuitgever Stukken*, 3 vols., (1864-65); the Dumont collection as above; F. A. M. MIGNET, *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, 4 vols., 5 ed., (1885). See especially A. LEGRELLE, *La Diplomatie Française et la Succession d'Espagne*, 4 vols., (1888-92), and his *Notes et Documents sur la Paix de Ryswick* (1894).

For the English side, the best work is MACAULAY's *History of England*, many editions. This may be checked by RANKE, *History of England chiefly in the 17th Century*; KLOPP, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, as above, and BROSCHE, *Geschichte von England* (1903). There are several sketches of the life of William III, the best being that in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Life* by H. D. TRAILL.

For the economic side, see A. ANDRÉADES, *Histoire de la Banque d'Angleterre* (1904); W. A. S. HEWINS, *English Trade and Finance in the 17th Century* (1892); J. E. T. ROGERS, *First nine years of the Bank of England* (1903); G. SCHMOLLER, *The Mercantile System*, etc.,

(tr. 1906); W. A. SHAW, *History of Currency* (1896); S. DOWELL, *History of Taxation* (1888).

For the military and naval side, see A. T. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (1889); C. E. CALLWELL, *Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance* (1905); J. W. FORTESCUE, *History of the British Army* (1899); W. F. LORD, *England and France in the Mediterranean* (1901); E. MACARTNEY-FILGATE, *The War of William III in Ireland* (1905); BAGWELL, *History of Ireland*; LEGRELLE, *Louis XIV et Strassbourg*; ROY, *Turenne*; GRIFFET, *Recueil de Lettres pour servir à l'Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV*; and SIRTEMA DE GROVESTINS, *Histoire des Luites et Rivalités Politiques entre les Puissances Maritimes et la France durant la Seconde Moitié du xvii Siècle* (1855); MALLESON, *Eugene of Savoy*.

For the Peace of Ryswick and the Spanish negotiations, see also, A. GAEDEKE, *Die Politik Oesterreichs in der Spanischen Erbfolgefrage*, 2 vols., (1877). For the social side, see C. HUGON, *Social France in the 17th Century* (1911), and E. LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France avant 1789* (1901).

For the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, see BAIRD, *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895); POOLE, *The Huguenots of the Dispersion*; SMILES, *Huguenots in France after the Dispersion*.

For the Revolution of 1688, see, beside MACAULAY, MACKINTOSH, *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* (1834); HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England* (1879); AGNEW, *Life of Henri de Ruvigny* (1864), and his *Exiles from France*, 2 vols., (1871).

For Austria and her relation to the other powers, see M. IMMICH, *Europäisches Staatensystem*; and KLOPP, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, as above; H. VON SYBEL, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (1889); F. VON KRONES, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns* (1894); W. COXE, *History of the House of Austria* (1798). For Poland, see P. DUPONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Sobieski* (1885), and the general histories of Poland. H. E. MALDEN's *Vienna 1683* (1883) is an account of the defeat of the Turks by Sobieski. A. F. PRIBRAM's *Franz Paul, Freiherr von Lisola* (1894) contains a good sketch of the politics of this period. G. FINLAY's *History of Greece 146 B.C. to 1864 A.D.* (1877), includes one volume on Greece under Turkish domination with a good popular account of Turkish activities at this time. There is an older work in the *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* by J. W. ZINKEISEN, namely, *Die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 7 vols. (1840-63).

For the buccaneers, see EXQUEMELING and HARING, as above; J. BURNEY, *Buccaneers* (1816); and for the South American states, see R. G. WATSON, *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period* (1884); J. PFOTENHAUER, *Die Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay* (1891-93); and the various essays in WINSON, *Narrative and Critical History*.

For the English colonial policy, see H. E. EGERTON, *History of Colonial Policy* (1898); A. SMITH, *Wealth of Nations*, ed., ROGERS (1865), and the works quoted under Chapter XVIII; see, also, the writings of G. L. BEER, quoted in bibliographies to Chapter XXIII above and Chapter XXXV below.

For the history of New England, see PALFREY, *History of New Eng-*

land (1859-90). For the East India Company, see the bibliography of Chapter XII; MAINWARING, *Crown and Company* (1911); and PAPILLON, *Memoir of Thomas Papillon* (1887).

For Paterson see J. S. BARBOUR, *A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company* (1907); and S. BANNISTER, *Life of W. Paterson*, 3 vols., (1859); and for the Bank of England, see the bibliography of Chapter XXVII. For insurance, see MARTIN, *History of Lloyd's* (1876).

CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the development of French literature, see the bibliography of Chapter XXIV; H. TAINÉ, *La Fontaine et ses Fables*, 14 ed., (1898); E. FAGUET, *Etudes Littéraires: Dix-septième Siècle*, 10 ed., (1892); E. PICOT, *Bibliographie Cornélienne* (1876); and the works of F. BRUNETTIÈRE and C. A. SAINTE-BEUVE, who have treated most of the subjects here touched upon in separate essays and monographs, chiefly critical. For England, see A. BELJAME, *Le public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre, 1660-1714*; E. GOSSE, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 3 ed., (1898); A. W. WARD, *History of Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, 3 vols., (1899). For Milton, see MASSON'S *Life* as quoted above.

For medicine, see in addition to the general histories, J. F. PAYNE'S *Life of Sydenham* (1900) and the *Life* by PICARD (1889). For chemistry, T. E. THORPE'S *Essays in Historical Chemistry* (1902). For military science, see T. A. DODGE'S *Gustavus Adolphus*, 2 vols., (1896); Viscount WOLSELEY'S *Marlborough* (1894); J. ROY'S *Turenne* (1884); C. F. M. ROUSSET'S *Louvois* (1862-68); and G. MICHEL'S *Vauban* (1878); CAMPORI'S *Montecuccoli* (1876); and for Prince Eugene, the biographies by v. ARNETH (1864), v. SYBEL (1868) and MALLESON; with the biographies of Cromwell quoted in Chapter XXIII. For mathematics and astronomy, see NEWTON and LEIBNITZ as below. For Boyle, see the old work of BIRCH (1744), the essays by RAMSAY and by THORPE as above, Chapter XXI. The works of HUYGHENS are now in the process of publication. Halley lacks a biographer.

For Spinoza, see F. POLLOCK, *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy* (1880); MARTINEAU, *Study of Spinoza* (1882); and J. CAIRD, *Spinoza* (1888); with the studies of *Spinoza's Ethics* by JOACHIM (1901) and DUFF (1903). For Newton, see S. P. RIGAUD, as above. G. J. GRAY, *Bibliography of Newton's Writings* (1880); A. DE MORGAN, *Life of Newton* (1885); and the older book of D. BREWSTER on *Newton's Life, Writings and Discoveries* (1855). For Leibnitz, see the biographies by BRAIG (1907), the exhaustive work of GUHPAUER (1842), and its English adaptation by MACKIE (1845). For his philosophy, see FISCHER, *Leibniz* (1889); E. CASSIRER, *Leibniz System*, etc., (1902); KABITZ (1909), and RUSSELL (1900) on his system.

For Pufendorf, see the contributions of TREITSCHKE, BLUNTSCHLI, and ROSCHER, and the article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. For Locke, see FOWLER (1880); FRAZER (1890); and especially H. R. FOX-BOURNE'S *Life* (1876).

For clubs and club life, see J. TIMB'S volumes on that subject (1866) and (1872). For economic writing and thought, see PALGRAVE'S *Dictionary of Political Economy* as quoted above; S. BUXTON'S *Finance and Politics* (1888); C. DUGUID'S *History of the Stock Exchange* (1901).

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE. 1700-1720

For the English side of the War of the Spanish Succession, see STANHOPE'S *History of England in the Reign of Queen Anne* (1870) and his *History of the War of the Succession in Spain* (1832). For the French side, see especially LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, as above. For Austria, see A. GAEDEKE, *Die Politik Oesterreichs in der Spanischen Erbfolgefrage* (1877). For Holland, see BLOK, *History of the People of the Netherlands*. For the war in Spain, see the biographies of Peterborough by F. RUSSELL (1887), and W. STEBBING; and the bibliography of the preceding chapter. See, also, MALLESON, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (1888) and WILSON, *The Duke of Berwick*. For the Peace of Utrecht see the works on that subject by C. GIRAUD (1847), GERARD, and WEBER.

For the Northern War, see R. N. BAIN, *Charles XII and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire* (1895); OSCAR II, King of Sweden, *Charles XII*, Eng. tr. by APGEORGE (1879); VOLTAIRE, *Charles XII*; HOLLAND, *The Treaty Relations of Russia and Turkey*. For the Prussian side of the war, see TUTTLE, *History of Prussia*; for the Russian, E. SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great* (1884); R. N. BAIN, *The first Romanovs* (1905) and *The Pupils of Peter the Great* (1897); K. WALISZEWSKI, *Pierre le Grand* (1897)—also in English.

For colonial affairs, see, in addition to the works quoted in the bibliographies of Chapters XVIII, XXIV, and XXVI, P. EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent* (1902).

CHAPTER XXX

IMPERIAL EUROPE. 1720-1742

For Spain in this period, see E. ARMSTRONG, *Elizabeth Farnese* (1892); P. BLIARD, *Dubois* (1901); for England, A. W. WARD, *The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession*, 2 ed., (1909); STANHOPE (Lord Mahon), *The History of England . . . 1713-83*, in many editions; W. MICHAEL, *Geschichte Englands*; E. S. ROSCOE, *Harley* (1902); the biographies of Walpole by J. MORLEY (1889) and A. C. EWALD (1878); W. COXE, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon 1813-15*; H. CARRÉ, *La France sous Louis XV* (1891); J. B. PERKINS, *France under the Regency* (1892); and E. BOURGEOIS, *Alberoni, Madame des Ursins et la Reine Elisabeth Farnese* (1891), are useful and generally interesting books on this period. See, also, bibliography of Chapter XXVIII.

For India, see E. S. HOLDEN, *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan* (1895); J. G. DUFF, *A History of the Mahrattas*, 3 vols., (1826); H. G. KEENE, *The Moghul Empire* (1866) and *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876); S. J. OWEN, *India on the Eve of the British Conquest* (1872); and S. L. POOLE, *Aurangzib* (1896).

For the North American colonies, see E. CHANNING, *History of the United States* (1910, etc.), L. H. GIPSON, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (1936); and C. M. ANDREWS, *The Colonial Period of American History* (1934, etc.). See, also, W. E. H. LECKY, *History of England in the 18th Century* (1878-90). J. FISKE, *New France and New England* (1902); *Colonization of the New World and Independence of the New World*; PARKMAN, *A Half Century of Conflict* (1892); and F. X. GARNEAU, *Histoire de Canada*, 5 ed., (1913). For the Darien Company, see Paterson, as above. For the history of Uruguay, see the volume published under that title, Liverpool, 1897. For Mexico, see H. H. BANCROFT, as above; A. VON HUMBOLDT, *Essay on New Spain*; N. LEON, *Compendio de la historia general de Mexico* (1902). See, also, the brief and popular sketches by Nutt, which are, however, very scanty on this period.

For Louisiana, see FORTIER and GAYARRÉ as above, and the popular book of G. KING on *New Orleans* (1895). For John Law and his ventures, see A. THIERS' *Law et son Système de Finances* (tr., 1859); and A. M. DAVIS, *Law's System* (1887); also A. W. WINSTON-GLYNN, *John Law of Lauriston* (1908). See, also, BONNASIEUX, *Les Grandes Compagnies*, as above.

For the explorers, see HEAWOOD, *Geographical Discovery in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. For the reorganization of the Spanish colonial empire and the effect of the accession of the Bourbons, see R. ALTAMIRA Y CREVEA, *Historia de España* (1909); M. A. COURCY, *L'Espagne après la Paix d'Utrecht* (1891); and G. SCELLE, *La Traité Negrière aux Indes de Castille* (1906, etc.).

For the War of the Polish Succession, see R. N. BAIN, *The Pupils of Peter the Great* (1897); and the histories of England, France, and Russia; and for the Anglo-Spanish War, see the history of Spain and those of England and the colonies, as quoted above. For the biography of Anson, see J. BARROW's *Life* (1839).

CHAPTER XXXI

RELIGION, INTELLECT, AND INDUSTRY. 1700-1750

For the development of French art in the eighteenth century, see the biographies of Watteau by P. MANTZ (1892), G. DARGENTY (1891), and PHILLIPS (1895-1905), and in particular, the study by C. MAUCLAIR (1905) and P. G. HAMERTON's volumes on painting. For the Jansenists, see SAINTE-BEUVE, *Port Royal*, 7 vols., 5 ed., (1888-91) and C. BEARD, *Port Royal* (1861). See, also, REBELLIAU, *Bossuet* (1900); Mrs. S. LEAR, *Bossuet* (1874), and a Bossuet bibliography by C. URBAIN (1900). For Boileau and the literature of his time, see the writings of SAINTE-BEUVE and BRUNETIÈRE; for Pope, see J. W. CROKER (introduction, notes, and life by ELWIN and COURTHOPE), *Works with Life*,

etc., 10 vols., (1871-98). For the Moravians see HUTTON, *History of the Moravian Church* (1909). For the Methodists, see TOWNSEND, WORKMAN, and EAYRS, *New History of Methodism* (1909). For the Wesleys, see G. J. STEVENSON, *Memorials of the Wesley Family* (1876), and JOHN WESLEY'S *Journal*, ed., CURNOCK (1909-13). See, also, R. A. VAUGHAN, *Hours with the Mystics*, 2 vols., 7 ed., (1895); and S. RITSCHL, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (1880-1906); J. H. OVERTON, *William Law* (1881); and R. M. JONES, *The Spiritual Reformers*.

For Voltaire, see the bibliography by G. BENGESCO, 4 vols., (1882-90); the essay by T. CARLYLE in his works; the essay by J. MORLEY (1872); and the *Life* by J. PARTON (1881). For Swift, Addison, and Steele, see their biographies, especially in the *English Men of Letters* series. For the progress of scholarship, see SANDYS as above; A. MAU, *Pompeii*, tr. by F. W. KELSEY, 2 ed., (1902); and FUETER, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (1911); also in French translation revised.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. 1742-1763

For the development of Brandenburg-Prussia, see L. VON RANKE, *Zwölf Bücher Preussischer Geschichte* (1878-79) and E. LAVISSE, *Études sur l'Histoire de Prusse* (1879) and *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric*. The most exhaustive *Life of Frederick the Great* in English is that by T. CARLYLE, many editions. See, also, H. TUTTLE, *History of Prussia 1740-56* (1888); LECKY, *History of England in the 18th Century* (1878); MAHON, *History of England 1713-1783* (1858); A. ARNETH, *Maria Theresa* (1868-75); A. W. WARD, *England and Hanover* (1899); R. KOSER, *Friedrich der Grosse* (1905). See, also, A. BACHMAN, *Die Pragmatische Sanction*, etc. (1894). For the French side see Comte de PAJOL, *Les Guerres sous Louis XV* (1881-87). There is a good brief sketch of this subject by MARRIOTT and ROBERTSON, *The Rise of Prussia* (1916).

These works cover in the main the general history of the Wars of the Austrian Succession as well.

For the colonies and India, see the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. For the Seven Years' War, R. WADDINGTON, *La Guerre de Sept Ans* (1899-1907). See, also, his *Louis XV et le Renversement des Alliances* (1896), for the Diplomatic Revolution. See, also, for the English side, J. CORBETT, *England in the Seven Years' War* (1908), and L. RANKIN, *The Marquis d'Argenson* (1901).

For Pitt, see the biographies by GREEN (1902); RUVILLE, Eng. tr., (1905); and B. WILLIAMS (1913).

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

For the general subject of the rise of liberal thought, see F. ROQUAIN, *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, Eng. tr., (1878). For Voltaire and Rousseau, see J. MORLEY'S *Essays*. For a bibliography

of Montesquieu, see L. DANGEAU (1874); for his *Life*, see L. VIAN (1879) and A. SOREL. For Voltaire, see bibliography of Chapter XXXI. For Rousseau, see the latest attempt to rehabilitate him by Mrs. F. MACDONALD (1906); and for Diderot, see MORLEY'S *Essay*, and the accounts of him by SCHERER, FAGUET, and BRUNETIERE. For Buffon, see HUMBERT BAZILE, *Buffon, sa Famille*, etc., (1863). For the Physiocrats, see H. HIGGS, *The Physiocrats* (1897). C. E. VAUGHANS, *Political Writings of J. J. Rousseau*, Cambridge, 1915. 2 vols.

For china manufacture see BURTON, *Porcelain* (1906); and the bibliography in the Crerar Library *List of Books on the History of Industry*, etc., (1915). For the Agricultural Revolution, see TRAILL'S *Social England* as above and the bibliography there. See, also, R. E. PROTHERO'S *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (1888), and J. E. T. ROGERS' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (1866-1892). For exploration, see WINSOR and HEAWOOD as above. For the American colonies, see books noted in bibliography of Chapter XXX, and earlier. J. S. BASSETT, *Short History of the United States* (1913) has a good brief account of this period with book-list. See, also, A. L. CROSS, *History of England*, etc., (1914). See especially C. L. BECKER, *The American Colonies* (1915) for a general survey of colonial conditions before the Revolution. G. O. TREVELYAN, *American Revolution* (1899-1912) contains much interesting material for the colonies as well as for England.

For Berkeley, see L. STEPHEN, *English Thought in the 18th Century*, 3 ed., (1902); and A. C. FRASER'S edition of *Berkeley's Works, including a Biography*, 4 vols., (1901). For Edwards, see A. V. G. ALLEN, *Jonathan Edwards* (1889).

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE

For the enlightened despots, see A. SOREL, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, vol. i, (1885); and the antiquated, unscholarly, but still interesting work of F. C. SCHLOSSER, *History of Europe in the 18th Century*, Eng. tr., (1843-52); and especially A. H. JOHNSON, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots* (1910).

For the partition of Poland, see A. SOREL, *La Question d'Orient au XVIIIème Siècle*, 3 ed., (1902). For Poland in the eighteenth century, see introduction to R. H. LORD, *The Second Partition of Poland*.

For the suppression of the Jesuits, see J. A. M. CRETINEAU-JOLY, *Clement XIV et les Jésuites* (1847), and his *Histoire . . . de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols., (1844). See, also, SAINT-PRIEST, *Histoire de la chute des Jésuites* (1844). For Pombal, see J. SMITH'S *Memoirs of the Marquess of Pombal*, 2 vols., (1843); J. P. OLIVEIRA MARTINS' *Historia de Portugal*, 2 vols., (1901). For Paoli, see J. BOSWELL'S contemporary account (1768), and BARTOLI'S *Biography* (1891). For Choiseul, see F. CALMETTE, *Mémoires de Duc de Choiseul* (1904). For Spain and Portugal and their colonies, see F. ROUSSEAU, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne*, 2 vols., (1907); Lafuente, as above; P. R. M. GALANTI, *Historia do Brazil*, 4 vols., (1905); R. SOUTHEY, *History of Brazil* (1810).

For the situation of Great Britain and the colonies, see the various references in bibliography of the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1783

For the American Revolution in general, see the bibliographies of the preceding chapters. See, also, for England's colonial policy, G. L. BEER, *Commercial Policy of England towards the American Colonies* (1893), his *Old Colonial System*, 2 vols., (1912), and especially his *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (1907). The writings of the American leaders have all been edited and published in critical editions, and their lives have often been written. Of the latter the most accessible volumes are those in the *American Statesmen* series. See, also, the histories of England by MAHON and LECKY; the biographies of Pitt as quoted above; the *Life of North* by R. LUCAS (1913); and the biographies of Fox and Burke.

For the Revolution itself the best scholarly account is that of E. CHANNING in vol. iii of his *History of the United States*; the most entertaining is that of G. O. TREVELYAN, as above; the best account from another point of view, that of the loyalists, is that of S. G. FISHER, *The Struggle for American Independence*, 2 vols., (1908). See, also, M. C. TYLER, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols., (1897); and HUNT, *The Provincial Committees of Safety of the American Revolution* (1904).

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. 1768-1789

For the development of pastel and water-color painting in the eighteenth century, see "K. ROBERT," *Le Pastel* (1890) and W. L. WYLIE, *J. M. W. Turner* (1905). For furniture, see P. MACQUOID, *English Furniture* (1905), and Lady DILKE'S *French Furniture of the 18th Century*.

For German literature in this period, see the Brockhaus series, *Bibliothek der Deutschen National-literatur des 18 u. 19 Jahrhunderts*, 44 vols., (1868-91); J. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von Leibniz bis auf unsere Zeit*, 4 vols., 2 ed., (1886-90). For Schiller, see T. CARLYLE, *Life of Schiller*, many editions; for Goethe, see A. BIELSCHOWSKY'S *Biography* (tr., 1905, etc.), and H. G. ATKINS' volume (1904). The chief collection is the "Weimar Edition" now nearly completed. For Kant, see the bibliographies by ADICKES (1892, etc.), and REICKE (1895). See, also, C. VORLANDER'S *Kant, Schiller, Goethe* (1907); and A. WEIR, *Student's Introduction to Critical Philosophy* (1906).

For French literature, see SAINTE-BEUVE and BRUNETIERE as above. For English literature, see the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and its bibliographies. For Gibbon, see his autobiography, many editions; S. WALPOLE, *Works*, and W. BAGEHOT, *Works*, for essays; and

the edition of the *History* by J. B. BURY (1896-1900). For Adam Smith, see J. RAE, *Life of Adam Smith* (1895) and the various editions of the *Wealth of Nations*. For Bentham, see L. STEPHENS, *The English Utilitarians* (1900) and C. M. ATKINSON, *Jeremy Bentham* (1905). For the Industrial Revolution, see A. TOYNBEE, *The Industrial Revolution* (in several editions); HAMMOND, *The Town Laborer* (1917); the histories of the cotton manufacture in England, by BAINES (1835) and URE; S. SMILES, *Lives of the Engineers* (1861-62). W. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1903). For Watt, and the steam engine, see J. P. MUIRHEAD, *Origin and Progress of the Mechanical Inventions of James Watt*, 3 vols., (1854), and his *Life of Watt* (1858).

For the early history of Australia see E JENKS' *Australasia* and A. KITSON'S *Captain James Cook* (1907).

For Joseph II, see the works of A. ARNETH; and T. F. BRIGHT, *Joseph II* (1897). For Catherine II, see K. WALISZEWSKI, *Le Roman d'une Impératrice* (1893); for Frederick II, see R. KOSER, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, 3 ed., (1905).

For the United States, see the various histories of SCHOULER, CHANNING, BASSETT, etc. For the formation of the Constitution, see ELLIOT, *Debates* (1836), revised and enlarged by M. FARRAND (1911); C. BEARD, *Economic Basis of the Constitution* (1914). See, also, the *Writings of Madison*, ed., HUNT; BRYCE, *American Commonwealth* (1911); JAMESON, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, in *American Historical Association Reports* (1902); the biographies of the American statesmen; J. FISKE, *Critical Period* (1888).

CHAPTER XXXVII

(a) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1789-1804

Many of the bibliographical references for Chapter XXXVI will also be useful here.

For the background and beginning of the French Revolution see ROCQUAIN, *The Revolutionary Spirit* (tr. HUNTING, 1891); LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*. One of the most recent and in many ways the best account of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods is to be found in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France Contemporaine*, (vol. I, 1789-92; by P. SAGNAC; vol. II, 1792-99; and vol. III, 1799-1815, by G. PARISER) with bibliographies to each chapter. The best account of the general European situation and reactions is to be found in SOREL, *L'Europe et la Revolution Française*. H. MORSE STEPHENS' *French Revolution* is very valuable for the biographies of the men of its period (1789-94) and its detailed account of the episodes. AULARD'S *History of the French Revolution* (tr. by B. MIAL, 1910) is still good for its study of the ideology of the Revolution, but worthless for concrete facts. The brilliant studies of H. A. TAINE, *The Ancient Régime and the French Revolution*; of DE TOCQUEVILLE, *The Old Régime and the Revolution*; and LORD ACTON'S *Lectures on the French Revolution*, are still of great value and interest. CARLYLE'S *French Revolution* is a rhetorical exercise rather than a history, but a remarkable book. There is a host of one volume histories, chiefly text-

books—MALLET, MATHEWS, MADELIN, MIGNET, MATHIEZ, STEPHENS, BELLOC, BRINTON, GERSHOY, GAXOTTE, GOTTSCHALK, *etc.* of which the volumes of STEPHENS and MADELIN are still among the best. Of the biographies, autobiographies, memoirs and the like, the list is all but endless, as is that of monographs. Many of these may be found in the bibliographies of the Cambridge Modern History. There is a printed catalogue of French Revolutionary books in the Cornell University Library; and P. CARON, *Manuel de la Revolution française*, may serve as an introduction to the sources.

(b) THE NAPOLEONIC ERA. 1804-1815

The literature of the Napoleonic era, like that of the French Revolution, is almost endless. The most convenient guides to it may be found in the volume on the Consulate and the Empire in LAVISSE, *Histoire de France Contemporaine*, vol. III, as above, and in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IX; together with the work of Kircheisen. There are a multitude of biographies of Napoleon, few if any of which published before 1900 are valuable except for special purposes. Of the more recent lives perhaps the best for the English reader are those of FOURNIER, KIRCHEISEN (both available in translation) and ROSE. The memoirs of the period are multitudinous. The most famous are probably those of TALLEYRAND and METTERNICH; the liveliest that of MARBOT in war and of PASQUIER in politics. There is a good bibliography for its time in FOURNIER'S *Life of Napoleon*. For special topics there are again a multitude of books, among which the work of HOUSSAYE on 1813, 1814, *etc.* is most interesting. But it is virtually impossible to do more than to refer the reader to the various bibliographies noted above.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL AND EXTRA-EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1789-1815

For a general account of the Industrial Revolution probably the best work is that of MANTOUX though the older essay of TOYNBEE is still of value. There are a number of books on the early English Radicals, among them WALLAS' *Life of Place*, CARLYLE'S *Cobbett*, ATKINSON'S *Life of Bentham*, COLE'S *Life of Robert Owen*, *etc.* ROSE'S *Life of Pitt* and WEBSTER'S *Life of Castlereagh* are excellent. The best general account of England in 1815 is that of HALÉVY and see also his *Philosophic Radicals*. For the history of science in this period see the volumes quoted above in earlier chapters. TRAILL, *Social England*, especially the illustrated edition, gives a good account of many of the subjects treated in this chapter. For the United States in this period McLAUGHLIN'S *Federalist System* and CHANNING'S *Jeffersonian System* are still the most satisfactory accounts, as HENRY ADAMS' *History of the United States* is still the best long history of the latter period, especially in foreign affairs. There are various histories of Spanish America in this period, among which ROBERTSON'S *Miranda* and *Bolívar* give probably the best accounts. For the early history of Australia and the farther east see *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. VII (Australia); SCOTT,

Short History of Australia; and H. T. MANNING, *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution*. For India see ASPINALL, *Cornwallis in Bengal*; *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. V (British India) and ROBERTS, *India under Wellesley*.

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